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CATULLUS AND HORACE.

Horace's judgment of Catullus is famous and familiar. In the tenth satire of the first book he criticizes an associate of Hermogenes, no doubt¹ Demetrius, whose only skill is in singing Catullus and Calvus.² Noyes in his book on Horace suggests that to complain that someone declaims nothing but Shakespeare is not to criticize Shakespeare,³ but Horace's general rejection of Catullus' approach to poetry is clear enough.⁴ Catullus is one of the *docti poetae*.⁵ Horace did not wholly disavow the possession of *doctae frontes*,⁶ but he had a healthy scepticism about the parade of learning, and would have urged an *aurea mediocritas*⁷ in this as in all things. Indeed, Demetrius' own skill is ingeniously represented by the word *doctus*,⁸ and in the very preceding poem the bore, who has been variously identified, claims to be one of the *docti*.⁹ G. L. Hendrickson, in three able articles,¹⁰ argued, with much probability, that the purpose of the tenth satire was to criticize Valerius Cato and his school, and

¹ G. L. Hendrickson, "Horace and Valerius Cato," *C. P.*, XI, pp. 249 ff.; XII, pp. 77 ff., 329 ff., argued that the reference is to Furius Bibaculus.

² Hor., *Sat.*, I, 10, 19.

³ Noyes, *Horace*, pp. 90-100.

⁴ Tenney Frank, *Catullus and Horace*, pp. 162-4.

⁵ Tib., III, 6, 41; Ov., *Am.*, III, 9, 62; A. A., II, 181; Mart., I, 61, 1.

⁶ Hor., *Od.*, I, 1, 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 10, 5.

⁸ *Idem*, *Sat.*, I, 10, 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 9, 7.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

that the deletion of the opening lines, which forms a curious problem for the textual critic, was to eliminate any direct personal reference to him. Cato was, like Catullus, a Cisalpine, and the acknowledged leader of the group of poets to whom he belonged. Bentley long ago identified Pitholeon Rhodius with M. Otacilius Pitholaus, who was associated with Catullus and Furius Bibaculus in lampooning Caesar. The bombastic Alpinus appears to be Bibaculus himself. Varro of Atax certainly looked to Alexandria for his inspiration, and is mentioned with Catullus as a predecessor of the Augustan elegiac writers. But even if Hendrickson's central thesis be disallowed, there is enough to show that Horace was opposed to the practice of many writers of Catullus' circle.

The *Ars Poetica*, as one would expect, throws more light on these critical differences. In particular there is a forthright passage about the need to fit metre to theme.¹¹ Horace felt that the *neoteri* were slovenly in their verse technique, and when he borrows from Catullus without acknowledgment ("Damned good to steal from," said a fellow-artist of a very different school about William Blake) he refines and corrects in accordance with his principles. He felt also that they were insufficiently alive to the characteristic peculiarities of the different metres. Horace would never have written a deep cry of passionate pathos in seazon iambics. But Catullus had seen deeper than Horace. *Miser Catulle*¹² is a triumph of genius over rule. The "limp" which usually provided the twist of the epigram, the barbed hook which bites into its victim, here creates the sob or sigh of the distraught lover. In addition to these more general criticisms, there are a few detailed allusions which we can trace, and no doubt many more which we have lost. In writing critically of the "purple patch" Horace refers to descriptions of Diana's altar and of the river Rhine, which are tacked on to their poems, not blended in.¹³ Valerius Cato wrote a poem on Diana, and Furius Bibaculus an epic on Caesar's conquests. The allusions are not absolutely certain, but we know of no other equally

¹¹ Hor., *A. P.*, 73-88.

¹² Cat., 8. The poem has sometimes been taken as a light satire on a tiff. I cannot so take it.

¹³ Hor., *A. P.*, 14-18.

probable source, and the fact that we can place two of his references plausibly among the same school of poets is itself suggestive. It is important to add that Horace never degenerated into petty divergence for the sake of being different. Acron tells us that the *scriptor cyclicus* whom Horace upbraids is the same "swollen Antimachus" whose wordiness Catullus contrasts unfavourably with his friend Cinna's *Zmyrna*.¹⁴ This was the poem, of no great length, which took nine years to produce. One cannot think that the poem itself appealed to Horace. But the care, the courting of perfection, did, and, like Philargyrius, and despite some modern commentators, one cannot fail to detect in his demand for nine years' polishing a direct reference to Cinna, and a readiness to attribute praise where he believed praise to be due.¹⁵ Similarly, if Ellis is right in his identification of the Gellius of Catullus' epigrams with the Pedius Publicola of Horace, the two poets agree well in their judgment of Publicola.¹⁶ He became a bitter enemy of Catullus, but we learn that his mind was diligent in the literary chase, and that a translation of Callimachus was an acceptable offering at his table.¹⁷ Horace's Pedius is a purist for Latinity, who does not permit a macaronic mingling of Latin and Greek¹⁸ (which suggests that he might well be interested in problems of translation from one language into the other). He is besides a critic of discrimination,¹⁹ and, whatever Catullus may say about his morals, he nowhere disparages his taste.

Horace then has one mention and one mention only of Catullus by name, and that is mildly sarcastic. And he is generally critical of the school of writing to which Catullus belongs. We learn something more about his attitude to his predecessor from his own claim to originality. This he makes in no uncertain terms. In the last ode of the third book he asserts that his glory is to have been the first to render Aeolian poetry in Latin.²⁰

¹⁴ Cat., 95, 10; Hor., *A. P.*, 136; Acron *ad loc.*

¹⁵ Philargyrius in *Eccl.*, 9, 35; Cat., 95, 1-2; Hor., *A. P.*, 388; Quint., X, 4, 4.

¹⁶ Ellis, *Commentary on Catullus*, pp. 349-54; cf. Dio Cass., XLVII, 24.

¹⁷ Cat., 116.

¹⁸ Hor., *Sat.*, I, 10, 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 10, 85.

²⁰ *Idem*, *Od.*, III, 30, 13.

This assertion is more closely defined in an earlier poem in which he says that he is playing on an instrument unheard before, the lyre of Lesbos.²¹ In the letter to Maecenas in which he defends his published work against its detractors he makes the additional claim to have been the first to convey the spirit and metre of Archilochus in Latin.²² The Roman thirst for an inherited immortality and their conception of originality as the "accommodation" of a fresh department of Greek literature is, in the sincerity of its flattery, one of the highest compliments ever accorded to the Greeks.²³ But Horace's particular claims are really rather impudent. It would be hard to deny that Catullus' more vituperative effusions conveyed the spirit of the scorpion-tongued Archilochus, and he certainly at times wrote in iambs which we may suppose were Parian,²⁴ though it is Callimachus rather than Alcaeus who is blended in to make the potion milder. And Catullus was undoubtedly the first to attune the Lesbian lyre to the Latin language in his two Sapphic poems.²⁵ It is true that there are only two such poems, that they are both intensely personal, and that Quintilian does not account Catullus a lyric poet at all, and these things have often been alleged in extenuation of Horace. But Horace himself betrays a certain awareness that his claims have been two sweeping. Even in the odes, he makes clear a preference for Alcaeus to Sappho,²⁶ and in the first three books the Alcaic metre is used half as often again as the Sapphic. In the letter in which he is concerned to answer criticism he speaks with considerable care, and has evidently been challenged on this very point of priority, presumably by admirers of Catullus; we know that by the time of Propertius Lesbia was "more familiar than Helen."²⁷ Horace now makes three pleas. First, he makes a fresh assertion at least of his originality in following Archilochus: this, as we have seen, cannot be sustained, but it has not

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 26, 10-12.

²² *Idem*, *Ep.*, I, 19, 23.

²³ *Lucr.*, I, 927; V, 336; *Verg.*, *G.*, II, 175; III, 10 and 292; *Prop.*, IV, 1, 3; *Manil.*, II, 53.

²⁴ *Cat.*, 4; 29; 52.

²⁵ *Idem*, 11; 51.

²⁶ *Hor.*, *Od.*, II, 13, 30.

²⁷ *Prop.*, II, 34, 87.

exactly been made before. Secondly (and here I follow the scholiast as against Bentley and most recent editors), he says that he introduced Sappho and Alcaeus to impart a very different tone to his verse. Thirdly, he categorically asserts his priority in introducing Alcaeus. This is a clear enough acknowledgment of Catullus' priority in the case of Sappho.²⁸

But acknowledgment of priority is not of itself acknowledgment of indebtedness, and it will be a matter of some importance to our understanding of both poets to examine the places where Horace borrows from Catullus and the way in which he uses the material which he picks up. Catullus' poetry falls into three sharply defined groupings. The first sixty poems are lyrical. The next eight are longer poems, linked by the common theme of marriage. The last thirty-eight are elegiac epigrams. Now, the interesting point is that there is no clear evidence that Horace knew any elegiac poem of Catullus. Such reminiscences as may be alleged are few and unreliable. Both end a hexameter with *eius*.²⁹ Both use the rare word *sesquipedalis*. (The use is incidentally a good commentary on the different verbal sensitivity of the two poets. Catullus ends his line appallingly *dentes os sesquipedales*, Horace brilliantly *sesquipedalia verba*.³⁰) And that is really all. This is not wholly surprising. Horace was primarily a lyric poet, and we would expect the lyrics to command his attention. But it is an interesting speculation whether he had in fact so much as read the elegiacs, and, if not, whether in Horace's day the three sections of Catullus' poetry were in circulation independently of one another.

About twenty years ago, C. W. Mendell drew attention to Horace's familiarity with Catullus' longer poems.³¹ This had been hitherto overlooked, but Mendell buttressed his argument with such overwhelming evidence of verbal debt that his conclusion must be accepted. In particular he demonstrated Horace's debt to the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*. In the twenty-

²⁸ Hor., *Ep.*, I, 19, 23-34.

²⁹ Cat., 84, 5; Hor., *Sat.*, II, 6, 76; cf. Lucr., I, 782 and 965; Prop., IV, 2, 35; Ov., *Trist.*, III, 4, 27.

³⁰ Cat., 97, 5; Hor., *A. P.*, 97; cf. Mart., VII, 14, 10.

³¹ C. W. Mendell, "Catullan Echoes in the Odes of Horace," *C. P.*, XXX, pp. 289 ff. I am grateful to Professor H. T. Rowell for reference to this article.

seventh ode of the third book Horace treats the myth of Europa. But he says little about the more familiar parts of the story, and concentrates on the theme of the abandoned mistress, which is not usually associated with the Europa legend, but found notable expression in Catullus' picture of Ariadne. In this Horatian passage are found *niveum, palluit, quae simul, tetigit, furor* (of love), *fluctus, iuvenum, dedat, cornua, monstri, praedae* (a female victim), *rupes, procellae, carpere, barbam, perfidus, laceranda, invicti, singultus*, all of which are found in or may be taken from Catullus' sixty-fourth poem, and many of which are otherwise rare in Horace;³² in addition one or two parallels of thought may be adduced.³³ In the eleventh ode of the same book Horace treats the myth of Hypermnestra. From this Mendell culls *lympha, periurus, splendidus, lacerant, favor, querella, clemens, sepulcrum, memor, parco, and extremus*, all from the same poem of Catullus. When Horace writes of the sea, even allegorically, he appears to go to the same source for his vocabulary. Twenty lines on the ship of state³⁴ contain *malus* (mast), *saucius, antemnae, funis, carinae, fluctus, nudus* (stripped of), *portus, lintea, pinus, navita, puppes*. *Antemnae* is unique in Horace; all except *fluctus* and *navita* are rare; all are in Catullus' poem. Other poems from the first book offer possible, though less striking, examples of borrowing from Catullus' epyllion. The fourth has *Favonius, carinae, canus*, and the unique *talis*. The thirty-second shows the adverbial *primum, religarat*, and *rite*; of these only the second carries any weight. But a single stanza of the thirty-fourth offers *attenuat, stridore, obscura*, and *rapax*, and there are close parallels of thought and language between the lines immediately preceding and one passage in Catullus.³⁵

With the other long poems the evidence is more tenuous. In one of Horace's spring songs he may have had the *Attis* in mind; the association with spring was a natural one. *Stabulis* and *albicant* occur in consecutive lines. Both are unique in Horace,

³² For references see C. W. Mendell, *op. cit.*

³³ Hor., *Od.*, III, 27, 34 and 49; Cat., 64, 180. Hor., *Od.*, III, 27, 63; Cat., 64, 160.

³⁴ Hor., *Od.*, I, 14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 34, 5 and 12; Cat., 64, 204-6.

both are found in the *Attis*.³⁶ The following lines contain *choros*, *alterno pede*, *viridi*. Catullus has *viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus*.³⁷ It is precarious to build much on this, and more important to notice that the dynamic power of the *Attis* and even the *tour-de-force* of its metrical brilliance left no mark upon Horace whatever. Similarly, though it may be that the vocabulary of the Hypermnestra myth owes something to the fact that Horace had read Catullus' epithalamia, he seems utterly unaffected by their wealth of imagery and grace of touch.

His familiarity with the lyrics is beyond question, and we must begin by seeing what use he made of Catullus' original Sapphics. The Sapphic metre is based upon a sequence of trochees and dactyls, and Catullus' usage approximates closely to that of Sappho. Horace, however, adapts the metre to the genius of the Latin language, thereby obscuring its real nature, by insisting that the fourth syllable of the first three lines of each stanza shall be long, thus adding the weight which is characteristic of Latin rather than Greek. He also gives greater rigidity to the verse by insisting on a caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable of these lines; in his early works it is mainly the former. "He gave to it" says Munro, "that easy and monotonous flow which it retained ever after."³⁸ He thus eschews the effect which Sappho and Catullus use with such skill, whereby the line is like a country dancer tripping into the centre, and then reversing with the same step back to position. We may see this in a line like Sappho's αἶψα δ' ἐξέκορτο· οὐδ' ὧ μάκαρα,³⁹ or Catullus' *Pauca nuntiate meae puellae*.⁴⁰ We might say that Catullus shows his genius in adapting the language to the metre, Horace his in adapting the metre to the language.

These are generalities. When we come to detail it is striking how much Horace's Autolycean grasp has lifted from Catullus' two short poems. The earlier of these is a rendering of a sublime poem of Sappho's. In it he employs the striking phrase *dulce ridentem*. Horace was among those whom it struck. He picked it up, put it into a poem which was already indebted to Catullus,

³⁶ Hor., *Od.*, I, 4, 3-4; Cat., 63, 53 and 87.

³⁷ Hor., *Od.*, I, 4, 5-9; Cat., 63, 30.

³⁸ Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, p. 241.

³⁹ Sappho, 1, 13.

⁴⁰ Cat., 11, 15.

transferred it from the beginning of the stanza to the climactic position of the whole poem, the beginning of the third line of the last stanza, and finally reduplicated it by adding the words *dulce loquentem*, at the same time pointing to the fact that Catullus in his transcription from Sappho had omitted ἄνθρωπος.⁴¹ Later in the same poem Catullus, no doubt feeling Sappho's words were too intense and personal for him as yet, broke off into halting lines of his own to the effect that *otium* has been his undoing. Horace's lines to Grosphus take up the thought and answer it. The coincidence of the emphatic repeated position of the word in both poems cannot be accidental.⁴² Catullus has wrestled with the feeling that idleness and unoccupied leisure have led him to this apparent *impasse* of love for a married woman above his station; as it has destroyed cities in the past, so it has destroyed his peace of mind. Horace answers that men in stress and strain long for idleness, leisure, and peace, but it cannot be bought, or won by dreaming; so we ought to joy in the present without looking further. The advice may have been good for Grosphus: it is aimed directly at Catullus.

Catullus' other Sapphic provokes the same reaction—borrowing and emendation. Horace on Catullus might well be felt to have earned the title applied to Bentley on Horace, *splendide emendax*. Catullus' eleventh poem is his final renunciation of Lesbia. It is addressed to Furius and Aurelius, and the first three stanzas speak of their readiness to follow him to the ends of the earth. Different remotenesses are named, introduced in turn by *sive*. There are some vivid descriptive touches, and, though some of the metre is harsh, the clauses are happily varied in structure and length. There is a geographical movement from south-east to north-west, first from India, through Arabia and Parthia to Egypt, and then from the Alps through the Rhineland to Britain. Two of Catullus' phrases Horace filches direct. Neither is very significant, but in each case Horace's treatment is interesting. Catullus' lesser Sapphic, *sive in extremos penetrabit Indos*⁴³ is nicely balanced with its internal rhyme. Horace could hardly improve on it; instead he transfers the effect to a

⁴¹ Sappho, 2, 3-5; Cat., 51, 5; Hor., *Od.*, I, 22, 23-4.

⁴² Cat., 51, 13-16; Hor., *Od.*, II, 16, 1-8.

⁴³ Cat., 11, 2.

hexameter *impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos*.⁴⁴ Catullus' *ultimosque Britannos*, however (whatever be the reading of the previous words), with the end of a line falling in the middle of the word *ultimos*, is as harsh as the Britons themselves.⁴⁵ Horace transfers this to an Alcaic. The close association with the name Caesar and the proximity of Eous show that he has Catullus in mind. His phrase *ultimos Orbis Britannos* ⁴⁶ shows how it is possible to use the same words with polish as a neat bridge between two lines. But apart from such verbal details Horace twice imitates Catullus' geographical enunciation. In the familiar poem *Integer vitae* which he wrote for Aristius Fuscus, a scholar and critic who would appreciate the borrowings, and which has for its climax the Catullan *dulce ridentem*, his second stanza parallels the corresponding stanza in Catullus.⁴⁷ There is the same use of *sive*, the same movement from a desert, through an inhospitable region, to a river. Or rather, not the same. Horace is subtler. Catullus repeats *sive* (or *seu*) at the beginning of each of the first three lines; not so Horace. And Horace's sure handling of the break in the third line is a sure sign of his mastery of his medium. It is noteworthy also that he confines his geographical excursus to one stanza, in which he moves from west to east, from Africa via the Caucasus to India, but allows himself a second, different but corresponding, journey of mind in the fourth stanza, in which he moves southwards from Tivoli through Apulia to Africa. It is noteworthy also that the arrows which Catullus puts on the backs of the Parthians have changed their context, and appear in Horace's opening lines. He recurs to the same theme in the first words of his poem to Septimius. The places mentioned are fairly close to one another, Cadiz, Cantabria, and the Syrtes, and I take the poem to be a specific answer to an invitation for a holiday in the western Mediterranean. But the thought of companionship in distant places drives him back to Catullus, and the use of *unda* to end the stanza, as the vocative has begun it, points the direct reference to Catullus; Horace's *aditure mecum* is a variant on

⁴⁴ Hor., *Ep.*, I, 1, 45.

⁴⁵ Cat., 11, 11-12.

⁴⁶ Hor., *Od.*, I, 35, 29-30.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 22, 5-8.

comites followed by the future.⁴⁸ Once again he confines himself to a single stanza, this time Catullus' first. Once again his lines are patterned with deliberate care and artifice. "Elegant," says Munro, and the word is intended critically. And when we have examined all Horace's refinements, we are bound with Munro to ask "What is there in Horace like the pathos, worthy of Burns, which pervades the *Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati Ultimi flos praetereunte postquam Tactus aratro est?*"⁴⁹

But Horace does not betray his familiarity with Catullus merely where he chooses to employ the same metre. One of the most significant comparisons is in an instance where he deliberately abjures Catullus' metre. This is over the hymn to Diana. Catullus writes in a verse of three glyconics followed by a pherecratean. It seems as if some such measure was considered peculiarly apposite to the worship of Diana. Anacreon's hymn to Artemis is written in a slightly different patterning of the same lines,⁵⁰ and a fragmentary inscription to Diana

umbrarum ac nemorum incolam,
ferarum domitricem,
Dianam deam virginem

is, as Bücheler rightly saw, rhythmically cognate.⁵¹ Now, it seems clear that Horace knew Catullus' poem. There are three echoes of it in the *Carmen Saeculare*, and though none in isolation is firm evidence of debt, the combination creates a high presumption. Certainly Horace's *virgines lectas puerosque castos* sound suspiciously like Catullus' *puellae et pueri integri* under a different metrical guise.⁵² Again, Horace's *sive tu Lucina probas vocari Seu Genitalis* is reminiscent of Catullus' *Tu Lucina dolentibus Juno dicta puerperis*; ⁵³ the combination *tu Lucina* is suggestive, and Juno appears in Latin as the feminine of Genius. If so Horace is offering a slight corrective in separating the two names. Finally, Horace's opening invocation to Diana describes her as *silvarum potens*. There are only about 75 words

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 6, 1-4.

⁴⁹ Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁵⁰ Anacreon, frag. 1 (Bergk).

⁵¹ *C. I. L.*, VI, 124, 30700.

⁵² Hor., *C. S.*, 6; Cat., 34, 2.

⁵³ Hor., *C. S.*, 15-16; Cat., 34, 13-14.

in Catullus' little hymn. Both are natural in descriptions of Diana, but both occur in Catullus in the same case, which is curious if merely coincidental.⁵⁴ When Horace wrote his ode to Diana and Apollo, he used the stilted fifth Asclepiad, and filled his sixteen lines with a degree of allusiveness more to be expected from the *doctus poeta* than his critic. In fact Horace's allusions are Greek rather than Latin, except for the reference to Algidus,⁵⁵ whereas Catullus, apart from the mention of the birth at Delos, uses a Roman framework, which the last stanza, with the archaic and technical word *sospites*, accentuates. In Catullus' song we can trace the lad whose roots are in the country, and who has known the worship of Diana in her own wild groves,

montium domina ut fores
silvarumque virentium
saltuumque reconditorum
amnumque sonantum.⁵⁶

This is a melody, as Tenney Frank observes, which has not been heard in Latin, and which is perhaps not to be heard again. Horace (I think with Catullus in mind) waters this away into something less than a single line, *laetam fluviis et nemorum coma*.⁵⁷ There is no contrast which displays more clearly than this how Horace, with all his greater sensitivity to the finer points, remains blind to things deeper.

A similar, though less instructive, example of the same theme producing rather different poems is found over the matter of dinner invitations. Catullus invites Fabullus to supper—provided he brings his own food; he can, however, rely on his host for some really excellent perfume.⁵⁸ Horace invites Virgilius (perhaps not the poet) for the evening; he will provide the wine if his guest brings the perfume.⁵⁹ The metres are different. There are no verbal similarities between the two poems, and not much weight can be put on the occurrence of *candida puella*.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Hor., *C. S.*, 1; Cat., 34, 10 and 15.

⁵⁵ Hor., *Od.*, I, 21, 6.

⁵⁶ Cat., 34, 9-12.

⁵⁷ Hor., *Od.*, I, 21, 5.

⁵⁸ Cat., 13.

⁵⁹ Hor., *Od.*, IV, 12.

⁶⁰ *Idem*, *Epod.*, 11, 27.

and *Cupidines*⁶¹ in the plural elsewhere in Horace's writings. Horace's poem is individual and characteristic, opening as it does with a comment on the passing of the seasons, moving on to a mythological comment, of the type he owed to Pindar, and progressing through the main business of the letter to the final epigram *dulce est desipere in loco*. The unity of a poem by Catullus is obvious and on the surface. With Horace it is more finely woven and difficult to discern. By the time he wrote the fourth book the influence of Catullus was more remote. Nevertheless, it seems possible that the subject was suggested by the older poet, more possible if it in fact was addressed to the author of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as the third stanza slightly suggests, for if so it belongs to an earlier period of his life, and was held back for publication. In any case some insight may be gained by comparing Catullus' direct approach with Horace's elaboration.

The lovers' dialogue is another theme the two poets have in common, and the comparison was suggested by Patin many years ago. The idea of such a dialogue is commonly said to derive from the bucolic exchanges of pastoral poetry, but I suspect that the bantering ripostes of the marriage-song lie somewhere at its roots. The two poems in question have not much in common besides their charm.⁶² Of the *Acme and Septimius* Munro wrote "The most charming picture in any language of a light and happy love." *Donec gratus eram tibi* was one of the two poems which Scaliger said that he would have renounced the kingdom of all Aragon to have written. Catullus writes in his characteristic hendecasyllables, Horace in the third Asclepiad. Catullus paints a picture of the perfection of true love, and a single affirmation from each of the lovers is enough to do this. Their love is a perfect unity; there is no difference of mood between their utterances, though Septimius is more concerned with outward manifestation and she with inward response. Horace's ode deals with the reconciliation of two quarrelling lovers; its stanzas are nicely and artificially balanced; yet, as Wickham observed, maintain dramatic propriety in the different ideas the man and woman express. Such neat balance Catullus reserved

⁶¹ *Idem*, *Od.*, I, 19, 1; IV, 1, 5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, III, 9; *Cat.*, 45.

for his comment: the sneeze of good omen after each had spoken, the splendid synthesis *mutuis animis amant amantur*. Horace produces the tidier poem, Catullus is more deeply affecting. Horace moves the mind, Catullus the heart. Horace's verses are the product of wit, Catullus' of the romantic imagination.

There is more certain familiarity with the fifth poem. This is the prototype of all the "Come live with me and be my love" poems of Marlowe, Raleigh, Jonson, Chapman, Herrick, Day Lewis, and the rest. The first six lines are the most obviously appealing which Catullus ever wrote, and it is hardly surprising that they impinged vividly on Horace's consciousness.

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
rumoresque senum severiorum
omnes unius aestimemus assis.
Soles occidere et redire possent:
nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
nox est perpetua una dormienda.⁶³

The language impressed him, and its echoes recur. He writes of death variously, and often in terms which directly recall Catullus. At one point *perpetuus sopor urget*; ⁶⁴ at another *omnes una manet nox*.⁶⁵ Most interesting is perhaps the example from *Diffugere nives*.⁶⁶ There the *celerēs lunae* represent Catullus' *soles*, and *nos ubi decidimus*, while clearly based in structure and language on Catullus' fifth line, loses the double value of setting and death implied in Catullus' use of the word, and the brilliant pathetic parallel between the light of day and the light of life. It may be remarked in passing that the derivation of these words from Catullus suggests strongly what has been long suspected on other grounds, that this poem was written at an earlier stage of Horace's life, and omitted from his first collection because it was too close to *Solvitur acris hiems*.⁶⁷

These are verbal reminiscences. But the thought of the poem recurs frequently in Horace, so much so that one critic remarks that "the belief thus expressed by Catullus, as well as his moral,

⁶³ Cat., 5, 1-6.

⁶⁴ Hor., *Od.*, I, 24, 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 28, 15.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 7, 13-14.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 4.

is confirmed again and again in the Odes of Horace."⁶⁸ We are all driven to the same goal. Years glide by, and we must leave all we love the best. Rich and poor succumb to the same Destiny. Death beats on the door of kings and beggars alike. So let us live and love while we have youth, before *morosa canities* overtakes us.⁶⁹ It is hard to say how far this is an accidental coincidence of thought, how far a common property of the sort of Epicureanism which appears to have been popular in Rome in the first century (and of which we find expression in people as various as Caesar, Cassius, Atticus, Lucretius, and Virgil as well as Catullus and Horace), and how far a direct debt to this poem of Catullus. That Horace knew Catullus' poem we have seen. In this light the last quotation is significant. The thought of *grumpy* old age follows quickly on the thought of love. We will ourselves become the *senes severiores*. This is just the sort of twist that Horace likes to give to his borrowings, and this, if so, is a peculiarly happy example. It is significant, too, that this is the one poem in which Catullus gives vivid expression to this thought, and the fact that Horace alludes to it several times suggests that it expressed for him, tellingly, something he had come to feel about life. But Catullus' *carpe diem* is warm, passionate, and personal. Horace is older, much older, before he begins to write, and is cool, detached, and impersonal. Catullus' thoughts of death are confined to himself and Lesbia; Horace's extend to all mankind. Catullus is dominated by the joy of present opportunity; Horace by the lack of future opportunity.

The influence of Catullus' fourth poem was different. These verses about the ship which brought him back from Bithynia are pleasant enough but slight in their theme, and free from the characteristic intensity of Catullus' loves and hates. They are, however, a remarkable *tour-de-force*, being written in pure iambs, a rhythm to which Latin with its frequent spondees does not easily lend itself. Horace in the *Epodes* was experimenting with iambic metres, but, typically, he always admits the counterweighing spondee. At the same time he would naturally

⁶⁸ J. B. Chapman, *Horace and his Poetry*, p. 104, an attractive and little known sketch.

⁶⁹ The quotations are from Hor., *Od.*, II, 3; 14; III, 1; I, 4; 9. Many more poems might be cited.

be interested in Catullus' essay, and there is a certain amount of evidence of such familiarity. A. W. Verrall made some interesting comparisons with the sixteenth epode,⁷⁰ and suggested in particular that in Horace's couplet

ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus⁷¹

the use of *pedes* for "sheets" comes from Catullus, and *Notus vocabit* is based on his *vocaret aura*.⁷² Again, the seventeenth epode contains an iambic reference to Castor and Pollux, whom, however, Horace like Catullus describes by periphrasis, as brother of Castor, instead of naming.⁷³ There is reason for this in Catullus, who is writing pure iambs, which of course do not admit the name Pollux; there is none in Horace. Here again Horace is artificial where Catullus is natural. The Catullan derivation is confined by the previous lines where the rarish word *perambulare* and the combination *pudica et proba* are found in Catullus.⁷⁴ It is noteworthy how Horace transfers the latter phrase from hendecasyllabics to iambs by the substitution for *et* of a repeated *tu*. The *Odes* too occasionally reflect the language of this poem of Catullus. Most notable of these is the use of the Greek nominative and infinitive. *Ait fuisse navium celerrimus* seems to be the earliest instance of this in Latin. Horace has it twice; the example in the *Odes* is from a poem clearly influenced by Catullus, and the example in the *Epistles* is with *ait*.⁷⁵ Sometimes it looks as if the idea is from Catullus, but his language is deliberately eschewed. Catullus writes of *minacis Adriatici*. Horace has variously *fretis acrior Hadriae*, *inquieti Hadriae*, *improbo iracundior Hadria*.⁷⁶ It is fascinating to watch the ingenuity with which Horace avoids repeating himself; when he is avoiding repeating someone else as well, the marvel is greater. Similarly Catullus' *Rhodumque nobilem* becomes in Horace *claram Rhodon*.⁷⁷ More important is Horace's poem on the ship

⁷⁰ Verrall, *Studies in Horace*, pp. 182-3.

⁷¹ Hor., *Epod.*, 16, 21-2.

⁷² Cat., 4, 20-1.

⁷³ Hor., *Epod.*, 17, 42-3; Cat., 4, 27.

⁷⁴ Hor., *Epod.*, 17, 40-1; Cat., 29, 8; 42, 24.

⁷⁵ Cat., 4, 2; Hor., *Od.*, III, 27, 78; *Ep.*, I, 7, 22.

⁷⁶ Cat., 4, 6; Hor., *Od.*, I, 33, 15; III, 3, 5; 9, 22.

⁷⁷ Cat., 4, 8; Hor., *Od.*, I, 7, 1.

of state. It has long puzzled commentators why the Roman ship of state should be cruising round the Aegean, and the fact that it was built of Pontic pine instead of the more appropriate Idaean led some to detect a fantastic reference to Sextus Pompeius. Mendell rightly saw that the references are literary not political, and derive from this poem of Catullus, from which Horace also takes his use of *silva* and *nobilis*.⁷⁸ So too with Horace's poem on Virgil's voyage to Greece. Horace apostrophizes the ship which is to carry his friend. This in itself may have been suggested by a similar poem of Callimachus.⁷⁹ At the same time the idea of making the ship central may derive from Catullus; Catullus' poem is one of happiness and good omen and such a reference would be apposite. One of the difficulties in an investigation of this kind is to trace individual indebtedness as against independent drawing on a stock of commonplaces and Greek originals. There are, however, indications that Catullus' verses are somewhere in Horace's mind. The references to Castor and Pollux, and the Adriatic, are commonplaces in a poem on seafaring. But the use of *trux* as applied to inanimate things is not common before the Augustan age, and both Catullus and Horace have it of the sea.⁸⁰ And Horace's *tollere seu ponere*, with the omission of the first *seu*, recalls Catullus' *laeva sive dextera*.⁸¹ Once again the comparison is as instructive in its differences as its resemblances. Catullus' poem has a single theme without diversion. He praises the ship, or allows it to be its own *claqueur*, and traces its story from its origin in the leafy forests above Amastris to its final dedication to the Dioscuri. The poem charms by its simplicity. But Horace uses the occasion for moralizing comment on the arrogance of seafaring and other Babel-like pretensions of mankind. You could never find in Catullus a generalized comment such as *nil mortalibus ardui est*.⁸²

Other echoes are fainter. It was to be expected that Horace would be interested in Catullus' single essay in choriambics. He

⁷⁸ C. W. Mendell, *op. cit.*; Hor., *Od.*, I, 14, 11-12 and 20; Cat., 4, 7-13.

⁷⁹ Callimachus, frag. 400 (Pfeiffer).

⁸⁰ Cat., 4, 9; Hor., *Od.*, I, 3, 10.

⁸¹ Cat., 4, 19; Hor., *Od.*, I, 3, 16.

⁸² Hor., *Od.*, I, 3, 37.

gleaned from it the word *amiculus*⁸³ (the diminutive is characteristic of the *neoteri* in general and Catullus in particular: we may compare, though with less certainty, the use of *versiculi*⁸⁴); also the idiomatic and not very usual *te retrahere*.⁸⁵ But the poem has left little trace on Horace's versification. Catullus' attack on Amiana

Salve, nec minimo puella naso
nec bello pede nec nigris ocellis
nec longis digitis nec ore sicco
nec sane nimis elegante lingua

has often been compared with Horace's

depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est,⁸⁶

and this may be another example of Horace's passion for compression. It is curious that Catullus, on whom the influence of Callimachus is so marked, should himself be implicitly criticized for looseness and verbosity; the genius of the Greek poet for verbal economy can be instantly seen by comparing Cory's familiar rendering of the elegy for Heraclitus with the original. A few more reminiscences might be cited, but only one adds much to what we have already seen. In one of his attacks on Thallus Catullus throws off almost casually the phrase *insolenter aestues*, proceeding to a simile of a ship in a storm. One of the most famous passages in Horace takes up the metaphor and develops it as a metaphor. It is in the ode to Pyrrha

heu quotiens fidem
mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
nigris aequora ventis
emirabitur insolens.⁸⁷

Here again it is noteworthy how Horace improves his original. In the first place he sustains the metaphor. Catullus drops into a simile; this is natural, but it is less artistic. And secondly Horace takes *insolenter* from its natural position preceding its

⁸³ Cat., 30, 2; Hor., *Ep.*, I, 17, 3.

⁸⁴ Cat., 50, 4; Hor., *Epod.*, 11, 2; *Sat.*, I, 2, 109; 10, 32.

⁸⁵ Cat., 30, 9; Hor., *Ep.*, I, 18, 59.

⁸⁶ Cat., 43, 1-4; Hor., *Sat.*, I, 2, 93.

⁸⁷ Cat., 25, 12-13; Hor., *Od.*, I, 5, 5-8.

verb, transforms it into an adjective and gives it all the weight at the end, not merely of a line, but of a stanza. He has seen the artistic potentialities of the word in its context and used them to the full.

What is the conclusion of all this? First that Horace's debt to Catullus is greater than he overtly acknowledged, greater perhaps than he himself recognized. Second that almost always Horace in borrowing refines. One cannot but admire the consummate artistry with which he finds the precisely right word and the precisely right place for it; equally one cannot help feeling that something has been lost. White bread is aesthetically satisfying and smooth to the palate, but it lacks some of the most nourishing part of the wheat. Just so did the Pre-Raphaelites, while acknowledging Raphael's originality and daring, yet see his fineries turn to vapidness. His consummate technique destroyed his vitality.^{ss} Third, that the Horatian ode is a very much more complex instrument of poetry than the Catullan lyric. It is fascinating to trace its abstruse patterning of thought and language, to reflect upon its moral generalizations, to rest in its overall urbanity and good humour. But it lacks the overwhelming directness, the fire, the singleness of purpose of Catullus. It is not the purpose of this essay to award posthumous prizes or make exclusive value-judgments. Both have real though differing qualities, and to laud either is not to scout the other. But rightly to understand their relationship and their divergent approach is to be on the road to a just and understanding appraisal of both.

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^{ss} Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, I, p. 94; Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, III, 4, iv, 17.

THE DATE OF THE *LEX IULIA DE REPETUNDIS*.

One of the most lasting memorials of the statecraft of Julius Caesar was his extortion law (*de repetundis*), passed in his first consulship. For half a thousand years and more under the Roman Empire it remained the fundamental guide for the conduct of Roman magistrates in the provinces. Yet, were we to depend upon the narratives of the ancient historians who wrote of the last age of the Republic, we should barely be aware of its existence. The reason for this neglect by the historians was, of course, their concentration on the political measures by which Caesar secured and strengthened his power.¹ The result has been that modern students have been at loss as to when in that crowded, hectic year 59 B. C. to put the passage of the law. One of the most distinguished investigators of the late Republic recently declared that there is no evidence for the exact time of year when the law was passed.² Nevertheless this is not strictly true; there are two neglected passages in the sources by means of which the passage of the law can be dated more precisely than sometime in the year 59. Although the evidence is indirect and admittedly not unambiguous, it affords a basis for conclusions which appear probable, if not certain.

Cassius Dio (XXXVIII, 7, 4-5) says that Caesar won over the *plebs* and the *equites* by passing various measures to please them, and procured the ratification of Pompey's acts in the East (which of course pleased Pompey). Then (*ἔπειτα*) he enacted many other measures. Dio thus clearly implies that Caesar consolidated his political power first. Then, when he had paralyzed his foes among the *Optimates* by attaching *plebs*, *equites*, and Pompey firmly to himself, he brought about the passage of many other laws without opposition—even Cato had given up. But

¹ So A. W. Zumpt, *Das Criminalrecht der römischen Republik*, II, 2 (Berlin, 1869), pp. 294-5.

² Lily Ross Taylor, "On the Chronology of Caesar's First Consulship," *A. J. P.*, LXXII (1951), pp. 254-68, at p. 267, note 44. See *ibid.*, p. 254, note 1, and 255, note 3, for bibliography of earlier discussions of the chronology of the political measures of 59 B. C., especially for the conflicting views of M. Gelzer and F. B. Marsh.

later, when Cato was praetor (54 B. C.), he refused to mention the Julian laws by name, even although he followed their provisions in allotting the courts (*ibid.*, 5-6). As praetor, however, Cato was in charge of the *quaestio de repetundis*.³ Accordingly, the laws which Cato refused to mention by name included specifically the *Lex Iulia de repetundis*, and the latter was one of those enacted after the political measures, according to Dio. Dio's narrative, it has long since been conceded, organizes the events of Caesar's consulship topically, rather than chronologically. Thus while most of Caesar's acts aiming at political power are described in detail before this point in the text, some, such as the *Lex Vatinia* concerning Caesar's province and the marriage alliances with Piso and Pompey (XXXVIII, 8, 5-9, 2) are discussed afterwards, and also after the brief note on the non-political legislation (*ibid.*, 7, 6-8, 1). But in the passage discussed here, as one of his "topics" as it were, Dio inserts a brief summary of Caesar's consulship with this chronological hint. When one considers the ordinary annalistic organization used by Roman historians, and their habit of not doing careful research for periods long anterior to their own—instead merely conflating a few earlier narratives—it seems likely that this cross-reference to a quirk of Cato's behavior five years later than the time reached in the narrative goes back to a contemporary source (Asinius Pollio?). Hence the chronological indication also is likely to be of contemporary origin. It is also *a priori* reasonable that Caesar would attend first to the requirements of his political position, upon which all else depended, before proceeding to the enactment of his non-political measures.

From a comparison of all the materials relating to the year 59 B. C. modern scholars, although differing on particular points of detail, conclude that Caesar's political measures had been consummated by May 59 B. C.⁴ Accordingly we have a *terminus post quem* for the *Lex Iulia de repetundis*—May, 59 B. C.

A passage in Cicero's *Pro Flacco* (13), delivered in 59 B. C., affords an *ante quem*. Here Cicero says that *lege hac recenti ac*

³ Asconius, pp. 19, 3-4; 29, 7 (Clark); cf. T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, II (New York, 1952), pp. 221-2 (with additional references).

⁴ Cf. Taylor, *A. J. P.*, LXXII (1951), pp. 254-68, with chronological summary at pp. 267-8.

nova a limit has been set to the number of assistants which a prosecutor may utilize in his *inquisitio* in a province, i. e. in the collection of evidence against a defendant accused in an action *de repetundis*. Now "this new and recent law" can only be the *Lex Iulia de repetundis*.⁵ Flaccus is being tried for extortion; this is why Cicero brings the matter up. He intimates that improper methods used in gathering evidence against Flaccus have inspired the new provision in the new law. The *Lex Cornelia de repetundis* (by which Flaccus was tried—see below, App. II) certainly could not be described as new and recent. Conceivably a special law relating to the gathering of evidence in *repetundae* cases might have been passed in Caesar's consulship without being otherwise mentioned in our sources, but probability is overwhelmingly against it. Caesar's party was in control of the legislative machinery of the state in this year and it is incredible that another law could have been devoted to a subject which Caesar handled so exhaustively and so well. Conceivably such a law, otherwise unknown, might have been passed in 60 B. C., or in a previous year, but Cicero's emphasis on the newness of the law would seem to exclude this, for the trial of Flaccus, as will be seen, was held in the last part of the year 59. Unfortunately we do not know exactly when the proceedings against him were instituted.

On the date of the trial of Flaccus we have evidence in another

⁵ The scholiast on the passage, however, suggests that the *Lex Vatinia* or the *Lex Fufia* is meant; *Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 97, 31-2 (Stangl). But this is so unlikely that the scholiast's opinion may unhesitatingly be rejected. The *Lex Fufia* ordained that the votes of the three orders on the juries of the *quaestiones* be proclaimed separately (Dio, XXXVIII, 8, 1); the only *Lex Vatinia* that could be considered even for a moment regulated the details of choosing the juries (Cic., *In Vat.*, 27) in a manner which is not very clear to modern students. But obviously these laws had nothing to do with the number of investigators for *repetundae* cases in the provinces. That the passage refers to the *Lex Iulia* was seen by A. H. J. Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* (Oxford, 1901), p. 485 and note 3; followed by T. B. L. Webster in his edition of the *Pro Flacco* (Oxford, 1933), *ad Flacc.*, 13 (p. 66). Nevertheless the passage is not listed in the standard manuals: G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae Populi Romani* (Milan, 1912), pp. 389-90; Broughton, II, p. 188; Berger, s. v. "Lex Iulia de pecuniis repetundis," *R.-E.*, XII (1925), cols. 2389-92.

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passage of Cicero, where he writes to Atticus (II, 25, 1) saying that Hortensius, co-defender of Flaccus with Cicero, has praised the actions of Cicero and Flaccus in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy in 63. Tyrrell and Purser⁶ indicate that the letter was written about October, 59. Cicero, a man of vanity if not of "idiotic vanity," would have conveyed the news of Hortensius' praise of the *annus mirabilis* to Atticus by the first letter he wrote after he heard Hortensius speak. Accordingly the trial of Flaccus also may be dated to October.⁷ But in turn, this means that the *Lex Iulia de repetundis* was passed before October, 59.

The *Lex Iulia*, then, dates sometime from the summer (June-September) of 59 B. C. This seems very probable, if not absolutely certain in view of the lack of direct evidence. It can also be argued with fair probability that its passage occurred in the latter part of that period rather than in the earlier part. In the same passage of the *Pro Flacco* (13) Cicero says that there is a common report about the high-handed way in which the evidence against Flaccus was collected in Asia. As a result restrictions have been placed on such activity by this new and recent law (*quarum rerum invidia lege hac recenti ac nova certus est inquisitioni comitum numerus constitutus*). This may or may not be a true statement of cause and effect, but the question does not affect the chronological implications. Cicero would not have made the statement quoted unless it were chronologically acceptable. When an accusation was laid before the president of a jury-court and accepted by him, a date was set for the trial proper to begin. In the case of an accusation *de repetundis* a length of time varying according to the circumstances was set to allow the prosecutor to collect his evidence in the province before the trial began. This might be a rather long interval; Cicero had had one hundred and ten days to collect evidence from Sicily against Verres (II in *Verr.*, I, 30). In the meantime the accused, or his *patroni*, would naturally be pre-

⁶ *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, I³ (Dublin, 1904), p. 334, without arguing the point explicitly; an explicit discussion of the usual date is found in Webster, p. 111. See also below, Appendix I.

⁷ This is generally accepted; e.g., cf. M. Gelzer, s.v. "Tullius (29) (als Politiker)," *K.-E.*, VII A, 1 (1939), cols. 827-1091, at col. 912: "etwa im Oktober 59"; J. Carcopino, *César*³ (Paris, 1943), p. 733, note 319.

paring his defense.⁸ In the summer of 59 B. C., probably during the good sailing season when there was easy communication with Asia, Laelius, the prosecutor, must have been in the province collecting his evidence while Cicero was preparing his defense. There is also more direct evidence that Cicero was working on this case in the summer of 59 while Laelius was in Asia. In two letters to Atticus (II, 22, 3; 23, 3) written during that summer Cicero tells his friend that he is entirely given over to forensic work, work which revives the memory of his consulship. The reference can only be to the case of Flaccus. Two other cases that we know of were argued by Cicero this year—the defense of Antonius and that of a certain Thermus (twice accused). But Cicero cannot be alluding to the case of Antonius, for that was past; Antonius had been convicted in the spring.⁹ And the trials of Thermus (and any other, unknown trial) are excluded, for they were not connected with Cicero's consulship. If they had been so connected, Cicero would have mentioned them when in the oration for Flaccus (5) he was trying to show that the heroes of 63 B. C. have been under attack one by one in 59. Had he been able to add Thermus, or anyone else, to the list it would have been much more impressive, and it is inconceivable that he would have failed to do so.¹⁰

Accordingly, we may suppose that in the summer of 59 B. C. reports were received at Rome of Laelius' methods of investigation. But Cicero would have us believe (*Flacc.*, 13) that these reports inspired a passage in the *Lex Iulia*. Hence it is likely that the law was passed toward the end of the period June-September, rather than the beginning, for time must be allowed for these reports to arrive from Asia. One other consideration supports this conclusion in some degree. Expressions such as "new" and "recent" are notoriously elastic, but Cicero, speaking in late October or November,¹¹ uses a triple expression, *hac*

⁸ See Greenidge, pp. 466-7 for this procedure and cf. G. Humbert, *s. v.* "Judicia publica," D.-S., III, 1 (Paris, 1899), pp. 646-58, at p. 651. See also below, Appendix II.

⁹ Around 1 April; Taylor, *A. J. P.*, LXXII (1951), p. 263; cf. Cic., *De Domo*, 41.

¹⁰ Gelzer, *R.-E.*, VII A, col. 911, nevertheless refers the two passages in the letters to Atticus to the defense of Thermus.

¹¹ Cicero's speech came some time after that of Hortensius, since the

recenti ac nova, to emphasize the recent date of the law. Probability points, therefore, to August or September, 59, as the time of its passage. August may be a trifle more likely than September, merely because there were many more comitial days available. The number of comitial days theoretically existing in September was greatly reduced by the *Ludi Romani* of that month.¹² There is no reason to suppose that Caesar violated the constitution for pure pleasure's sake. On the other hand, September might be preferable in view of the strength of Cicero's emphasis on the newness of the law. In addition, all of this accords with the likelihood that Caesar would not on the spur of the moment prepare a comprehensive statute which included more than a hundred clauses (*Caelius ap. Cic., Fam., VIII, 8, 3*), which Cicero praised as an excellent law (*Pro Sest., 135*) and scrupulously obeyed in Cilicia, a law which endured for so many centuries and through so many vicissitudes of the Roman constitution. The chronology here suggested harmonizes well with Caesar's having spent some months in preparing his measure after he had assured himself of the political strength which was prerequisite to its passage.

Finally, this chronology, if acceptable, suggests some considerations for judging Caesar the statesman. Caesar's first consulship might be regarded as a sort of preview of his dictatorship. In 59 Caesar was merely one, and not the most important, of an extra-legal cabal of three politicians. First he secured his power and then went on to acts of constructive, far-visioned statesmanship. Significantly the best known and most important of these constructive acts was for the advantage of the provincials. A dozen years later he was legally dictator and master of the Roman state. But his power as such was far from being secure by 44 B. C. Many of his critics have scoffed that as dictator he displayed no clear signs of making that revision of the constitution and society which was necessary for the establishment of a permanent new order. In the light of his progress on a smaller scale from politician to statesman in 59, is it too much to think that if his power had had the opportunity to

latter spoke in the *actio prima*, Cicero in the *secunda*. See Greenidge, p. 478 and note 1; Webster, pp. 109-10.

¹² Cf. L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley, 1949), p. 78.

become firmly rooted—by the end of his projected eastern campaigns, say—he would have used those talents for a constructive statesmanship evidenced by the *Lex Iulia* to build a new, more stable, wiser Rome?

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Appendix I: The date of Cicero, *Ad Att.*, II, 25.

The traditional view, followed in this paper, of the dating of *Ad Att.*, II, 18-25, has recently been challenged by Prof. L. R. Taylor, "The date and meaning of the Vettius affair," *Historia*, I (1950), pp. 45-51, who puts II, 18-24 in July and II, 25 in the latter part of August (pp. 47, 48). Then P. A. Brunt raised various objections to Taylor's theory and defended the accepted view in "Cicero: *Ad Atticum* 2. 24," *C. Q.*, XLVII (1953), pp. 62-4; to which Taylor replied in "On the date of *Ad Atticum* 2. 24," *ibid.*, XLVIII (1954), pp. 181-2. In this last paper she demolished two of Brunt's most important arguments, but did not answer all of his objections. Also, she now thinks that her August date for II, 25, which is what primarily interests us here, "should have been put forward more tentatively. . . ." Neither Brunt nor Taylor, however, appears to have noticed another passage in Cicero's correspondence which has an important bearing on their problem. In her first article Taylor argued (*Historia*, I [1950], p. 46) that there is no evidence for the usual assumption that Bibulus' postponement of the electoral *comitia centuriata* to 18 October (Cic., *Att.*, II, 20, 6) also caused the postponement of the election of the tribunes by the *comitia tributa*. There is no evidence, Taylor says, for delay of the tribunician elections in the whole history of the Republic after the decemvirate. This, of course, is an argument from silence, and a particularly dangerous argument when one considers the skimpy, hit-or-miss character of our knowledge for much of the four centuries between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the first century B. C. Yet it is necessary to Taylor's arrangement of the chronology that the tribunician elections in 59 occurred at the usual time in the middle of July in order to date *Att.*, II, 24 and the Vettius affair in that month, since 24 "follows immediately upon II 23, and that letter was written before the

tribunitial elections" (*Historia*, I [1950], p. 45). If this view is correct, it will be difficult to date 25 as late as October.

As a matter of fact, however, although we have no explicit date for the tribunician elections in 59 B. C., Cicero, *Ad Q. fr.*, I, 2, 16 (written between 25 October and 10 December, 59) strongly implies that the tribunician elections occurred about the same time as the praetorian and consular, i. e. 18 October, or shortly thereafter. In § 15 Marcus writes that he will now tell Quintus the news: *Nunc ea cognosce quae maxime exoptas*. Various matters are related, then (§ 16): *Tribuni pl. designati sunt nobis amici. Consules [designati] se optime ostendunt. Praetores [designatos] habemus amicissimos et acerrimos civis. . . . De singulis tamen rebus quae cotidie gerantur faciam te crebro certiore*. That is to say, he is telling Quintus news, as he will in the future, and as he must have in the past, for he was in continual communication with Quintus (cf. the whole letter, *passim*). The inference seems unavoidable that the election of tribunes, consuls, praetors, has occurred recently and about the same time—18 October.

As for the (customary) October date of *Att.*, II, 25: In 25, 2 Cicero says that he thinks Atticus is on his way to Rome. This means that he has no definite information, but is calculating on the basis of other considerations, i. e. his previous urgings: *Ita enim egi tecum superioribus litteris*. The definite reference to when Cicero is confident that Atticus will be at hand is in *Att.*, II, 23, 3, which indicates either at Clodius' electoral *comitia*—shortly after 18 October, or at least by the time the tribunes (Clodius) take office—10 December. This accords much better with a date in the autumn rather than in August for II, 25. Cicero also implies that he has more expectation of seeing Atticus before December than before 18 October. Hence to date II, 25 to October is preferable. If Atticus is "on his way" as Cicero expects, he will arrive in November, but the letter would not be written in November, for there would be no need and it might well miss Atticus "on his way."

Appendix II: Retroactive legislation at Rome and the time of Flaccus' trial.

It is worth while pointing out that Flaccus was almost certainly tried under the *Lex Cornelia de repetundis* (Sulla) (so

Kleinfeller, s. v. "Repetundarum crimen," *R.-E.*, I A [1920], cols. 603-10, at col. 607) and not the *Lex Iulia*. Webster, pp. v, 111, believes that the accusation was laid under the Cornelian law, but that the trial proper was conducted under the Julian law. This is deduced as a "fair inference" from *Pro Flacco*, 13. In that passage, quoted above, "*hac*" might be construed to mean "by this law by which the present case is being judged," but not in this context. In conjunction with the rest of the sentence, and especially with *recenti ac nova*, *hac* must refer to a very recent past construed as part of the present; i. e. it is immediate to the speaker's thought. Greenidge, p. 501, also appears to think that Flaccus was tried under the Julian law.

If Flaccus was tried under the Julian law, this was an *ex post facto* procedure. Retroactive legislation was by no means unknown to the Roman law, but ordinarily it occurred only in enactments with a distinctively political tinge, and everything points to Caesar's law's not being so colored. With certain exceptions, the criminal law of Cicero's time required criminal intent for a valid conviction (T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* [Leipzig, 1899], p. 85; C. Ferrini, *Diritto penale romano* [Milan, 1902], pp. 41 ff.). Obviously such a principle denies retroactive application. Even the *Lex* [*Acilia*?] *de repetundis*, presumably enacted in the heat of Gracchan party strife, had a provision forbidding its retroactive application (Bruns', No. 10, §§ 74 [= 81]-75 [= 82]). R. Hesky, "Anmerkungen zur Lex Acilia repetundarum," *Wiener Studien*, XXV (1903), pp. 272 ff., at pp. 285-7, argued that this provision of the statute did not forbid a retroactive process, but his arguments were conclusively answered by S. Brassloff, "Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Lex Acilia repetundarum," *ibid.*, XXVI (1904), pp. 106 ff., at pp. 111-17. In this connection it is also not without significance that, in general accord with the conservatism of Roman jurisprudence, successive versions of the statute *de repetundis* are likely to have incorporated many of the provisions of their predecessors.

Earlier in this same year 59 Cicero had defended C. Antonius, his quondam colleague in the consulship. Some years later he accused Vatinius of having waited until legal proceedings against Antonius had begun before passing a law which would

possibly have helped Antonius (*In Vat.*, 27). The implication obviously is that retroactive legislation is not a customary feature of the Roman law (*Cic., Rab. Post.*, 14, although referring to something else, makes the same implication: *Quicumque post hanc legem . . .*). Finally, if, in the light of the attitude of the Roman law toward retroactive proceedings, the action against Flaccus had had that character, Cicero would certainly have mentioned it to prejudice the jurors in favor of his client, given the orator's general attitude of defiance of Caesar and the triumvirate in the forensic speeches of this year. Accordingly the law ordinarily referred to in the *Pro Flacco* is almost certainly the *Lex Cornelia*, and such assertions as Rotondi's (p. 390; cf. Greenidge, p. 476; Webster, *ad Flacc.*, 82 [p. 99]) that the legal provisions mentioned in §§ 21, 33, 82, are those of the *Lex Iulia* may or may not be true (the provisions might have been incorporated into the *Lex Iulia* from the *Lex Cornelia*).

Flaccus served as propraetor in Asia in 62 and returned to Rome in 61. F. Münzer, *s. v.* "Laelius" (6), *R.-E.*, XII (1925), cols. 411-13, at col. 411, seems to think that the reason for the delay in bringing Flaccus to trial was that it took Laelius (the prosecutor) so long to gather the evidence—so meticulously did he prepare his case. Münzer cites *Pro Flacc.*, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 36, 41, 54, 59 in proof. But these passages merely assert the high-handedness of Laelius and emphasize the large number of assistants he had. On the other hand, if Laelius had actually taken years to gather evidence we may be sure that Cicero would have interpreted it as a sign of the great difficulty in finding evidence against Flaccus. Besides, the multitude of assistants itself implies that the time at Laelius' disposal was not excessively great. When possible, the Roman criminal law preferred that the same magistrate should conduct a legal proceeding from beginning to end (Greenidge, p. 456). The real reason for the trial's lateness is undoubtedly the fact that it was politically inspired, to coerce Cicero; Cicero's statement to this effect (*Pro Flacco*, 4-5) is confirmed by the whole course of the pressure brought to bear on him during this year (cf. Klebs, *s. v.* "Antonius" [19], *R.-E.*, I [1894], cols. 2577-82, at col. 2581). It is very probable that Laelius brought his charge after the beginning of 59. On the politics, see Webster, p. v and notes.

NOTES ON THE EARLY GREEK ALPHABET.

I.

In the Eastern or Blue Greek alphabets, $\chi = chi$ and $\psi = psi$; in the Western or Red alphabets, $\chi = xi$ and $\psi = chi$. This situation has been much discussed. It has often been thought that the signs were borrowed by one group from the other, with a change in use caused by other features of the borrowing alphabets.¹ This hypothesis, in any of its variations, implies that the borrowers were uncommonly stupid, for it should have been evident that confusion must result from the use of an established sign to denote a sound quite different from its established sound. At only one point is the theory of borrowing satisfactory. The Eastern alphabets often use *chi sigma* ($\chi\sigma$) for *xi*; and in a number of Western inscriptions (e. g., the Mantiklos dedication²) these signs are used in the same way, along with ψ as *chi*. Here, apparently, the Eastern signs are borrowed *without* a change in use; and the next step, the reduction of the two signs to one, is easy, since the χ had no other function in the West. This explanation of the Western *xi* has been widely accepted.³

An alternative to the general theory of borrowing was proposed by Hammarström,⁴ who adopted in part a suggestion made in 1906 by Gercke.⁵ According to this hypothesis, the original set of added signs included both χ and ψ , representing aspirated *kappa* and aspirated *koppa* respectively; later the distinction was forgotten or found useless, one letter was enough, the first form prevailed in the East and the second in the West. One advantage of this view is that it alone accounts for the alphabetic order in the West. The numerous Red abecedaries⁶ make it clear that, after *upsilon*, the order of letters was $\chi\psi$. It was naturally supposed that the first of these letters was *xi*; but by Ham-

¹ Cf. *C. P.*, 1927, pp. 136-41 (Ullman).

² *Mon. Piot*, II (1895), p. 138; *A. J. A.*, 1935, p. 511.

³ Cf. Rehm, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I (1939), p. 203.

⁴ *Studia Orientalia*, II (1928), pp. 186-201.

⁵ *Hermes*, 1906, pp. 549 ff.

⁶ Buonamici, *Epigrafia Etrusca*, pp. 101 ff.

marström's theory it would be originally the aspirated *kappa*. The order of the aspirated letters might reasonably have been determined by the alphabetic positions of the unaspirated ones: *kappa*, *pi*, *koppa*. When the first of the aspirated palatals ceased to be used, it remained in the abecedary; and when X as *xi* was adopted in the West, its alphabetic position was determined in advance. Hammarström's theory is more or less fully accepted by Rehm⁷ and Margit Falkner⁸ and it surely is preferable to the theory of borrowing.

Yet it has its weaknesses. In the first place, the advantage in regard to the Western order may be considered balanced by the fact that it does not account for the Eastern order, which for Hammarström is the prior one (for it is not convincing that *phi* must have been the first in order because its name is close to *pi*), or for the existence of the two orders. Then, since *koppa* survives in a number of early alphabets and *kappa* in all, would it not be expected that the two aspirated letters would somewhere clearly survive together? Or that there would be some relation between alphabets with *koppa* and those with aspirated *koppa*, i. e. ♀?

Another doubtful point is raised by Hammarström as he seeks to explain the Western failure to adopt X as *chi*. (It scarcely seems that any explanation is necessary, if the two signs X and ♀ had become altogether equivalent; it would then be a matter of chance.) He argues that the original Greek *tau* had the same form as its Phoenician prototype, X; that this form lasted longer in the West than in the East, and was an obstacle to the use of X as *chi* in the West. Now it is very reasonable that the Phoenician *tau*, the most obvious of all linear designs, should have been taken over without substantial change by the Greeks, and Hammarström is justified in finding some confirmation in the Etruscan use of the same form. It appears indeed that it does not occur in the earliest known Etruscan inscriptions, and that when it occurs in early inscriptions in southern Etruria it is not *t* but a sibilant, though it is a *t* in rather early inscriptions in central Etruria.⁹ At all events, the history of the alphabet

⁷ P. 202 (*supra*, note 3).

⁸ *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft*, I (1948), pp. 110-33.

⁹ Cf. Blakeway in *J. R. S.*, 1935, pp. 138 ff.; Eva Fiesel in *A. J. P.*, 1936, pp. 261-70.

in Italy is surely not so clear that one must regard it as pure coincidence that the parent of the Greek alphabet and the offspring of the Greek alphabet have the same form for *t*; the Greek alphabet itself probably had it also. But Hammarström is on doubtful ground when he presents lists of Greek inscriptions in which he finds survivals of this early *tau*. Unquestionably the letter does occur in more or less the form suggested, and two young epigraphers were thus assisted to read Μοϵα διδορι as μολε αριορχε;¹⁰ but such letters appear to be merely careless; they hardly strengthen the case for the original X *tau*, and they provide little evidence indeed for a distinction between East and West in this matter. By oversight, Hammarström includes two Argive inscriptions in his Western list, and the Hymettos sherds bring several additional Eastern examples.¹¹

Thus, although Hammarström's hypothesis has considerable plausibility, it is not out of place to seek still another possible explanation of the two forms of *chi*. For this a suggestion may be derived from a later incident in the history of the alphabet.

Around the end of the sixth century, apparently, a man living in a Red area wished to introduce a sign for *psi*, which he knew to exist in the Blue script. He could not use the Blue *psi*, because that sign already had a different use in his alphabet. He could have taken the Eastern sign for *xi* and used it for *psi*, but he was too sensible to do that; he needed a sign that was not then in alphabetic use anywhere and hence could not give rise to misunderstanding. He would first think of the most obvious design, X; since that was not available, he modified it by adding a third cross-line and so arrived at the form *. This invention did not become widely popular, but it occurs in two documents of Ozolian Locris,¹² a terracotta ticket at Mantinea,¹³ and a series of coins at Psophis.

The coins were first assigned to Psophis by Imhoof-Blumer,¹⁴ who noted that the initial letter sometimes had the form just given, sometimes was simply X, and sometimes was an Eastern *psi*. He recognized that the third group was later than the

¹⁰ *I. G.*, VII, 3467; *Encyclopédie photographique*, II, p. 277.

¹¹ Blegen in *A. J. A.*, 1934, pp. 10-28; figs. 2, 5, 8.

¹² *I. G.*, IX, 1, 334; *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pl. 3.

¹³ *I. G.*, V, 2, 323, 20.

¹⁴ *Z. f. N.*, 1874, pp. 121 ff.

others. Babelon, dealing with the same coins,¹⁵ considered that those with * were generally earlier than those with X, and the style of the few specimens seen tends to confirm this opinion. Imhoof-Blumer observed that both the X and the latest of the three signs could easily be derived from *. Few will doubt that the third was simply the Eastern *psi* taken over, but Imhoof-Blumer's remark is none the less valid and doubtless accounts correctly for the X on these coins; *, though simple in origin, was somewhat clumsy and complicated in appearance, inviting modification; and perhaps the situation in Psophis was such for a time that neither the Western *xi* nor the Eastern *chi* was familiar.¹⁶

It is now suggested that the course of events was much the same three or four centuries earlier. A man then wished to add two letters, an aspirated labial and an aspirated palatal, to the original Greek alphabet. The simplest and most obvious forms that he could think of were a circle and a cross; but neither was available, the circle being already used for *o* and the cross for *tau*; therefore he added a single straight line to each, and thus arrived at Φ for *phi* and * for *chi*. Φ is still in use, but * was found unsatisfactory, as later at Psophis. In the Blue alphabets it was simplified to X as later at Psophis; the *tau* had undergone change and was no longer an obstacle. In the Red alphabets * was reduced to Ψ ; possibly the original *tau* lasted longer there, as suggested by Hammarström, but this supposition is not necessary; Ψ is a simple linear design, almost as obvious as X and as easily derived from *.

In the East, when later a letter *psi* was found desirable, Ψ was used for it, but not because this sign was known to be used for

¹⁵ *Traité*, I (1907), p. 873, pl. 38, nos. 23-29; II (1926 or later), p. 615, pl. 226, nos. 1-7. In the earlier passage, Babelon says that * occurs in a considerable number of alphabets; this slip was caused by a poorly worded sentence in Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. "Alphabetum," col. 201. Forrer (*Weber Collection*, II [1924], pp. 50 f., pl. 158, nos. 4330-1) places two specimens with * "before 471"; Grose (*Fitzwilliam Museum, Greek Coins*, II [1926], p. 478) dates two of them about 460.

¹⁶ It seems that \bar{X} was sometimes used for *psi* in the West. Hammarström has suggested (*Gnomon*, 1931, pp. 92-4) that both this form and * are "Differenzierungen aus χ [as] *xi*." Certainly both are based on a pair of crossing lines, but Western *xi* probably figured in the matter only as preventing the use of the simple cross.

chi in the West; in all probability this was not known to the inventor. It might be borrowed from a non-Greek alphabet, Carian or Lycian, which would have received it earlier from a Red Greek source; where the languages are different, it matters little whether the sound is the same. Or the inventor of *psi* could very well have devised the sign without suggestion from any source, since one could hardly imagine a more obvious design that was not already in use.

Formerly it was often thought that the form of a new letter must be derived from that of some other letter, and ingenious theories were developed that belong to psychology or even psychoanalysis rather than to historical study. It may be hoped that this attitude is permanently out of fashion; at any rate it has been well argued by Bauer¹⁷ and Gelb¹⁸ that the forms of new letters are likely to be freely invented.

II.

The Greek alphabet is not a major topic in Gelb's brilliant book, hence his discussion of it is brief and his citations few; yet there are some points that may give pause to students of Greek epigraphy. In the first place,¹⁹ he mentions two inscribed sherds from Corinth as belonging to the eighth or seventh century; but very few would now regard these pieces as particularly early; and Carpenter's remarks²⁰ surely should be cited in any mention of them.

On p. 182 Gelb writes: "I should rather favor the idea that the oldest Greek writing expressed the vowels in the same unsystematic fashion as did the Semitic, and that the full vocalic system was only gradually developed and systematized. Nothing would surprise me less than the discovery of early Greek inscriptions from the ninth century B. C., which would either not indicate any vowels at all or would indicate them only rarely in the manner of the Semitic *matres lectionis*."

The use of *upsilon* is significant in this connection. The Semitic *waw*, corresponding to the Greek *digamma*, was some-

¹⁷ *Der Ursprung des Alphabets (Der alte Orient, XXXVI [1937])*.

¹⁸ *A Study of Writing (1952)*, pp. 139 f., 143-6.

¹⁹ Pp. 17 f., with reference to *A. J. A.*, 1933, p. 605.

²⁰ *A. J. A.*, 1938, pp. 58-61.

times used to express a vowel; and one would expect that *digamma* would be employed in the same way if the situation as regards vowels were similar in Semitic and in Greek. Instead, *digamma* was used only as a consonant, and a wholly distinct sign (which may or may not be connected in form with *waw*) was added to the alphabet as a vowel. It seems clear that, when this took place, there was a recognized need for a full-fledged vowel; the stage of *matres lectionis* was past.

It may indeed be questioned whether *upsilon* existed in the original Greek alphabet; but the general supposition to that effect is very reasonable, since existing inscriptions and abecedaries afford no hint of an alphabet without the letter. At all events, it may be taken as certain that there was no Greek alphabet without *omicron*, which corresponds in form to the Phoenician *ayin*. It appears (Gelb, pp. 167 f.) that *ayin* is not known to have been used as a quasi-vowel in Phoenician of any early period. There are a few possible examples of such use in the Ugaritic writing, but Gelb considers them doubtful and, anyhow, regards the regular Phoenician as the only ancestor of the Greek alphabet (p. 178). *Ayin* in its proper character has no place in Greek writing, since the sound denoted by it did not exist in Greek, and *omicron* must have been a vowel from the first, and only a vowel; even its name is altogether new. *Aleph*, *he*, and *iodh* kept their names, approximately, in accordance with the fact that they were already, more or less, vowels; and it would not be unreasonable, if these three were considered by themselves, to suppose that they were transferred from Phoenician to Greek without abrupt change in use. However, it will hardly be maintained that the original Greek alphabet had one or two, and no more, letters that were definitely and solely vowels.

But was there really an original Greek alphabet? Gelb (p. 180) writes that, in view of the variation of letter-forms in early inscriptions, "one may assume that the borrowing and adaptation of the Phoenician writing took place independently in the various areas of the Greek world." Similarly, Taylor long ago²¹ assumed three Phoenician colonies in Greece, in which different Greek alphabets originated. Now all known epichoric alphabets

²¹ *The Alphabet*, II, pp. 67 f.

have *omicron* and *upsilon*, as noted above, and without significant variation in form. Early *iota* is much the same everywhere, and distinctly unlike the Phoenician *iodh* in any known inscription. The same is true of *san*, if it is not merely a reoriented *sigma*,²² and in considerable degree of *digamma*. In view of these instances of uniformity, it seems likely that the variation in other forms arose from differentiation and modification, as hitherto supposed, and not from plural origin. It is significant that the letter showing widest variation is *beta*, an uncommon letter of which the proper form would easily be lost. If the differences in letters resulted from independent origins, we should expect to find them especially in the more important letters, in which the differing forms would be firmly established by frequent use.

It is doubtless possible to overemphasize the abruptness of the invention. It may well be that various Greeks had some acquaintance with Phoenician writing, and used it for notations of one sort or another, before the Greek alphabet existed.²³ And afterward there were certainly distinct steps taken by individuals, of which the addition of *phi* and *chi* is only the most clearly seen, as well as gradual development. But the epoch-making invention remains.

Gelb places the origin or origins of the Greek alphabet in the ninth century, chiefly from the forms of *delta*, *kappa*, and *mu*. Here he is in substantial agreement with Day,²⁴ Driver,²⁵ Margit Falkner,²⁶ and Albright;²⁷ so also N. G. L. Hammond,²⁸ without discussion; though Rehm prefers the tenth century to the ninth,²⁹ and the late eighth century still has its advocates.³⁰ A consideration of the three letters, to which *alpha* and *eta* might be added, surely does indicate the ninth century; indeed *kappa*

²² Carpenter, *A. J. A.*, 1945, p. 457.

²³ Cf. Obermann, *A. J. A.*, 1950, p. 96.

²⁴ *C. W.*, XXVIII (1934), pp. 73 ff.

²⁵ *Semitic Writing* (1948), p. 176.

²⁶ *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft*, I (1948), pp. 110-33, especially 110-15.

²⁷ *A. J. A.*, 1950, pp. 162 ff. (ca. 800).

²⁸ *J. H. S.*, 1950, p. 64.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

³⁰ Cf. Dow, *A. J. A.*, 1954, pp. 81, 126.

alone could be held to indicate that date; but there is a fundamental uncertainty in the matter. Since early Phoenician inscriptions are few,³¹ possible Phoenician forms are not adequately known; since Greek inscriptions which, according to any view, represent the first half-century of the alphabet, are still fewer, the earliest Greek forms are not adequately known. The Greek alphabet was probably devised by one Greek, who may well have derived his knowledge of Phoenician writing from one Phoenician; it is not at all a safe assumption that the borrowed characters represent the predominant style of any period or region. The uncertainty is emphasized by the fact already noted, that several Greek letters, as known from existing inscriptions, do not correspond even moderately well to any known Phoenician prototypes. In these circumstances one will be chary of precise or confident dating. However, it seems that the first Greek forms of *alpha*³² and *tau* are virtually unrepresented in existing inscriptions; for changes in these, along with other developments, a considerable period would reasonably be assumed; and thus it is desirable to push the origin of the alphabet as far back as possible. That would mean, in the present state of Semitic studies, the tenth century B. C., since it seems now to be agreed that the sarcophagus of Ahiiram belongs to about 1000 B. C. (Gelb, p. 275, n. 24).

In the foregoing discussion it is assumed, and considered to present little difficulty, that the Greek alphabet is substantially earlier than any known Greek inscription. Objections to this are sometimes expressed, but seem thoughtless. In the first place, as Wace has emphasized,³³ no mainland site belonging primarily to the "dark period" has been excavated; perhaps such a site would yield inscriptions, though one would hardly

³¹ Facsimiles of the extensive Phoenician inscriptions found at Karatepe are published in *Belleten*, 1953, pp. 143 ff.; a general account of the discoveries there in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, series 5, no. 9 (1950), with bibliography; cf. also *Archaeology*, 1949, pp. 177-80. A date in the eighth century appears to be established. The new material does not much change the situation as regards letter-forms and certainly does not strengthen the case for the eighth century origin of the Greek alphabet. *Heth*, *resh*, and *mem* in many of its occurrences are notably poor ancestors for the corresponding Greek letters.

³² Cf. *C. P.*, 1941, p. 419.

³³ *C. W.*, 1954, pp. 154 f.

have great expectations. More important is the question of materials. Wood,³⁴ wax, and papyrus could be used long and copiously without leaving a trace. In general, Greek inscriptions are on well-cut stone. Before the seventh century, the Greeks seldom used stone for anything except foundations, and it would be remarkable if they should use it for writing. The other permanent material on which writing is found is baked clay. If any inscribed tablets from the "dark period" turn up, they will probably belong to the end of Script B, not to the beginning of alphabetic Greek. On pottery of the ninth century, we would hardly find inscriptions of any of the kinds common on Attic red-figure. In short, the only early inscriptions that could be expected would be dedications, like those found by Blegen on Mt. Hymettos,³⁵ or scribbles. Neither class is so common in later times that one need be puzzled by its early absence. Both would imply a quite general use of writing; and it is entirely reasonable that the alphabet should have been known a long time before literacy extended to such people as the smutty boys in Thera.³⁶ One may consider also how few evidences of literacy, outside of cemeteries, would exist a thousand years after the abandonment of many an American town. But the matter loses all point when one reflects that there is still, according to last reports,³⁷ a period of some 400 years in Cyprus from which no inscriptions are known, though it is accepted that there is continuity between the writing preceding the gap and that which follows it. Of course, something may be found to occupy the gap, as something may be found in Greece.

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³⁴ Myres (*Man*, no. 63 [1942]) makes out a case for the frequent use of wood for writing.

³⁵ *Supra*, note 11.

³⁶ *I. G.*, XII, 3, nos. 536-9.

³⁷ *A. J. A.*, 1954, p. 112. 1150-700 equals 350 years?

PENATIBUS ET MAGNIS DIS.

The phrase *penatibus et magnis dis* appears twice in the *Aeneid* of Vergil. Its first occurrence is at the beginning of book III. Aeneas, in the midst of his narrative to Dido, describes the departure from Troy: ¹

vix prima inceperat aestas
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat,
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.

The second appearance of the phrase is in book VIII, in the description of the shield of Aeneas, on which Augustus is portrayed in the midst of the battle of Actium: ²

in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque penatibus et magnis dis.

There is certainly no problem in the fact that Vergil repeats himself. Repetitious phraseology is common enough in Vergil ³ and has ample precedent in epic poetry beginning with Homer. But the phrase *penatibus et magnis dis* of itself is a curiosity in at least two respects. In the first place the precise meaning of the phrase has given trouble to commentators from at least the time of Servius: ⁴ viz., are the penates and great gods one or distinct? On this there was no agreement even in antiquity and at the moment it seems to be incapable of solution. We will consider this problem only in so far as it may have bearing on the second, for the moment casting our lot with the unitarians. ⁵

The second problem surrounding the phrase is that of source, and with this the present paper is primarily concerned. The

¹ Lines 8-12.

² Lines 675-9.

³ John Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931), classifies the repetitions as follows: I, unconscious; II, effective; III, inevitable; IV, other (= purpose not obvious). Strangely enough I fail to find the repetition in question discussed in Sparrow's work, although it is listed by his predecessor, E. Albrecht, "Wiederholte Verse und Versteile bei Vergil," *Hermes*, XVI (1881), p. 442.

⁴ See on *Aeneid*, III, 12.

⁵ The identification of the *dei magni* and the penates goes back at least to Cassius Hemina (Peter, *H. R. Rel.*, fr. 6).

phrase is one of extremely peculiar rhythm, creating in each instance a line which is both spondaic and monosyllabic in ending—so peculiar to the Vergilian hexameter that we may well suspect that a phrase from another (and basically unpoetic) context is here being inserted for a particular effect. Monosyllabic endings are rare in Vergil ⁶ and spondaic lines still rarer.⁷ Apart from the examples at hand they appear nowhere together, and the specific inner-metrical scheme -/---/- (*et magnis dis*) at the end of a line appears nowhere else in all of Vergil.⁸

Now both monosyllabic endings and spondaic lines are common enough in the poet Ennius (or at least what is left of him) ⁹ and so it is attractive to impute such metrical peculiarities in Vergil to that source. Certainly this hypothesis is in general a good working one, for we have numerous known instances of adaptation from Ennius by Vergil entailing peculiar rhythms and especially monosyllabic endings.¹⁰ Moreover the words of Seneca seem to favor the practice:¹¹

⁶ Eugene G. O'Neill, Jr., in "Word Accents and Final Syllables in Latin Verse," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXI (1940), pp. 339 ff., lists the "non canonical verse endings" of Vergil and Ovid. Those arrangements entailing monosyllabic endings (I-VIII) total 92 in all of Vergil. See also A. H. Ashcroft, "Vergil's Hexameter Line," *Greece and Rome*, XX (1951), p. 113.

⁷ Only 32 instances in Vergil. See H. W. Johnson, *The Metrical Licenses of Vergil* (Chicago, 1897), pp. 35 ff. Note that at least half of these involve proper names.

⁸ See O'Neill, *loc. cit.*

⁹ In an unpublished dissertation: *Metrical Word-types in the Latin Hexameter* (Johns Hopkins, 1952), pp. 18 ff., Jane F. Barlow computed the occurrences of a monosyllabic word in final position as follows (exclusive of examples of prodelision): Ennius (373 lines), 6.79%; Lucretius I, 3.16%; Catullus LXIV, .28%; *Eclogues*, .53%; *Georgics* I and IV, .60%; Aeneid I, .96%; III, .73%; VI, .70%; XII, .66%. The relatively high percentages in Ennius and Lucretius beside the low percentages in Catullus and Vergil substantiate the observation that after Ennius and Lucretius the Latin poets avoided monosyllabic endings. She also (p. 132) records 9 spondaic lines in the 373 of Ennius. This is again relatively high when we compare 32 such lines in over 12,000 of Vergil (see note 7).

¹⁰ W. H. D. Rouse, "Vergil's Rhythms," *C. R.*, XXXIII (1919), pp. 138-40; C. W. Mendell, "Vergil's Workmanship," *C. J.*, XXXIV (1938), pp. 9-22; cf. C. M. Bowra, "Some Ennian Phrases in the Aeneid," *C. Q.*, XXIII (1929), pp. 65-75.

¹¹ *Apud* Gellius, XII, 2, 10. Cf. Ed. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (Berlin, 1915), p. 153, note 1.

Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam versus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus agnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis.

But can we say with certainty that the origin of our phrase is Ennian? ¹²

The existence of a somewhat similar phrasing in a fragment from Ennius' *Annales* is by no means conclusive. The line comes at the close of a speech by Pyrrhus, whom Ennius represents as magnanimously returning the Roman prisoners taken at Heraeleia with the words: ¹³

dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis.

But when we actually compare *Aeneid*, III, 12:

cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis,

or *Aeneid*, VIII, 679:

cum patribus populoque penatibus et magnis dis,

we can readily see that if this is an adaptation, it is indeed loose—actually corresponding only in the last two words. It seems also quite inappropriate if lines in the *Aeneid* having to do with the mission of Aeneas and the glory of Augustus hark back to such an hour of humiliation and defeat in the *Annales*. It is perhaps of some importance also that the parallel is not mentioned either by Servius, who (in the augmented version) notes some hundred instances of Ennian influence in Vergil, or by Macrobius, who in the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* gives a rather comprehensive list of Vergilian adaptations from Ennius and the other Latin poets.¹⁴ Granted that the rhythm is reminiscent of Ennius, and perhaps intentionally so, if the substance

¹² So Conington (4th ed. of his commentary, ed. Nettleship) on *Aeneid*, III, 12; Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 138; see also note 14 below.

¹³ J. Vahlen, *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*³ (Leipzig, 1928), *Ann.*, line 201.

¹⁴ There is, however, an old scholion preserved by Pomponius (see Wagner's Heyne on *Aeneid*, III, 12) which relates the Vergilian line to Ennius: *Cum sociis: versus est Ennii, et sunt verba Pyrrhi*. As Wagner points out, the gloss certainly refers to the passage from Ennius at hand, but is in essence inaccurate since only the very ends of the lines correspond.

of the hemistich has a traceable source, it must be sought elsewhere.

The key is perhaps to be found in what Servius has to say on *Aeneid*, III, 12 under the lemma PENATIBUS ET MAGNIS DIS. He is discussing the unitarian and separatist theories concerning the penates and great gods:¹⁵

Varro quidem unum esse dicit penates et magnos deos; nam *et* in basi scribebatur MAGNIS DIS. potest tamen hoc pro honore dici; nam dii magni sunt Iuppiter, *Iuno*, Minerva, Mercurius. qui Romae colebantur, penates vero apud Laurolavinium unde apparet non esse unum.

What is germane here is that Varro, in order to support a contention that the penates and *dei magni* were one, pointed to an inscription on a statue base, obviously of the penates and in all probability their cult statue in the *aedes deum penatum* in Rome.¹⁶ This temple, an important center for the worship of the *Penates Publici*, the state cult, was located on the Velia and is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁷ as a small shrine not far from the Forum on a short street leading to the Carinae.¹⁸ It is generally, and without doubt correctly, assumed that the inscription mentioned by Varro appeared on the base of the cult statue in this shrine.

The offhand and probably much abbreviated quotation from Varro—that the words MAGNIS DIS appeared here—would give us very little to go on; but fortunately Dionysius also mentions the inscription:¹⁹

¹⁵ The italics indicate the *Scholia Danielis* as in Thilo's edition.

¹⁶ See St. Weinstock in *R.-E.*, s. v. *Penates*, col. 449; also Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* (München, 1904), IV, "Die Überlieferung über die römischen Penaten" (= *Hermes*, XXII [1887], pp. 29-57), p. 99, note 2; cf. *Religion u. Kultus*², pp. 165 f.

¹⁷ I, 68.

¹⁸ The temple, and of course the statue itself, have long since passed out of existence, but according to one theory part of the enclosure wall of the ancient temple is observable in the structure of the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian. See Platner-Ashby, *Topog. Dict.*, s. v.; E. B. Van Deman, "The Neronian Sacra Via," *A. J. A.*, XXVII (1923), p. 414, and "The Sacra Via of Nero," *M. A. A. R.*, V (1925), p. 120 and pl. 62, xvi; P. B. Whitehead, "The Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano," *A. J. A.*, XXXI (1927), pp. 11 ff.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ (i. e. the Velia temple) καίονται τῶν Τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, ὡς ἅπασιν ὁρᾶν θέμις,²⁰ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαι δηλοῦσαν τοὺς Πενάτας. εἰσὶ δὲ νεανίαι δύο καθήμενοι δόρατα διειληφότες, κτλ.

This passage supplies us with two welcome bits of information: (1) somewhat more of the inscription which Dionysius himself saw,²¹ and (2) a full description of the cult statue. Concerning the inscription which we know from Varro to have contained the words *MAGNIS DIS*, Dionysius indicates that it also made clear that the images were those of the penates. This would mean that, as we might have expected, *MAGNIS DIS* was not the full inscription.²² Of the missing portion we can be certain of at least one word: *PENATES*, probably in a case parallel to *MAGNIS DIS*, i. e. *PENATIBUS*.²³ Now this is very close to the text of the *Aeneid* and we may well wonder if Vergil has not reproduced the wording of the inscription in *Aeneid*, III, 12 and VIII, 679.

About the cult statue in the Velia temple there can be no doubt: it represented two seated youths in military garb whom Dionysius, guided by the full inscription, associates with the great gods of the Samothracians (*hoi megaloi theoi*), long identified with the Dioscuri and Cabiri. But how did the great gods of the Samothracians and the Roman penates, traditionally brought by Aeneas from Troy, become associated? Dionysius, whose ultimate source for the story is Varro, explained it in the following way:²⁴

²⁰ Ambrosch's conjecture that *θέμις* conceals an original ΔΙΣ ΜΑΓΝΙΣ (see E. Cary's text and translation [Loeb, 1937], I, p. 222, note 6), quoting the inscription exactly, is a bit far fetched.

²¹ That Dionysius had seen the inscription and knew its contents is clear from the beginning of the chapter: "Α δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι, κτλ.

²² It is very probable that Varro originally quoted more of the inscription but his comment appears much abbreviated in Servius.

²³ See Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 223, note 2. Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 99, suggests for the full inscription: *Magnis dis penatibus p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) sacrom*; cf. Th. Mommsen, "Das Augustische Festverzeichnis von Cumae," *Hermes*, XVII (1882), p. 635 (= *C.I.L.*, X, 8375, line 13).

²⁴ He cites as authorities for this story Callistratus, Satyros, and Aretinus but cf. Macrobius, III, 4, 7 and Servius Danielis on *Aen.*, I, 378; III, 12, 148. See also Weinstock, *op. cit.*, cols. 453 f.; Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.*, IV, pp. 107 ff.; J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942), pp. 27-30.

When Dardanus took to wife Chrysë in Arcadia, she brought with her as dowery the gifts of Athena, the Palladia and sacred objects. Later, at the time of a great flood, the Arcadians migrated to Samothrace and established their gods there. A subsequent migration was conducted into Asia Minor and the Palladia and symbols came to reside in a temple at Troy. Thus they become the sacred objects which Aeneas brought to Italy and are to be identified with the penates.

Now this is obviously rationalizing after the fact, a Varronian attempt to reconcile two opposing traditions: a Trojan and a Samothracian origin for the Roman penates.²⁵

The Trojan origin is well known from the repeated treatment of the theme by the Roman annalists and writers of national epic, but what of the connection with the Samothracian deities? Weinstock in his article on the penates in the *Real-Encyclopaedie*²⁶ has noted that a good many of the Republican families which are known to have had any ties with the Velia shrine came originally from Tusculum, major seat in Latium for the worship of the Dioscuri, its patron deities. This is particularly true of the moneyers of the first century B. C. who put out coins stamped with the double head of the twin Dioscuri, labelled *P(enates)* *P(ublici)* or *Dei Penates*,²⁷ obviously calling to mind the form which these deities assumed in the cult statue of the Velia temple. The strong possibility is thus presented that the Velia shrine was founded from Tusculum by the ancestors of these moneyers and was originally a shrine rather of the Dioscuri, who subsequently came to be associated with the Roman penates. It is probably impossible to determine the precise circumstances of the conflation of the two cults, though in all probability a common epithet such as the "great gods" led first to popular con-

²⁵ Wissowa, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Cols. 449-50; cf. J.-A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. *Penates*, p. 379.

²⁷ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République romaine* (Paris, 1885), I, p. 155, no. 2 and pp. 502 ff.; II, pp. 470 f. Cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.* and H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), I, Mn. Fonteius: pp. 192 (and note 2)-195; C. Sulpicius: pp. 202 (and note 2)-203; C. Antius C. F. Restio: p. 522 (and note 2 on p. 221); Mn. Cordius Rufus: pp. 523 (and note 2)-524; L. Servius Rufus: p. 566 (and note 2). See also III, pls. XXX, 16-18; XXXI, 4; LI, 7, 11, 12; LV, 14, 15. All of these men have connections either with Tusculum or Lavinium.

fusion and later to formal amalgamation. This much, however, is certain: this conflation had already occurred by the end of the third century B. C., for by that time the shrine is known as the *aedes deum penatium*.²⁸

At any rate the temple could never have been an important shrine of the Dioscuri, who were worshipped at Rome principally at the temple of Castor and Pollux (of both greater size and antiquity) in the Forum. In its original state, as a shrine of the Tusculan Dioscuri at Rome, it must have been comparatively obscure, more of the nature of a private cult and hence more likely to be absorbed by another. The worship of the two sets of divinities, the Dioscuri and the penates, may have existed on a par for a time, but with the growing popularity of the Aeneas legend in the third and second centuries B. C.²⁹ (paralleling Rome's political expansion into the Greek world) the original aspect of the shrine must have been to a great extent eclipsed by the greater national significance the penates now assumed. In line with this development the Velia temple, being the only separate public shrine of the penates in Rome, became particularly associated with the penates cult as founded by Aeneas at Lavinium³⁰ and hence the juxtaposition of two conflicting traditions which Varro attempted to reconcile. In any event the cult statue, of some antiquity in Vergil's and Dionysius' time although scarcely dating back to the original founding, continued to represent the deities as the twins and designate them in the inscription not only as the penates but as the *dei magni*.

The shrine as one of the *penates publici* seems to have assumed a special importance in the Augustan era, and significantly enough became closely associated with the emperor himself. Augustus in his *Res Gestae*³¹ expresses some pride in the fact that he had restored the Velia temple and a very graphic repre-

²⁸ Varro tells us that it was one of the 27 shrines of the Argei, *De Ling. Lat.*, V, 54 and cf. 45. On the date see Wissowa in *R.-E.*, s. v. *Argei*, cols. 695 ff.; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 98-101; cf. L. Clerici, "Die Argei," *Hermes*, LXXVII (1942), pp. 89-100.

²⁹ Cf. Perret, *op. cit.*, but his late date (ca. 281 B. C.) for the introduction of the legend of the Trojan origin of Rome cannot be accepted.

³⁰ See J.-A. Hild, *loc. cit.*, note 10.

³¹ Sections 19 and 36.

sentation of the shrine is to be found on one of the sculptured panels of the *Ara Pacis*.³² The scene there is one of Aeneas sacrificing the sow, and in the background can be seen the temple with the deities as Castor and Pollux, two male figures seated within holding spears, precisely as described by Dionysius.³³ In all of this there were of course strong overtones of Augustus' general program of tacit identification of his own personal deities, in this case the household gods, with those of the state.

Now, I submit, this doubly close relationship between Augustus and the Velia shrine and the close similarity between the inscription on the base of the cult statue and the text of Vergil is no coincidence, but rather the whole seems to fit into a logical pattern. The subtle identification of the personal deities of Augustus with those of the state is well known. We know to what extent the propagandizing of this was aided and abetted by the glorious past of the Julian *gens* which traced its ancestry, in Mayflower Society fashion, back to Aeneas himself, traditional founder of the penates cult in Italy. We learn from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* that Augustus refurbished the ancient temple of the penates on the Velia in Rome. On the Altar of Peace we see Aeneas sacrificing before this very temple. Within stands the cult statue of the penates as the Dioscuri (alias Samothracian deities,³⁴ alias *dei magni*) precisely as described by Dionysius. From Varro (*apud* Servius) we know that the inscription on the statue base contained the words MAGNIS DIS; from Dionysius we can add PENATIBUS.³⁵ Can there be any doubt that Vergil, paying homage to Augustus, is

³² J. Sieveking, "Zur Ara Pacis Augustae," *J.O.A.I.*, X (1907), pp. 186-8; G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome, 1948), pp. 24 f. and 46, pls. B, C and XV; I. Scott Ryberg, "The Procession of the Ara Pacis," *M.A.A.R.*, XIX (1949), pp. 80 ff. and figure 1 (read "sow" for "cow").

³³ See above, pp. 41-2.

³⁴ The Samothracian deities, the *Megaloi Theoi*, the Cabiri, and the Dioscuri had early become associated. See B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala, 1950), p. 28, who indicates that this occurred by the time of the great period of Greek colonization.

³⁵ The inscription could have appeared as *Penatibus/Magnis Dis* on one face of the statue base (cf. Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 3514: *Bonae Deae/Hygiae*) or consecutively on different faces (cf. *I.L.S.*, 3270: *Dianae/Tifatinae/Triviae/sacrum*—on four faces).

quoting verbatim or at the very least paraphrasing this inscription as closely as even a tortured meter will allow when he writes *penatibus et magnis dis?*³⁶

In *Aeneid*, III, 12, considered by itself, praise of Augustus is admittedly subtle, even if we recognize a close allegorical relationship between Aeneas and Augustus;³⁷ but in the repetition in *Aeneid*, VIII, 679 it is unmistakable. The significance of the repetition is clear enough.³⁸ Augustus on the shield of Aeneas in the midst of glory at Actium is described:

cum patribus populoque penatibus et magnis dis,

exactly as Aeneas was described upon his departure from Troy:

cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.

Even the variation is significant, the implication being that the *patres* and the *populus* stand in the precise relationship respectively to Augustus as the *socii*³⁹ and the *natus*⁴⁰ to Aeneas. Thus the two lines stand remote from one another in the poem, but framing as it were the two dominant themes of the epic: the wandering of Aeneas and the future greatness of Rome.

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³⁶ There are many examples of dedications to two or more groups of deities joined by *et* which are not mutually exclusive [cf. *I. L. S.*, 3022: *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) depulsori et diis deabusque omnibus et Genio loci*, etc.; 3283: *Neptuno et dis aquatilib(us)*, etc.]—and even different aspects of the same deity [cf. *I. L. S.*, 4296: *I. o. m. D(olicheno) et I. o. m. H(eliopolitano)*, etc.].

³⁷ D. L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1927).

³⁸ See W. W. Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 111 ff.; J. R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland," *C. R.*, LIII (1939), pp. 101 ff. See also J. Perret, *Vergile l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris, 1952), pp. 103 f.

³⁹ Reflected in the title *princeps senatus* (i.e. *primus inter pares*) assumed by Augustus in the census of 28 B. C. (*Mon. Anc.*, 7; Dio, LIII, 1, 3).

⁴⁰ Cf. the title *pater patriae*, not bestowed officially until 2 B. C. (*Mon. Anc.*, 35; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 58; cf. Dio, LV, 10, 10).

CATULLUS, *CARMEN* V: ABACUS OR
FINGER-COUNTING?

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus, rumoresque senum severiorum omnes unius aestimemus assis (A). | 3 |
| | |
| da mi basia mille (B), deinde centum (C), dein mille altera, dein secunda centum, deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum. dein, cum milia multa fecerimus, conturbabimus illa (D), ne sciamus, aut ne quis malus invidere possit (E), cum tantum sciet esse basiorum. | 7 10 |

(The letters A-E indicate points at which it is proposed to interpolate finger-signs as "stage-directions.")

Harry L. Levy has cleverly and usefully observed that the calculation of the successive thousands and hundreds of kisses might be pictured as if performed on an abacus, and then the phrase *conturbabimus illa* would mean that the poet intends to confuse the reckoning by dashing the counters off the board.¹ Once this forward step has been taken in the elucidation of the poem it might seem inevitable that sooner or later someone should suggest, as I now venture to do, that the assumption of finger-reckoning is preferable to that of the abacus. The present note, however, is not prompted by an ungracious wish merely to disagree with Professor Levy, but rather by the belief that the alternative interpretation will serve to explain all that his theory does and two more points which it cannot. In general, finger-reckoning has the advantage that it is intimately related to the language of gesture, so that it can convey various secondary, non-arithmetical meanings, and two such expressive gestures would be appropriate in this poem.

How are we to visualize the scene? It would destroy Catullus' apostrophe to picture him seated alone in a study or counting-

¹ See Harry L. Levy, "Catullus V, 7-11 and the Abacus," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 222-4. His view is endorsed by J. H. Turner, *C. J.*, XLVII (1951), p. 74.

house, and it would be incongruous to think of a Roman poet and his mistress using an abacus together, for this was a banal, tradesmanlike apparatus which no gallant would have been likely to carry about with him. The lover's proper implements were, in somewhat fanciful terms, a lyre, a bow, a torch, or a "portal-bursting bar" (Horace, *Odes*, III, 26)—but hardly an adding-machine. But the lover's fingers were always with him, and the art of calculating on them was considered essential for any moderately educated person.²

Now for the "thousands" (B) and the "hundreds" (C). The number 1,000 was formed simply by bending the little finger of the right hand toward the palm. See Bede Venerabilis, *De computo vel loquela digitorum*, 5: *Item mille in dextera* (sc. manu), *quomodo unum in laeva*; *ibid.*, 3: *Cum ergo dicis unum, minimum in laeva digitum inflectens in mediae palmae artum infiges*.³ The number 100 was formed with the right hand, like 10 with the left, by placing the nail of the forefinger against the middle joint of the thumb. See Bede, *op. cit.*, 5: *Centum vero in dextera* (sc. manu), *quomodo decem in laeva, facies*; *ibid.*, 4: *Cum dicis decem, unguem indicis in medio figes artu pollicis*. According to Jerome, this circling of the forefinger to form 100 also signified *corona virginitatis*,⁴ but of course it would be

² See Quintilian, I, 10, 35: *Numerorum quidem notitia non oratori modo sed cuicumque saltem primis litteris erudito necessaria est. In causis vero frequentissime versari solet: in quibus actor, non dico si circa summas trepidat, sed si digitorum saltem incerto aut indecoro gestu a computatione dissentit, iudicatur indoctus*. It is true that skill in the art was sometimes thought characteristic of money-lenders or misers; see Seneca, *De Ira*, III, 33, *Epist.* 88, 10, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.*, IV, 92, and several other texts collected by Carl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 253 and note 1. But even a Roman emperor did not scorn to use the art in public (Sueton., *Claudius*, 21), and a mere reckoning of round thousands and hundreds would have been an amateur's performance, not requiring a skill developed to a professional or ungentlemanly degree.

³ Bede's brief treatise, the *locus classicus* for the subject, is conveniently edited and annotated by Sittl, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-62. The tract is actually a portion of Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* (*ad init.*), but it was often copied in separate manuscripts. Turner's discussion, *O. J.*, XLVII (1951), pp. 65-9, includes a plate and an excellent bibliography.

⁴ Hieronymus, *Epist.* 48, 2 (Migne, *P. L.*, XXII, col. 495); cf. *Epist.* 123, 9 (*P. L.*, XXII, col. 1052). The first passage is quoted by Bede, *op. cit.*, 2.

injudicious to infer that when Catullus made that sign he wished to express some such secondary meaning, because "a hundred" was an obvious choice of number. Yet the possibility remains that there was a more or less felicitous coincidence between this obvious number and its incidental significance.⁵

May we not supply another finger-sign at A, where "one as" is the value set on the gossip of overly stern elders? A gesture meaning *Unius assis facio* (i. e., *Non flocci facio*) would have been highly suitable. As shown above in connection with 1,000, the sign for "one" was made by bending the little finger of the left hand, and this may have had some contemptuous meaning besides, though the evidence is admittedly too exiguous for proof.⁶

Probably at D the finger-computation changed into a gesture

⁵ In Apuleius, *Met.*, IV, 28, Psyche's admirers make a very similar sign when they kiss their hands to her, adoring her just as if she were the goddess Venus: . . . *admoventes oribus suis dexteram primore digito in erectum pollicem residente eam ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis venerabantur adorationibus*. Was this a compliment to Psyche's radiant virginity? She is described as *Venus alia virginali flore praedita*. May the sign have meant also that each admirer sent her a hundred kisses? (*Apologia*, 89 shows that Apuleius was conversant with finger-reckoning.) Did Catullus, by analogy, kiss his hand to Lesbia whenever he formed the numerical signs with it? These, as we have seen, were all made with the right hand, a circumstance in keeping with Pliny, *H. N.*, XXVIII, 25: *In adorando dextram ad osculum referimus*. There would have been a Mediterranean vivacity in dispatching a thousand or a hundred kisses with one graceful kiss of the hand.

Though this seems an attractive theory, it cannot be proved, and it is not essential to the main argument. Two possible objections can be anticipated: (1) The phrase *primore digito* may mean simply "with the tip of the finger," and not necessarily "with the forefinger"; (2) handkissing may be too courtly for the intimate scene of *Carmen V*.

⁶ Sittl, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7: "Unter den Fingern ist der Kleinste zu einer beleidigenden Herausforderung dienlich; denn der Herausfordernde will sagen: 'Mein kleiner Finger allein nimmt es mit dir auf'." He cites Horace, *Sat.*, I, 4, 14: *Crispinus minimo me provocat*, explained by Porphyrio as *minimo me digito provocat*; but some modern editors interpret differently. The value of the scholium on Aristophanes, *Pax*, 548 (ἐταν, βουλόμενοι ἐφύβρισαι τινά, τὸν μικρὸν [leg. μέσον] δάκτυλον ἐντείλοντες δέλωσιν αὐτῷ . . .) is impaired by the variant μέσον, which would refer to a familiar *gestus impudicus* (cf. Martial, *Ep.*, VI, 70). The *Suda*, s. v. Ἐσκιμάλισεν, weighs in favor of μέσον.

which "confounded the reckoning," and this changed at E into an apotropaic gesture designed to avert *invidia* or the evil eye. Several of the editors remark (at line 12) that this could have been accomplished by spitting. Yet here a gesture is much to be preferred, and it is easy to show that in antiquity a finger-calculation sometimes shifted to an indecent finger-sign which in magic was just as effective as expectoration. For example, in Martial, *Ep.*, VI, 70, the number 62, formed with the left hand, leaves the middle finger extended in an insulting fashion.⁷ And I should like to call attention to a curious Greek text which applies to the situation in Catullus because it involves a calculation of thousands and hundreds with the right hand.⁸ The unknown writer tells of two dreams, first one of his own, and then one reported to him by an acquaintance. The latter had once sent his son to raise or collect a sum of money. While the youth was still abroad his father dreamt that he returned and said that he was bringing the sum of 3,800 *nomismata*. Consulting an expert in oniromancy, he learned that his son would really come back empty-handed; and so it came to pass, first, because dreams go by contraries,⁹ and secondly, because the finger-signs for 3,800 also signify "nothing." The only explanation known to me is that of Reiff,¹⁰ who shows by means of sketches that this calculation would result in the sign known in Italy as "*La fica*." This *gestus impudicus* is quite well known,¹¹ but it seems not wholly certain that it could also mean "nothing"; at least, Bede gives no finger-sign for "nothing," and specialists tell us that there was no symbol for zero in ancient numerical notation. Yet the relation would have this much in its favor, that ἐξουδενούv and kindred words express both nullity and scorn.¹²

As for D, I submit that if a *conturbatio rationum* can be sym-

⁷ This is correctly explained by Turner, *loc. cit.* in note 1, *supra*.

⁸ An interpolation in codices L and V of Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oniromantica*, at II, 59; see the *apparatus criticus* in R. Hercher's edition (Leipzig, 1864), p. 155.

⁹ Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, I, 18, 2: *Refert tamen, eventura soleas an contraria somniare.*

¹⁰ See Joannes G. Reiff, *Artemidori Oneiromantica* (Leipzig, 1805, with additional notes by Rigalt and Reiske), I, p. 400.

¹¹ See Sittl, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and Fig. 7; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* (Berlin, 1910), II, pp. 182-8.

¹² See Sittl, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and note 5.

bolized by dashing the counters on an abacus helter-skelter, it can be represented equally as well by a random wagging of the fingers used in calculating. Finally, at E the fingers can form the gesture which guards against the evil eye.

In summary, the full set of "stage-directions," with doubtful incidentals duly queried, would run as follows:

- A. Some gesture for *Unius assis facio* (= *Non flocci facio*): bending the little finger of the left¹³ hand for "one" (?).
- B-C. The known signs for "thousand" and "hundred" (with an accessory idea of adoration?) formed with the right hand (kissing the hand?).
- D. A gesture for *rationum conturbatio*.
- E. A *gestus impudicus* to avert *invidia*.

This byplay may be restated in more graphic terms. The poet first raises his left hand with the little finger bent (A). Then he raises his right hand with the little finger similarly bent (B), then forms a circle with his right forefinger against his thumb (C). Now he may either repeat B and C a few times at lines 8-9 or else he may total several thousands and hundreds with his right hand. Next he flings his fingers wide (D), and finally (E) he clenches a defiant fist with the thumb protruding.

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¹³ Quintilian, XI, 3, 114, disapproves of gestures made with the left hand alone: *Manus sinistra nunquam sola gestum recte facit*. But he is speaking of oratorical propriety, and Martial's epigram (see *supra*) suffices to show that the rule was not observed in ordinary life.

A NEW ELEUSINIAN TITLE?

Among the discoveries made by K. Kourouniotes in the course of his excavations at Eleusis was that of a marble stele, of which the top and the bottom are lost but both sides are preserved, bearing an inscription, thirty-eight lines of which survive either completely or partially, engraved stoichedon with 32 letters in each line. Its date cannot be exactly determined, but by common consent it is assigned, on historical and epigraphical grounds, to some year near the middle of the fifth century B. C., between 453 and 440. The extant text comprises (a) the closing phrases of a decree (lines 1-6) followed by (b) an amendment proposed by a certain Thespiesius (lines 6-34) and (c) the opening portion of a second amendment, proposed probably by a certain Lysanias (lines 34-8). In 1932 Kourouniotes edited¹ this document, together with a photograph and a full commentary, and its historical, religious, and architectural interest drew the attention of numerous scholars and led to the publication of several discussions.² These were, however, almost wholly concerned with the first amendment, for lines 1-5 were so mutilated or so difficult to decipher that very few words could be read or restored and no continuous sense could be extracted from them. The text was, it is true, presented in an improved form in 1933 by O. Rubensohn,³ who, with the assistance of G. Klaffenbach, studied a squeeze made by W. Peek, but it was not until 1949 that the labours of A. E. Raubitschek and H. T. Wade-Gery provided an almost complete version⁴ of the concluding sentence

¹ *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I (Athens, 1932), pp. 173-89, 268.

² In the bibliography of *S. E. G.*, X, 24 the reference to Accame's article should read "*Riv. Fil.* LXIII 1935"; to it we may add G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.*, LX (1932), pp. 553-4; R. Vallois, *R. E. A.*, XXXV (1933), p. 228; P. Roussel, *R. E. G.*, XLVII (1934), p. 223; R. Fuchs, *Phil. Woch.*, LIV (1934), col. 97; P. E. Arias, *Historia*, VIII (1934), p. 307.

³ *Gnomon*, IX (1933), pp. 428-32. Owing to the accidental or deliberate omission of the two letters surviving in line 1, Rubensohn's text differs in line-numeration from those of Kourouniotes and *S. E. G.*

⁴ *S. E. G.*, X, 24 (where *βολέν* should be read for *βολέν* in line 5, and *φαλεροί* is wrongly accented in lines 27, 33). This text is reprinted,

of the decree (lines 4-6) in the form $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\gamma\acute{o}[\nu]\tau\omicron[\nu]\delta\grave{\epsilon}\hbar[\nu]\alpha\iota$
 $\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\varsigma|\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\theta\epsilon.\sigma.. \iota\nu\omicron\varsigma\hbar\omicron\tau\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}|\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota.$ ⁵ Almost
 complete—but what are the three missing letters?

A possible answer to this question suggested itself to me as I was reading J. H. Oliver's admirable re-edition and discussion⁶ of the dossier relating to an Eleusinian endowment (*I. G.*, II², 1092), which marks a striking advance both in the establishment of the text and in the interpretation of this important document. Oliver wisely leaves out of his reconstructed text "fragment B,"⁷ the exact position of which cannot yet be determined; but he reprints it⁸ and it appears also at the end of *S. E. G.*, XII, 95. This fragment preserves a few letters, varying in number from one to nine and averaging six, in each of twelve lines. In line 9

with insignificant variations, by R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes in their new edition (Oxford, 1951) of G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History*, pp. 296-7, B 41, where the bibliographical references are confined to Kourouniotes' *editio princeps* and *S. E. G.*, X, 24.

⁵ In line 5, which immediately concerns us here, Kourouniotes read only TENBOLE.O≤.T.....O≤.OT, and transcribed ...τὲν βολὴ[ν];, while Rubensohn's text givesτὲν βολὴ(ν).os.τ....¹⁰.....σσ2οτα. Meiggs and Andrewes comment (*loc. cit.*) '1.6(sic):θε[.]σ[.]ι:νος *S. E. G.* x. From a squeeze we can read only .ε....⁶...os (sic).'

⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI (1952), pp. 381-99 (cf. XX [1951], p. 32). In the bibliography (p. 383) "19b" should be read in place of "196" in the reference to Laum's *Stiftungen*. Lines 43-55 appear in N. Turchi, *Fontes historiae mysteriorum aevi hellenistici* (Rome, 1923), No. 80. F. Jacoby quoted (*Atthis*, p. 11, No. 18; cf. p. 242, note 39) eight words from Dragoumes' edition, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1900, cols. 79-80, and Oliver repeated lines 17-18 and 45-54 (col. I) in the epigraphical appendix to his *Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 155-6 (I 37), adding a reference to P. Ehrmann, *De iuris sacri interpretibus Atticis*, IV, 2, and commented on the inscription on pp. 37-43, 73, 101, and 106 of that work. More recently he has repeated, translated, and discussed lines 32-42, the ἀπόφασις ἐπ'ἀρχ[ου], in *The Ruling Power* (= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XLIII [1953], no. 4), pp. 966-8 (cf. pp. 975-6, 980).

⁷ Some confusion may arise from the fact that the "fragment B" of Oliver and *S. E. G.*, XII, 95, is the same as "fragment Z" of Dragoumes, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII (1897), pp. 381-4, and that in *I. G.*, II², 1092, Kirchner, following Dragoumes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1900, cols. 73-86, prints the text in two sections, marked A and B, and incorporates the fragment in section A, lines 5-16, without indicating its exact limits or stating what letter it bore previously.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

we find the letters $\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$, and it was my inability to see the word or words to which they could belong⁹ which drove me back to the $\theta\epsilon.\sigma.\iota\nu\omega\varsigma$ of *S. E. G.*, X, 24, line 5. True, this latter inscription dates from the middle of the fifth century B. C., while *I. G.*, II², 1092 is assigned¹⁰ by Oliver to a date "fairly close to A. D. 165," but in both cases we are concerned with an Athenian decree (in the former passed presumably by the Council and People, in the latter by the Areopagus) and both relate to the Eleusinian sanctuary and cult.

If I am right, we must restore $\theta\epsilon[o]\sigma[\epsilon\sigma]\iota\nu\omega\varsigma$ (if that is the correct accentuation) in *S. E. G.*, X, 24, and $[\theta\epsilon]\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega[\nu]$ ¹¹ in line 9 of "fragment B" of *I. G.*, II², 1092, i. e. in *I. G.*, II², 1092A, line 13, and the question with which we started is answered. But, even so, many other problems still remain. What is the etymology and the significance of the title? What were the duties of the officials so named? Of how many members did the board consist, and how long was their term of office? When was it first appointed, and how? Did it function continuously throughout the six centuries which elapsed between its first and its second appearance in our records, or was it an office which, after falling into desuetude, was revived under the Roman Empire, or was it perhaps an *ad hoc* office, called into being only in special circumstances and for a limited period? To these questions I can offer no answer, and I leave the task to those better qualified, or more adventurous, than myself.

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⁹ Later I realized that $-\delta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ or $-\delta\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ might be the termination of some noun ending in $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$, e. g. $\delta\delta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ or a compound. See Kretschmer-Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, p. 315; Buck-Petersen, *Reverse Index*, p. 591.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

¹¹ I restore the genitive plural rather than the dative singular because in *S. E. G.*, X, 24 the word clearly refers to a body of officials, and the same is probably true also of *I. G.*, II², 1092, where, it may be noted, the first extant letter appears as ω .

THE VOWING OF A *PELANOS*.

Originally an offering of foodstuffs, the *pelanos* was frequently presented in addition to other sacrifice and came to be regarded as a fixed fee for the use of the shrine, either in kind or in money.¹ Could the *pelanos* be vowed? Could it take the form of a votive offering? At first sight this would seem inconsistent with its purpose. Nor are the readings of the two inscriptions bearing on this possibility sufficiently certain to settle the question. I believe, however, that we can find a clearer example of this form of the *pelanos* in a third inscription which has not hitherto been discussed in this connection, and that we can gain an understanding of the circumstances of such dedications. It will be necessary to reexamine the text of this inscription.

In the course of excavations in 1938 in the cave of the Nymphs at Nea Herakleitsa near Kavalla (the ancient Neapolis, on the mainland across from the island of Thasos) G. Bakalakis found two legible fragments of dedications.² The first, on a base, proved the presence of the cult of the Nymphs in the cave. The second, on a limestone stele (*stoichedon*, early IV cent. B. C.), as read by Bakalakis (hereafter referred to as B.), appears on the left, below. To the right I write the text as I propose to read it.

ΑΠΑΥΑ[ΟΞ]
ΣΥΝΗΟΤΑΙ
ΕΥΞΑΜ[Ε]ΝΟΙ
ΠΕΑΑΝ[ΟΙ]
ΜΝΗΜΕΟΝ
ΕΘΗΚΑΝ

ἀπ' Αὐλ[ῶνος]
σύνπεται
εὐξάμ[ε]νοι
πελαγ[οῦ]
μνημεῖον
ἔθηκαν

¹ See P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris, 1950), ch. VIII, the most complete and recent discussion of the *pelanos*. I hesitate, however, to follow him in describing the *pelanos* as comparable to the god's portion in flesh sacrifice or to a *θυσία ἀγευστος* and thus as exclusively the god's. Cf. also L. Ziehen, *R.-E.*, XIX (1938), cols. 246-50, s. v. "Pelasos," but Herodas, 4, 90 f. must refer to a cake, E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951), p. 129.

² G. Bakalakis, "Ανασκαφή ἐν Καβάλα καὶ τοῖς περίῃ," *Praktika*, 1938, pp. 81 ff., especially 94-6.

I do not think it has been noticed that lines 2-6, *σύνποται . . . ἔθηκαν*, form an hexameter,³ ἀπ' Αἰλ[ῶνος] is thus *extra metrum*, as is not uncommonly the case with proper names in metrical dedications and epitaphs.⁴

Line 1. B. supposed that a list of dedicators had been lost above line 1, which he read as Ἀπαυλ[ος], a hitherto unknown personal name, citing Hesychius' gloss ἀπαυλος· ἀπόκοιτος and comparing Ἀποικίας and Ἀποδήμιος. The parallels are weak. Ἀποικίας is not certainly attested,⁵ while Ἀποδήμιος is formed from the familiar ἀπόδημος (cf. ἀποδημία) and probably refers to the absence of the father when the son was born;⁶ by contrast, ἀπαυλος, ἀπαυλία are known only from the lexicographers and used with specialized, though confused, reference to wedding customs.⁷ Further, B. marked the space above line 1 with *vacat*.

³ Participial forms of εὔχεσθαι often in metrical votives, though mostly before IV B.C., W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Munich, 1914), p. 439. For the metrical use of the simplex τιθέναι, cf. *I. G.*, I², 761 *μνῆμα . . . / θέκεν . . .* (altar of Peisistratus, cf. Thuc., VI, 54, 6-7) and, at the end of hexameters, *I. G.*, I², 987, line 1 (sepulchral) and A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), No. 295, line 1 (votive, a new restoration of *I. G.*, I², 631); cf. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁴ E.g., the striking instance on the monument for the Argive dead at Tanagra, Ἀργε[lor], followed by two hexameters, *το[ι]δ' ἔθανον κ. τ. λ.*, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI (1952), pp. 351-5; see also W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechische Epigraphik* (Leipzig, 1907), I, p. 290.

⁵ Philippe Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, III: *Les inscriptions* (Paris, 1870), 2, No. 833, read ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ and he is followed by most later editors (*G. D. I.*, 2517, line 3; *S. I. G.*³, 419; *B. C. H.*, LIII [1929], p. 435; R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* [*Bibliothèque des Écoles fr. d'Athènes et Rome*, Fascicule 143; Paris, 1937], p. 389, No. 9). E. Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica* (Berlin, 1843), No. 40, read ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ; since then the stone seems to have been lost, cf. Pointow, *Jahrbücher f. cl. Philologie*, XL (1894), p. 521. The name Ἀποικος is not historical; he is the heroic "colonizer" of Teos (Paus., VII, 3, 6; Strabo, XIV, p. 633).

⁶ F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917), p. 62. Cf. Ἀ[π]ιονσία, *I. G.*, IX, 1, 652, line 4.

⁷ ἀπαυλία, the bridegroom's sleeping apart, Pollux, III, 39, *Et. Mag.*, 119, 16, Hesych., s. v. (the latter's next gloss, on ἀπαυλος, certainly refers to the same custom; the implications of a variant ἀπαυλος· ἀπόκοπος are, to say the least, inauspicious for a personal name). Cf. Deubner, *J. D. A. I.*, XV (1900), pp. 144 ff., *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XVI (1913), pp. 631-2.

It is improbable that the last name of a list was separated by a greater space from its fellows than from the metrical dedication which followed, while an isolated personal name would make no sense here. (It must be said, however, that it is not apparent from the photograph of the squeeze, fig. 14, in his article that there is a greater space above line 1 than between the other lines.) The proposed Αἰλῶν is the name of a place between the Bolbaean lake and the sea, some 65 km. west of the cave and clearly located by its descriptive name. It may be identical with the later Arethusa.⁸ The possibility of a list of personal names preceding the place name is not excluded. A cult group of symposiasts from Aulon might well be in the habit of making excursions to the cave of the Nymphs, or, perhaps, stopping there on their way between Aulon and Thasos, Abdera, and points east.

Line 2. σύνποται. There is no need to see a connection with Dionysus, as B. supposed; we now know of *sympotai* of Artemis from a mountain site in the Argolid.⁹ We have to do with an independent cult association, probably paying regular visits and holding banquets at this isolated shrine. The fact that the dedicators are an organization and the isolation and unpretentiousness of the cave combine to suggest that there was no cult personnel attached to the sanctuary.

Lines 3-5. In preference to B.'s πελαν[ῶι], for with εἵχεσθαι a dative regularly designates the deity to whom a vow has been made, restore either πελαν[οῦ] or πελαν[όν]. The sense is much the same in either case: with πελαν[οῦ], "the *sympotai* vowed and dedicated a memorial of the *pelanos*"; with πελαν[όν], "the

⁸ Thuc., IV, 103, 1; Strabo, VII, p. 331, fr. 36; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (London, 1835), III, pp. 170-1; *R.-E.*, II, col. 2414, s. v. "Aulon," No. 8. The gorge is now the Bogaz Rendinas near the village of Rendina, Grèce ("Les Guides Bleus," Paris, 1953), p. 627. Mr. T. J. Cadoux tells me that the remains of a fort at the western exit to the gorge and a townsite to the south (both observed by earlier travellers) are still discernible. He plans to publish a full discussion of the topography of this area in the near future. A Byzantine fort at Aulon, Procopius, *Aed.*, IV, 4, 4.

⁹ M. Mitsos, *Hesperia*, XVIII (1949), p. 75, who also supposes, unnecessarily, I feel, the presence of Dionysus. In Roman times there were *posiastai* of the Thracian rider hero at nearby Philippi, *B. C. H.*, LX (1936), pp. 336-7.

sympotai, having vowed a *pelanos*, dedicated a memorial (of it).” However, the preference of *mnemeion* and related words for a qualifying genitive outweighs the tendency for the participial forms of *euchesthai* to be followed by their own direct object.¹⁰

Μνημεῖον certainly refers to a votive object.¹¹ The inscription was either set up near the votive or was on the votive itself. The votive was probably a relief, a painted stele, an altar, or the like.¹²

We have already mentioned that the *pelanos* had come to be regarded as a fixed fee for the use of a shrine, either in kind or in money. The use of the money (and the offerings in kind could, of course, be converted into money by the priests) might include the defraying of sacrificial expenses,¹³ the priest's wage,¹⁴ and repairs to the sanctuary paid for by letting the money out at interest.¹⁵ Conceivably, the substitution of gifts other than

¹⁰ *Μνήμη*, *μνημεῖον*, *μνήμα*, etc., with the genitive in dedicatory, not sepulchral, verses, *I. G.*, I², 643; 761; 545 (probably); II², 3101; 3639; 3734; 4334; 4550; 4881. [Plato], *Hipparch.*, 228D-229A (cf. Friedländer and Hoffleit, *Epigrammata* [Berkeley, 1948], No. 149). Strabo, X, p. 463. Diod., XI, 14, 4. Athen., XII, 536B. Paus., V, 22, 3. *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 197 (but not *I. G.*, I², 652, see Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 210). Participial forms of *εὔχεσθαι* in pre-Euclidian metrical dedications from Athens take *δεκάτην* as object in addition to the object of the main verb (*ibid.*, No. 48, 133, 147 [probably], 148, 234, 298) except for one almost certain instance of *ἀπαρχήν* (*ibid.*, No. 171; No. 284 is uncertain). Later, participial forms of *εὔχεσθαι* are found in non-metrical dedications with no object for either verb, e.g., *I. G.*, II², 4366; 4400; 4429; 4574; 4593; 4598; 4605, etc.; or with ellipse of main verb as well as object, e.g., *I. G.*, II², 4372; 4385; 4403, etc.

¹¹ E.g., the altar of Peisistratus, *I. G.*, I², 761 (cf. Thuc., VI, 54, 6-7); *I. G.*, II², 4550, to Hermes, early IV cent. B.C. Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1321A, 40; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 356-7; and note 10, *ad init.* [*supra*].

¹² See Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, III, pp. 527-8; *R.-E.*, XVII (1937), col. 1557. For votive stelae, Wace and Thompson, *B. S. A.*, XV (1908-9), p. 244. An actual representation of the *pelanos* in the form of a cake is far less likely (cf. Rouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 296).

¹³ *S. I. G.*³, 1046, lines 11-12 (*I. G.*, XII, 7, 241), cf. *S. I. G.*³, 1047, lines 11-12 (*I. G.*, XII, 7, 237; Ziehen, *Leg. Sac.*, 98). *S. I. G.*³, 83, line 36 (*I. G.*, I², 76; Ziehen, *Leg. Sac.*, 4).

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, VII (1938), p. 3, lines 29-30, 35. *I. G.*, II², 1672, line 291.

¹⁵ *S. I. G.*³, 1046, line 11. In general, on the disposition of sacred moneys for upkeep of sanctuaries and dedicatory offerings, cf. *I. G.*, VII, 303, lines 36 ff.; *S. E. G.*, I, 344; Martin, *B. C. H.*, LXIV (1940-41), pp. 176 and 190-2.

food or money might be made directly by the worshippers without the intervention of priests when, as was probably the case in this cave of the Nymphs, there was no permanent personnel attached to the shrine and the cult group was a self-sufficient body. The *pelanos* becomes a customary or self-imposed contribution and, thus, can be vowed and presented in a form that will adorn the sanctuary and permanently commemorate the piety of the cult members.¹⁶ Here, the dedication of a votive as a memorial of a *pelanos* is not far removed from the description of a votive as "for a *pelanos*" or "as a *pelanos*," a use strongly supported by the analogy of ἀπαρχή "first-fruits," also originally of offerings of foodstuffs and then commonly used of votive offerings.¹⁷

There are two other inscriptions which may point the same way. An archaic dedication to Malophorus at Selinous is described in an inscription as εὐχὰν ἐνπέλανον.¹⁸ Wilamowitz, who established the reading, thought the inscription recorded the fulfilling of a vow of cakes. But there seems to have been a votive object set above the base on which the inscription was carved. Amandry, therefore, suggests ἐν πελανόν in the sense of the phrase εἰς πελανόν, "for the *pelanos*," a usage which he had explained in another connection: the meaning then is " (Theyllos . . . dedicates) a votive for the *pelanos* (to Malophorus)."¹⁹ At Delphi the *pelanos* is expressly excluded from exemptions granted to consultants of the oracle;²⁰ it is all the more likely, therefore, since exemption was not possible, that the substitution of a votive for the *pelanos* fee was granted as a special privilege. Thus Miss Guarducci's interpretation of [π]ελανόν on an early

¹⁶ Cf. the χοῦς, a contribution made by members of a group (Hege-sander, fr. 31 [F.H.G., IV, p. 419, ap. Athen., VIII, 265D]; S.I.G.³, 1096, line 11 [I.G., II², 1252]) for, at times at least, a ritual purpose (S.I.G.³, 57, line 21, cf. S.I.G.³, 1096).

¹⁷ Cf. Hans Beer, *Ἀπαρχή und verwandte Ausdrücke im griechischen Weihinschriften* (Diss. Würzburg, 1914); Rouse, *op. cit.*, ch. II; Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 1. The parallel between *pelanos* and *aparche*, etc., is seen in the use of *aparchesthai* for a sacrificial tax (Thasos, B.C.H., LXIV [1940-41], p. 176, lines 2 ff.).

¹⁸ *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII (1927), cols. 380-1 and pl. XCVI, 2; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, LXV (1930), p. 258, comparing Hesych., ἐμπέλانا· πόπανα.

¹⁹ Amandry, *op. cit.*, *Addenda* and pp. 93-4.

²⁰ B.C.H., LXIII (1939), p. 184, lines 6-8.

fifth century B. C. statue base at Delphi as referring to a statue seems reasonable, despite Amandry's hesitation.²¹ Admittedly, no one of these three examples is by itself conclusive, but taken together I think they establish that the *pelanos* could take the form of a votive offering.

Why is the *pelanos* in any form used in this cult of Nymphs or their associates? To say that they were chthonic or oracular figures is of little help for though the *pelanos* was offered to such deities it cannot be shown to have been confined to them.²² Rather, by analogy with its use for fixed fees, the word is used here of an extra and more lasting offering than the by-products of a ritual banquet, in return for the use of a sanctuary which has no other source of revenue for its upkeep and adornment. That it is self-imposed or conventionally enjoined rather than required follows from the fact that it is vowed and that there is not likely to have been personnel on hand to exact fees (or to accept shares of sacrifice, often a source of revenue). At Selinous, however, the votive nature of the dedication may consist in the object's surpassing in value the minimum required fee. It sometimes happens in Greece today that a vow will be taken to exceed the normal contribution for a ceremony or a festival.

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²¹ M. Guarducci, *Riv. Fil.*, LXXV (N. S. XXV [1947]), pp. 244-51, on *B. C. H.*, LXIII (1939), pp. 216-19; cf. Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 1.

²² Cf. Pollux, VI, 76: *πελανοὶ δὲ κοῖνοι πᾶσι θεοῖς*; H. J. Rose, *J. H. S.*, LXXII (1952), p. 146, with reference to Aesch., *Ag.*, 96.

NOTES ON LUCRETII.

III, 82-4 obliiti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem
hunc vexare pudorem hunc vincula amicitiai
rumpere et in summa pietatem evertere suadet

Every text proposed for this troublesome passage involves altering at least one word in the reading of the best manuscripts, and many of the proposed texts are grammatically awkward or rhetorically inexpressive. Careful consideration of various suggestions may be found in the notes to Bailey's edition of 1947, and Ernout's of 1926. It is not necessary to recapitulate their arguments here; but in the general concentration of critical attention on the last word of vs. 84, too little attention has perhaps been paid to the rest of the line.

Though editors commonly read *pietatem* with Codex Laurentianus xxxv. 31, the ablative is the unanimous reading of OQV. It is curious too that Lucretius offers no other example of *in summa* meaning "in fine," "in short." It may indeed be questioned whether precisely this sense of *in summa* (equivalent to *ad summam*, which Lucretius does not use either) as distinguished from the sense "in all," is ever found in writers of Lucretius' age; in Lucretius, at least, *in summa* invariably means "in the universe" (II, 91, 1077; V, 265). Indeed, in whatever case it is used, *summa* as a substantive appears to mean for Lucretius quite explicitly either "the total" or "the totality of things," *summa rerum*. Neither "in the total" nor "in the universe" is an acceptable meaning here.

This affords at least a *prima facie* justification for reconsidering the line on the assumption that *in summa pietate* may be actually what Lucretius intended. If it is, then an object must be supplied for *evertere*, and this object is presumably concealed in *suadet*. On the basis of palaeographic probability and of sense, the most likely word appears to be *sancta*. "Men forget that it is this fear (the fear of death) that is the source of anxieties, that invades honor, breaks the bonds of friendship, and in the closest relations of duty and affection overthrows their sanctity" (= *summae pietatis evertere sanctitatem*). It might be objected that *in summa pietate* would bear the incongruous

meaning "at the peak of piety"; but as in *amicitiae*, so in *pietate*, attention is directed not primarily to the individual attitude, but to the social code, the nexus of relationships which determines, or should determine attitudes. We may compare Velleius Paterculus, II, 118, 1: *in summa feritate versutissimi natumque mendacio genus*, where the meaning is not that these people are most ingenious and most dishonest at the moment when they are displaying the extreme of ferocity, but that though living in utter barbarism they display all the ingenious dishonesty customarily associated with advanced civilisation. This interpretation is consonant with Lucretius' two other uses of the word:

II, 1170-1 *et crepat, antiquum genus ut pietate repletum
perfacile angustis tolerarit finibus aevum*

where *pietate repletum* clearly reflects a mode of life characterized by awareness and acceptance of limitations, a social code; and

V, 1198 *nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri, etc.*

where Lucretius seems almost to feel that in making the word refer to a frame of mind rather than the performance of an accepted ritual, he is giving it an unaccustomed sense. *Summa pietas* no Roman would have difficulty in identifying as the *pietas* which includes *patriam* as well as *parentis*, as indeed the next verse explicitly indicates:

*nam iam saepe homines patriam carosque parentis
prodiderunt.*

It may be added that Lucretius' one use of the word *pius* occurs in a reference to civil war: V, 381: *pio nequaquam concita bello*.

In Lucretius' use of the word *sanctus* there is nothing that would be inconsistent with its use here. It is most commonly applied to the *corpora, pectora, numina* of the gods (I, 38, 1015; II, 434, 1093; V, 309; VI, 70, 76) or to their *fana, sedis, delubra* (V, 74, 147; VI, 417, 1272) but it is also used of the teachings of Democritus (III, 371; V, 622), of Empedocles (I, 730), and of the message of philosophy (I, 738; V, 111). It implies a reverent respect such as is appropriate to the relations denoted by *pietas*.

Certainty can hardly be claimed for the interpretation offered here, but it is free of the difficulties offered in most other suggestions. It does not require transposition, or the postulation of a lacuna; it follows the best manuscripts, except in one word in which corruption has frequently been suspected; it does not require a sense of *in summa* unexampled in Lucretius; and avoiding a sudden change from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*, and an awkward shift in the reference of *hunc*, in which rhetorical emphasis surely demands a constant reference, it is both grammatically and rhetorically consonant with the rest of the passage, and offers an adequately strong close to the period.

III, 962 *aequo animoque agendum magnis concedere necessest*

No one can venture on a fresh approach to this venerable crux without diffidence; but most suggested emendations are inexpressive, or like Munro's *magnus* (accepted from "censor Orellii Ienensis") and the *mactus* of R. Waltz (*Rev. Phil.*, XXV [1951], p. 66) lose sight of the fact that Nature is not consoling or cajoling this old reprobate, but chiding him harshly. He is beyond appeals to public spirit or human dignity; he can only be adjured to "go quietly," however reluctant. This stern tone is preserved if for *magnis* we read *ingratis*: "Come now, resign yourself and go, little as you like it; for go you must."

The word *ingratus* runs through the development like a recurrent theme, repeated in 937, 942, 958. As for *ingratis* "against one's will," it is found in III, 1069 *ingratis haeret et odit*, V, 44 *pericula tumst ingratis insinuandum*, VI, 15 *animi ingratis vitam vexare*, and note especially VI, 216 *cadant ingratis illa necessest / semina*.

The mechanism of corruption is not difficult, if the word was written *ing^atis*, as in a rather long line is not improbable. Misreading of *in* as *m* would suggest taking the suprascript *a* as an omitted letter rather than a contraction. That *t* could be corrupted to *n* is indicated by III, 792 *posset et innasci*: *posset enim nasci* Q; V, 1082 *certant*: *cernant* Q; V, 1419 *tunc* B: *nunc* OQ; VI, 526 *existit*: *existin* Q *existi* O. It may be objected that this reading places the third foot caesura after the *in* of *ingratis*, a possible division, but a liberty not commendable in an emendation. There are, however, valid caesuras in the second

and fourth feet, and it might be argued that the unusual rhythm would lay the line more readily open to corruption. *Gratis* "without reward" would eliminate this difficulty, but the sense is less satisfactory, and corruption less easily explained. *Aequo animo* is compatible with this interpretation; it echoes *aufer abhinc lacrimas* 955 as *ingratis* recalls *querellas*.

IV, 594

avidum nimis auricularum

A queer expression, as Bailey says. *Oraclorum* would be close to the reading of the manuscripts, and appropriate to the reference in the preceding passage to sounds of allegedly supernatural origin. *Oraculum* (*oraculum*) is not found elsewhere in Lucretius. Neither are, for example, *augurium*, *auspicium*, *omen*, *ostentum*, *prodigium*. *Portenta* in II, 701, V, 37, 837, 845 are monsters in the physical sense. Only here in IV, 590 *cetera de genere hoc monstra ac portenta loquuntur* does the word bear any hint of the supernatural. All the machinery of prophecy and divine admonition Lucretius, though undermining it by implication, apparently regarded as too irrational and too contemptible to deserve specific mention. Except in VI, 86 *ne trepides caeli divisas partibus amens* he hardly refers to such practices. The oracle of Phoebus is contemptuously dismissed in I, 738-9 and V, 111-12. Yet he was keenly aware of the influence of supernatural solicitings on other men's minds. In I, 102-3 he admits *tutemet a nobis iam quovis tempore vatum / terri loquis victus dictis desciscere quaeres*, and V, 1165-1240 is a powerful expression of the universality of superstition. As W. E. Leonard points out in the introduction to the Leonard-Smith edition of Lucretius (Madison, 1942, pp. 73-4) we should not underrate the prevalence of superstition and superstitious observances in a society where astrologers, soothsayers, and sorcerers played such a part as in the world of Lucretius and the immediately succeeding generations, and even more in the countryside than in the cities. It was not atheists but believers in other gods that made trouble for the Christians, and we can hardly suppose that all these believers were created by Augustus' religious revival. Cicero bears witness to the hold of such beliefs in the opening chapters of the *De Divinatione*: *Gentem quidem nullam video tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem*

tamque barbaram, quae non significari futura et a quibusdam intelligi praedicique posse censeat, I, 1, 2; *nam ut omittam ceteros populos noster quam multa genera (divinationis) complexus est*, I, 2, 3; *reliqui vero omnes praeter Epicurum . . . divinationem probaverunt*, I, 3, 5. Lucretius had reason enough for regarding the *humanum genus* as *avidum nimis oraculorum*.

In the preceding lines he has been condemning the propensity of country-dwellers to ascribe various natural sounds to divine activity, "lest they be thought to live in lonely and god-forsaken places"; and *oracula*, Cicero tells us, *ex eo ipso appellata sunt, quod inest in his deorum oratio* (*Top.*, 20, 77). So far as the sense of the context is concerned, *oraculorum* is the most apt reading. As for the form, the ending of a line with a word of four long syllables, though apparently avoided in Book Six, is not absolutely rare in the other books. It occurs six times in the first book (60, 64, 586, 616, 991, 1116), five times in the second (295, 302, 397, 1053, 1147), six in the third (198, 249, 253, 545, 907, 963), five in the fourth (125, 187, 198, 975, 978), and five in the fifth (190, 425, 972, 1156, 1265), with apparently no restriction to particular cases or parts of speech.

V, 511-12 *ex utraque polum parti premere aera nobis
dicendum est, extraque tenere et claudere utrimque*

Lucretius' explanation of the mechanism of the rotation of the celestial globe has been generally understood as requiring a quaint and complicated arrangement of polar air-currents, or air-blocks, serving as sockets without shafts, or shafts without sockets, for a revolving celestial sphere. Bailey observes, "His explanation of the method of this revolution is rather naïve. At each of the poles of the *mundus* an outer air presses on them to keep them in place." So also it is taken, without comment, by H. J. Leon in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (New York, 1938), p. 164, and by Munro, Merrill, and Leonard and Smith in their editions. Robin in the Ernout-Robin edition takes a more generous and less restricted view. "La pression de l'air environnant ne doit pas être envisagée uniquement par rapport aux pôles de l'axe nord-sud, mais par rapport aux pôles de tout axe traversant le globe du ciel." This appears to be a correct understanding of Lucretius' meaning, but its expression is obscured by the preser-

vation of the translation "pole" for *polus*. The usage of Latin poets suggests that we should rather understand it as "the celestial sphere."

This is the only occurrence of the word in Lucretius. In VI, 720 where he unquestionably means "pole," he uses *axis*, and again in VI, 1107 where Bailey translates "axis," but Munro, following Lambinus, translates "pole," which seems to go rather better with *claudicat*. In the one occurrence of *polus* in Cicero's surviving verse (*N. D.*, II, 41, 105) it means "pole." In Virgil, on the other hand, the word occurs eleven times, always with the sense of "the heavens." This too is its meaning the three times it occurs in Horace. Ovid is about equally divided. In Manilius, four times it unquestionably means "the heavens" (I, 225, 606, 741; IV, 811); in V, 693 it could mean either "pole" or "heavens," the latter offering the easier and more natural syntax. In I, 311 it clearly means "pole"; but Housman's emendation in the 1903 edition omits *poli*, and the *editio minor* obelizes the line. In V, 131 the meaning is apparently "sky"; Bentley deleted the verse; Housman retained it, though remarking that it contains the only instance of *dextera* in Manilius. For "pole" Manilius commonly uses *axis* (e. g. I, 375, 577, 589, 606, 618, 624).

The balance of usage seems therefore to favor here the meaning "the vault of heaven," which also provides a more satisfactory interpretation. Misled by the simile of the water-wheel, we forget that a pivot is not necessary to translate into rotation a force tangentially applied to the surface of a freely suspended sphere, as anyone may demonstrate for himself by blowing on a light floating ball. The axis of rotation will be at right angles to the direction of the force. In such an experiment the ball is likely to move as it spins; but in Lucretius' scheme the globe of heaven cannot be propelled outside the *moenia mundi* in which it is suspended by a packing of air, like the yolk in the white of an egg, but more freely.

Lucretius does not in fact speak of *uterque polus*, but of *utraq; pars*. This may be taken, as Robin takes it, of any two opposite directions; or we may think of the *polus*, the visible hemisphere *supra*, and its unseen counterpart *subter*, the whole sphere remaining at once mobile and stable because it is supported and enclosed by a packing of air between it and the

moenia mundi. This explanation gives the fullest sense to the insistent verbs *premere*, *tenere*, and *claudere*, especially the last. In this packing move the currents that cause rotation. Being uniformly supported in all directions, the sphere does not need to be held steady at the ends of its axis of rotation, and being uniformly enclosed, simply spins under the action of the air-currents without changing location. *Alium*, 513, need not and does not mark a distinction between polar and equatorial air currents; it distinguishes one equatorial air current from the other; *aliud supra* is simply correlative to *aliud subter*, 515. This interpretation is both simpler and more comprehensible than that which equates *polus* with "pole" and is more in accordance with poetic usage and the actual language of Lucretius.

V, 1353

scapique sonantes

Pliny, *N. H.*, XIII, 77 uses *scapus* to denote, apparently, the rod on which lengths of papyrus were rolled, or from which they were reeled off, for sale (see F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* [Oxford, 1932], p. 50). In this Lucretian passage, *scapus* probably denotes the bobbin set in the shuttle, *radius*, to carry the thread. It would have to be smooth, and to be set loosely enough to turn freely, and would rattle as it unwound. The *fusus* is for spinning; it might be used to carry the thread in weaving, especially in coarse work, but the shuttle with bobbin inset was known, and it is more likely than not that the bobbin would have a distinguishing name. The context here of *fusi* and *radii*, the epithet *sonantes*, and the analogy of the roller on which papyrus was wound for sale, all point to the meaning "bobbins" for *scapi*.

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THE STRUCTURE OF JUVENAL IV.

One of the more pressing requirements of Latin literary scholarship is a systematic investigation of the structure of Juvenal's Satires. They have been studied in the past with only partial success;¹ several satires have been abandoned by scholars as not having a recognizable, or at least a recognized, structure. Some critics² have gone so far as to deny that the satirist aimed at logical structure at all. Yet Juvenal must be acknowledged to be a remarkably careful writer: it has been, we hope, demonstrated that several of his works from both the earliest and the later periods of his writing have received elaborate and effective composition.³

The two satires which perhaps most require fresh consideration are the Fourth and the Sixth. Highet,⁴ in his discussion of VI, gives his own version of the structure as well as those of several predecessors. There is little agreement among them. In a remarkable study which must be considered very carefully by everyone concerned with Juvenal, Jean Colin⁵ gives still another version of Satire VI's structure. Let us hope that time will bring order into the chaos.

There is not so much diversity of opinion regarding the structure of IV, though this poem, too, has been badly misinterpreted. Highet⁶ lists the opinions of others, but does not make his own

¹ As by, e.g., J. A. Gylling, *De argumenti dispositione in satiris I-VIII Iuvenalis* (Lund, 1886) and *De argumenti dispositione in satiris IX-XVI Iuvenalis* (Lund, 1889); and see the bibliography conveniently attached by Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954), to his chapters VII to XXVI.

² O. Ribbeck, *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* (Berlin, 1865); T. Birt, "Der Aufbau der 6ten und 4ten Satire Juvenals," *Rh. M.*, LXX (1915), pp. 524-50; L. Friedländer, ed. *Juvenal* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 233-4; A. Weidner, ed. *Iuvenal*² (Leipzig, 1889), p. 63.

³ *Univ. of Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.*, XIV (1951), pp. 47-60; *C. P.*, XLVII (1952), pp. 233 f.

⁴ G. Highet, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-9. Highet is also sceptical about XIV (p. 170).

⁵ Jean Colin, "Juvenal, les baladins et les retiaires d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford" (*Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, LXXXVII [1952-3], p. 10, n. 1). See now *C. P.*, LI (1956), pp. 42-4.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 256-7.

view clear, unless we are to find it in such remarks as "The plot is nothing, then. The style and characterization are everything."⁷ Yet in the same paragraph he implies that contrast is an important factor to the central theme. It is probable that contrast and comparison are the uniting forces of the Fourth Satire, the basis, in fact, of its structure. Highet has carefully listed the usual analyses of IV. They range from statements that the content of the two parts is so disparate that a posthumous editor must have combined two fragments, while forging the connecting lines (28-33), to a desperate defense of unity, based merely on chiasmic order. It is possible that there is more to be said, and that the transitional lines (28-33) provide several clues. Then, too, the role of the fisherman has been neglected.

The structure, as it appears, is both simple and subtle. Juvenal relies on key words: *mullum* (15): *rhombum* (39); *leviora* (11): *nugis* (150) to establish the connection and the contrast. There is also, as we shall try to show, a striking similarity between the character and misdemeanors of Crispinus and Domitian; and finally there is the note of doom to be deduced from the tame, and as yet harmless, fisherman.

The main purpose of the satire is the attack on Domitian, whom Juvenal hated more than any other emperor, perhaps more than any human being.⁸ If Domitian is the chief target, why is Crispinus introduced at all? The answer to this question may be the key to an understanding of the whole. First, however, let us look at external characteristics. It has been generally recognized that the satire contains two distinct parts, 1-27 and 34-154, and that 28-33 form a link between them. No one seems to have taken full account of the comparison implied in the connecting lines:

Qualis tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putamus
induperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem
30 exiguum et modicae sumptam de margine cenae,
purpureus magni ructavit scurra Palati,
iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
vendere municipales fracta de merce siluros?

Three definite ideas are alluded to in this passage.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 79, but cf. pp. 76 and 77.

⁸ Almost certainly Domitian was the emperor who exiled Juvenal. For a full discussion of the problem cf. Highet, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

The first is the immediate and dramatic cause of the satire. Crispinus has bought a fish of enormous size at an extremely high price. His purpose? To eat it alone! (15-22). Domitian, on the other hand, has been presented with a prodigious fish by a commoner, who made a virtue of necessity and brought his prize to the palace (37-65). If Crispinus acts so foolishly as to waste such a dish on a solitary meal, what will the emperor do? Why, call a meeting of The Cabinet to discuss the serving of the gift, intended as a mere side-dish (30). Each section is concerned with an unusual fish and with the way in which the two men treat it. *Mullum*, therefore, in line 15 and *rhombum* in 39 form the first connection between the parts.

The second link implied is close to the first: the kind of vice to be attacked. After accusing Crispinus of several rare and several common vices, Juvenal says that these will not be the theme on this occasion. *Sed nunc de factis levioribus*. "Today we'll show how foolish the man is by relating a trivial matter." In the second part also, it is not Domitian's crimes that the poet condemns; it is the trivial: *His . . . nugis* (150). The chiasitic arrangement in the two parts⁹ has already been noted. The poet begins with an enumeration of Crispinus' crimes and then attacks his follies; in the second part, he first describes the folly of Domitian and concludes with his crimes. In any case, the trivial nature of the actions forms a second link.

The third and most important connection is to be found in the characters of the two men. There is no doubt that Juvenal detested Crispinus. Elsewhere he had good reason to attack him,¹⁰ but why is he chosen here? It is apparently because his life was parallel to that of Domitian, because his character displayed the same vices and trivialities as did that of the emperor. Crispinus is in fact a tiny reflection of the larger, more savage, and more ridiculous Domitian.

Crispinus is a monster redeemed by not a single virtue (2). From an early life of poverty¹¹ he has risen to a high place at court¹² where, by the grace of Domitian, he was able to procure

⁹ W. Stegemann, *De Juvenalis dispositione* (Weyda, 1913), pp. 30-4.

¹⁰ I, 26-9. For a possible reason for this hatred cf. Hight, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

¹¹ I, 26; IV, 32-3.

¹² IV, 33; cf. also Martial, VII, 99 where the tone indicates that Crispinus was at least a favorite of Domitian.

luxurious property (5-7) and all that went with such holdings. In these surroundings he demonstrated the worst of excesses: he was a libertine (3-4)¹³ whose lust scorned only the unmarried (4). Even here he made an exception by corrupting a Vestal Virgin (9), the crime of incest.¹⁴ Such a man, engrossed in physical matters, naturally was quite conscious of his appearance.¹⁵

Precisely the same vices are to be found in Domitian. From his early years spent in poverty¹⁶ he doubtless acquired a desire for material possessions. Suetonius¹⁷ tells us that he was very fond of porticos and arches, an item which corresponds closely with Crispinus' foibles (5-7). In the list of immoralities, the similarity is striking. Domitian's lust for other men's wives was notorious,¹⁸ as was also the incestuous affair with his niece Julia.¹⁹ Domitian's baldness made him overly conscious of his appearance, and he is said to have been vain enough to forbid all mention of baldness by contemporary writers.²⁰ Finally, Pliny describes his former master as an *immanissima belua*,²¹ a phrase which reminds one of Crispinus: *monstrum nulla virtute redemptum / a vitis*.

There was too much similarity between these worthies for the fact to have escaped the watchful eye of a satirist. And this is surely the cause of Crispinus' appearance here. Once the connection is realized, several minor points fall readily into place. Editors point out that *ad partes* in line 2 is used metaphorically. Duff²² correctly interprets the phrase to mean, "to play his part

¹³ It is tempting to see an allusion to this in Martial, VIII, 48, 6:

Non quicumque capit saturatas murice vestes
nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color.

¹⁴ Crispinus is not indeed linked by any other writer to Cornelia, but it does not matter whether or not the charge is true. The importance lies in the fact that Juvenal accuses him.

¹⁵ This fact seems obvious from the remarks of Juvenal at I, 26-9 and from Martial, VIII, 48.

¹⁶ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 1, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22, 1; Dio Cass., LXVII, 12, 1.

¹⁹ Juv., II, 32-3; Suet., *Dom.*, 22, 1; Dio Cass., LXVII, 3, 2.

²⁰ Cf. Dio Cass., LXVII, 4, 2-4. And yet, how are we to account for the frequent mention of baldness by Martial? See also the remarks on Domitian's blushes in *C. J.*, XLV, pp. 388 f.

²¹ *Pan.*, 48, 3.

²² J. D. Duff, ed. *Juvenal* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 173, note to line 2.

on the stage of satire." Our interpretation, however, will give an added meaning: The role Crispinus plays here is that of Domitian; he gives a good performance merely by being himself. *Ecce* (10) may also be interpreted as language of the stage;²³ and perhaps *persona* (15) serves to continue the metaphor.

Juvenal does not attack Crispinus for buying such a huge fish, though this was bad enough, but for eating it himself (*emit sibi*). In the meeting of the privy council (72 ff.), the emperor asks for and receives advice on this weighty matter; then the meeting is dismissed and the councilmen depart (144). What happened to the fish? If we follow through our comparison, we must imagine that Domitian dined quite alone that night.

There is another important character in the satire, the lowly fisherman who brings his catch to the emperor. The gist of the satire is contained in its conclusion:

150 Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
inlustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat; hic nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

The moral of the story, then, is: "The world is such an absurd place that a tyrant may trifle as he will with important things; it is meddling with people of no importance that gets him in the end." The fisherman is the type of little man who will one day square accounts.²⁴ He is oppressed and afraid to keep the fish: *donabitur ergo, / ne pereat* (55 f.); and hastens with all possible speed to deliver it. Since it is vulgarians (*cerdones*) who are to do Domitian in, the fisherman is as vulgar as you please:

Propera stomachum laxare sagina (67),²⁵

²³ The question concerning the meaning of *iterum* need not bother us. As the satires have come down to us, it can refer only to the passage in Satire I. (See Hight, *op. cit.*, p. 258, n. 8.)

²⁴ Again, the accuracy of the statement is not important: Juvenal believed it, or pretended to believe it.

²⁵ Duff, *ibid.*, note to line 67, remarks on the strange phrase *stomachum laxare*, suggesting that the satirist may have intended a parody on *animum laxare*. This is suggestive. Domitian was well known for his anger (Dio Cass., LXVII, 1, 1; Suet., *Dom.*, 12, 3). Could the phrase, spoken appropriately by a member of the class destined to slay

he urges, as who should say, "Hurry up and wrap yourself around this, Emperor!"²⁶ Then too it is not improbable that the Polycrates story is in Juvenal's mind: a great fish, by the agency of a lowly commoner, destroys tyrants; *hybris* brings its just, certain, and Herodotean reward (*quidquid Graecia mendax*).

But Crispinus has another use. He is at first merely a device to foreshadow the tyrant: obscure in origin, a creature of vile lusts, a parvenu intent on displaying his dreadful taste—all of these are characteristics of the real villain who is to be introduced in line 29 (so that we may observe that the three principal characters are utter vulgarians). This lurid unimportance, so to say, of Crispinus seems to be the reason for scornfully passing him over in the second part of the poem. History (or Juvenal²⁷) tells us that he attended the Council; he must therefore appear in the Grand March. But for the poet he had already fulfilled his petty role. Now he is merely allowed to scent the fresh air with his early morning perfume (what could be more vulgar?). His end, no doubt, was not so edifying as Domitian's; he probably died in bed and there was no proper moral to the business. Domitian, however, had passed into ugly history which could be manipulated as one pleased. Crispinus was doubtless dead by, say, 110 A. D. (Highet's new date for the publication of Book I, which is as good as any). Of this we may be reasonably sure, for the hypotheses outlined in Highet (pp. 289-94) are worthy of the most prudent, the most painstaking, investigation.

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the tyrant, be an allusion to anger: "Relax your wrath and enjoy yourself"? Though perhaps *alvum lavare* is intended here.

²⁶ It may perhaps be significant that the second edict banishing *Kúres*, *Κυνικοί*, and other vulgar nuisances is to be dated only one year before Domitian's death.

²⁷ Cf. Highet, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff., who places this meeting on July 22, 82 A. D.

A NEW 'FRAGMENT' OF ANTIOCHUS?

In *Adv. Colotem* 1122 A-D Plutarch interrupts his reply to Colotes long enough to answer certain unnamed opponents of scepticism, whose position he describes as follows:

τὴν δὲ περὶ πάντων ἐποχὴν οὐδ' οἱ πολλὰ πραγματευσάμενοι καὶ κατατείναντες εἰς τοῦτο συγγράμματα καὶ λόγους ἐκίνησαν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Στοᾶς αὐτῇ [Pohl.; αὐτῆς EB] τελευτῶντες ὥσπερ Γοργόνα τὴν ἀπραξίαν ἐπάγοντες ἀπηγόρευσαν, ὡς πάντα πειρῶσι καὶ στρέφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἡ ὁρμὴ γενέσθαι συγκατάθεσις οὐδὲ τῆς ῥοπῆς ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο τὴν αἰσθησιν [EB: πρόσθεσιν Pohl.], ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀγωγὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφάνη, μὴ δεομένη τοῦ προστίθεσθαι.

The Stoic features of the argument are evident (see Pohlenz' note *ad loc.*), but who were the philosophers who borrowed it from the Stoics for use against the Academy? Bignone (*L'Aristotele Perduto*, I, p. 57 and II, p. 535) apparently took them to be Epicureans, for he inferred from the passage that Colotes considered the Stoics his allies against the sceptics. In the next sentence, however, Plutarch elevates the controversy with these new antagonists above the Epicurean level, calling the dispute a legitimate one (νόμιμοι γὰρ οἱ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶνές εἰσι) and well beyond the limits of Colotes' comprehension (Κωλώτῃ δ' οἶμαι τὰ περὶ ὁρμῆς καὶ συγκαταθέσεως ὄνῃ λύρας ἀκρόασιν εἶναι).

It is more likely, therefore, that Plutarch has inserted into his refutation of Colotes the answer to a more serious charge brought against Arcesilaus and the New Academy by more respectable (i. e., non-Epicurean) philosophers. He may have felt that his defense of Arcesilaus would have little authority if this more serious charge were ignored. Antiochus is the probable source. Cicero's *Lucullus* testifies not only to the considerable attention (οἱ πολλὰ πραγματευσάμενοι κτλ.) that Antiochus gave to the refutation of scepticism, but also to his use of the Stoic argument that inaction follows on the rejection of assent (*Luc.*, 37-9, 62). Identification with Antiochus and his school will further account for Plutarch's comparatively respectful tone, for Plutarch is always gentle with members of the Academy.

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REVIEWS.

NORMAN W. DEWITT. *Epicurus and his Philosophy*. Minneapolis, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. 388. \$6.00.

For some time now we have been coming to realize how very much we need a synoptic study of Epicurus' teaching. Nothing illustrates this need better than the number of separate and specialized studies listed by P. De Lacy in his helpful "Some Recent Publications on Epicurus and Epicureanism," *C. W.*, XLVIII (1955), pp. 169-77. The general study we have been needing could begin to correct the ancient prejudices of Platonists, Stoics, Jews, and Christians—many ancient wrongs here to right—and, if I may say so with decency, the modern prejudices of a Zeller, an Usener, a Hicks, or a Bailey. I do not mean ungratefully to deprecate the work of these four scholars or of others like Bignone and Vogliano—indeed Usener's *Epicurea* is indispensable—but rather to stress the need for correction and modification here and there.

Now appears DeWitt's synopsis, and if anyone should exclaim (as from time to time this reviewer has, in an unworthy petulance) "The book leans too far over the other way" or "The author is as dogmatic as Epicurus himself" or "Every time there is a knock on the door, DeWitt thinks Epicurus is calling," the answers are "We need to be challenged" and "It is high time our smugness and ignorance were jolted" and, finally, "DeWitt himself has no illusions of finality about his book."

My method in this review will be to suggest the general content of the chapters and less often, since I lack DeWitt's knowledge, to raise questions about specific matters. I need hardly add that a reviewer is not called upon to review what he thinks to be Epicureanism's virtues and shortcomings.

Chapter I introduces Epicurus as at once the most revered and the most reviled of ancient philosophers, in the hope that the reader may then approach him with impartiality—a state which is a bit difficult to achieve *DeWitto duce*. The chapter consists mainly of a number of dogmatic general statements about Epicurean philosophy. Several details interest me here. The assumption (p. 5) that Lucretius planned a seventh book on the nature of the gods is a rather big one and, I think, an unlikely one (especially if the *De Rerum Natura* was intended, as I believe it was, to be only an introductory and exoteric work). The distinction drawn (pp. 14 f.) between a philosopher—I do not mean a scientist—and a moral reformer seems to me one that no Greek would have made; no, nor a Seneca nor a Marcus Aurelius. Epicurus, true, returned to the Ionian tradition (pp. 15 ff.) but then, Aristotle had shown a good deal more interest in natural phenomena than had Plato, and Strato was an out-and-out physiciest. But I thoroughly agree with DeWitt and others (e. g. Bignone and Farrington) that Epicurus was a vigorous critic of Platonism (pp. 16 ff.); note that Velleius begins his account in the *De Natura Deorum* by ridiculing Plato (I, 18-24). When we pass on (p. 18), however, to "conscious synthetizers," would not both

Plato and Aristotle qualify, inasmuch as each had built up his system piece by piece? And certainly the practice of using philosophic thought "for the amelioration of human life and the increase of happiness" is Socratic in origin. Again, it may be that Epicurus was "the first to promulgate a dogmatic philosophy" (pp. 20 ff.), but we would be tempted to suggest several pre-Socratics as candidates (were it not perhaps for their skeptical and rhapsodic touches). And when DeWitt declares (pp. 26 ff.) that "Epicureanism was the first and only real missionary philosophy produced by the Greeks," I suppose he is thinking of that sect's proselytizing. Still, "missionary" may seem to do an injustice to Epicurean quietism, although I grant that men can be very militant indeed about quietism (and maybe in fact part of Lucretius' *furor* derives from the school). As for respect paid Epicurus' image (p. 32), his was not the only one carried about or put up in homes. And since the bearded Christ—and beards seem to be much a matter of style and fashion—came in only toward the end of the third century, the interval of several centuries would seem to argue against any direct influence here. As for St. Paul and Epicureanism, we should remember that he came from Tarsus and that Tarsus was a hotbed of Stoicism. But this matter must be left to the reviewer of DeWitt's *St. Paul and Epicurus* (1954). In regard to Cicero (p. 33), I myself do not look upon Cicero as just one of those "who set their hearts upon high office" but rather as a public-spirited patriot; this will probably not be the only time in this review when I shall come to his defense! Finally, as for Epicureanism and Christianity (p. 34), I have this comment: if "only the word *sin* and the idea of resurrection are here strange to the language and thought of Epicurus"—DeWitt is speaking here of the Christian service for the dead—we should at once ask what, without these two key words of sin and resurrection, is left of the statement?

Chapters II, III, and IV deal with Epicurus' life in Samos, Athens (early cadetship), Colophon, Mytilene, and Lampsacus, in an attempt to reconstruct the positive and negative influences which current philosophical and political trends and contemporary teachers may have had on him as he fashioned his own body of beliefs. In general, these chapters suggest how Epicurus may have come bit by bit to hammer out for himself his own views on such matters as Reason versus Nature, education and culture, skepticism, physical determinism, the nature of the gods, pleasure, creationism and divine design, and the pragmatic function of philosophy. We all know how hard it is to piece together an ancient life from scanty evidence, and how hard it is, too, even to catch in fairly decent focus the intellectual milieu. This is especially true when chronology must remain a matter of reasoned conjecture, when we are not sure who all the teachers were and for how long, when we are not even sure where the subject went, and finally when that subject avows that he was self-taught (D. L., X, 13).

While DeWitt's account draws upon a wide body of texts, it is inevitably imaginative to a large degree. There is a good deal (see esp. p. 80) of "It is also thinkable that . . ." and "Neither is the possibility to be ruled out that . . ." and "It would fit the situation if either . . ." and "the suspicion is justified that . . ." and "It is

far from improbable. . . ." *Satis superque*. No doubt such inferences and hypotheses are unavoidable, but so many piled each on another make the total edifice, while outwardly fairly grandiose, inwardly somewhat shaky. A candid "we don't know" would have been restful here and there.

A few minor points occur to me. These are not so much objections as questions we might, any of us, like to discuss with DeWitt for our own instruction if we could only spend an evening with him. For instance, whether Epicurus studied under a Peripatetic (Praxiphanes) is surely an important matter, especially if Praxiphanes was a pupil of Theophrastus. On p. 36 DeWitt admits that this is only an "if"; on p. 51 it becomes a "he seems to have studied in Rhodes with Praxiphanes"—actually we don't even know that Epicurus went to Rhodes at this time—and on p. 55 we read "There Epicurus arrived the following year and, probably after a family conference, sought the instruction of Praxiphanes in Rhodes." We may, all of us, be pleased at the filial respect, but DeWitt's whole process smacks a little of self-conversion. At last Praxiphanes gets a section entitled with his name (pp. 56-60). Yet, against the testimony of Apollodorus (quoted by D. L., X, 13) that Epicurus was a pupil of Praxiphanes, we have to reckon with Epicurus' own denial.

Then there are other biographical assumptions about Epicurus which, while doing no particular harm, may make the reader unnecessarily skeptical about more important suggestions. Thus we are told that of Epicurus and his three brothers, Epicurus "was beyond doubt the gifted one" (p. 39), that he "was sensitive, precocious and ambitious" (p. 50). As for "Arnobius and Lactantius knew their Epicureanism better than their Bibles" (p. 45), I should like to know how DeWitt knows that. And when I read that "St. Augustine was tempted to award it (Epicureanism) the palm" (p. 45), I recall that the protasis (*Conf.*, VI, 16) is in the pluperfect subjunctive, and that elsewhere (*Enarr. in Ps.*, LXXIII, 25) this same Father did not speak so well of Epicurus.

On the whole, one of the best features of this book is the unemended texts. But I am not so sure about keeping the *aitias* on p. 44. Still, I may suffer from the local influence of *paideia*. As for "Epicurean considerateness" (p. 48), I rather feel that this is brought in here because the author wants to bring it in. On p. 62 Epicurus is "litigious," on p. 72 we hear of "his usual irritating way," and in general we know of the brusqueness and candor with which he attacked others (e. g. *Against the Philosophers in Mytilene*, or the names he called Nausiphanes [p. 61]). I am not convinced that Epicureanism actually influenced Menander (pp. 52 f.); we must allow for *loci communes*. As for Cicero—to return to him—when DeWitt wishes to use him for support, Cicero emerges with honor (e. g. pp. 72 f.); when he dislikes what Cicero has to say (e. g. p. 60, and note that it is Cotta who is speaking there), then Cicero is called "malicious" and made to stand in the corner.

Let me turn for a moment to Horace. Whether the poet drew upon Epicurus in *C.*, III, 16, 39 is not at all clear to me; see DeWitt, p. 83. A Stoic source here might be possible; see *Cic.*, *Parad.*, 6, 3. Again, speaking of the Epicurean catchwords of Peace and Safety, DeWitt interprets Horace's use of *praesidium* in reference to Mae-

cenas as the poet's recognition of Maecenas "as the assurance of his safety from attacks by his enemies" (p. 85). Does not *praesidium* also refer to material support (cf. *C.*, II, 17, 4)? And to say that Horace "was drawing upon Epicurus for his argument when he asserted his rights as a client" in *Epist.*, I, 7 (p. 86) would seem to limit self-respect to Epicureans alone! So, too, on p. 120. After all, Diogenes did not cringe before Alexander!

A few other points. The phrase αὐτοῦ τὰ κρύφια (D. L., X, 5) does not seem to me to be "inside information concerning himself" (p. 84) but simply "his esoteric doctrines." Ecclesiastes—to venture into a field beyond my competence—is certainly a puzzling work in its un-Jewish attitudes, but it is going rather far to call Ecclesiastes the "partisan" of the Epicureans (p. 85) or to say that Epicureanism "inspired" the book (p. 330). When we read, too, that "St. Paul quoted the words Peace and Safety as catchwords of the Epicureans, to whom he refused the honor of mention by name" (p. 85), we may wonder why indeed he should name anyone here. Were the Epicureans the only ones who were interested in Peace and Safety?

Chapters VI through IX deal with the three classes of Epicurean textbooks (Dogmatic, Refutative, and Memorial), with the thorny subject of the Canon and the elevation of Nature over Reason, with the three criteria of Sensations and Anticipations and Feelings, and finally with the physics. I need not stress the importance of these chapters, save to add that here DeWitt probably feels that he has made his most radical and challenging contributions. Here we find the important doctrine of communion with the divine (p. 107, but see esp. pp. 278 ff.), Epicurus' views on poetry (p. 107), his entire reliance upon *deductive* reasoning (p. 112), his dethronement of Reason (with the consequent paradox that he used Reason to overthrow Reason, and then omitted it from his Canon; pp. 122 ff.), his enshrinement of Nature (and very often meaning "human nature"; cf. Lucretius' *natura creatrix*; pp. 128 ff.), and the conclusion that Epicurus was not an empiricist (pp. 135 ff.).

As for details in these chapters, the doctrine of *mens sana in corpore sano* does not seem to be entirely limited to Epicureanism (p. 106), and anyway it occurs in a passage that cites the major Stoic saint. On p. 109 we read that Epicurus "took over" the conceit of the flight of the soul from the Pythagoreans, but in the next paragraph we read of the appropriation of this conceit by "the thievish Stoics." Heads I win, tails you lose! The statement (p. 112) that Lucretius is "a product of home-study" is interesting and might explain a good deal about the *De Rerum Natura*'s presentation of doctrines and its accents. But can the statement be proved? The fact that Memmius is told that one can learn a lot by himself does not prove it. As for the marginal topic of Diseases amongst the "Dogmatic Writings" (p. 115), this might cast some light upon Lucretius' obvious interest in the subject. The remark that Epicurus "also esteemed Democritus" (p. 117) is supported only by references to Lucretius (and they only show what Lucretius, not Epicurus, thought of Democritus). We need not believe, I agree, the Δημοκρίτων Δημόκριτον (D. L., X, 8), but Cicero (*N. D.*, I, 93) calls Epicurus "ungrateful towards Democritus." When we read

(p. 118) that "The memorial writings of the Epicureans were unique in their inception," what are we to say of the *Apology* and *Phaedo*? On the same page, we are told that St. Paul, speaking of "many members, yet but one body," was addressing the Epicureans. How do we know this? On the next page, too, we are told that when St. Paul wrote "O death, where is thy sting?" he was stealing the word "sting" from the Epicureans, and we are given two references to *De Rerum Natura*, III. But *stimulus* hardly seems so rare that we must assume that Lucretius borrowed it, and besides what of the fact that he uses it in IV, 1082 with the same verb (*stimuli subsunt*) of love?

Chapter VIII on Sensations, Anticipations, and Feelings is obviously of key importance in DeWitt's picture of Epicurean psychology. As we might expect from DeWitt's previous publications, he argues here that the three criteria are three distinct reactions (and ought not to be merged, even though all three may compose a particular reaction), that they function sequentially, that Epicurus was not an empiricist, and that all sensations are not true (if we use "true" in the meaning of the Canon). The trouble-maker, according to DeWitt, was Lucretius (p. 121) who "misleads the reader, because he gives exclusive prominence to the Sensations and seems to have lacked a clear understanding of the workings of Anticipations and Feelings as criteria."

This is a very complex subject, since our sources of information are neither full nor always clear. Consequently, a reader may be left with some doubts about DeWitt's inferences and conclusions. Still, if a reader is not entirely persuaded by DeWitt, I suspect that he would have a hard time indeed making out for himself, from the available evidence, an equally persuasive account.

At once we should say that DeWitt is right in asserting that the three criteria are separate, and ought not to be lumped together. The remains of Epicurus and Diogenes are clear enough on this. The real problem to be considered is what is meant by Anticipation (*πρόληψις*). Is it merely the *recollection* of something that has often been presented before from without (D. L., X, 33; so correct DeWitt's note 34 on p. 144), or does it involve the notion of *innate ideas* (Cic., *N. D.*, I, 44 who says, speaking of Anticipation, that there must be gods, *quoniam insitas eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus*). In essence, it is a question of believing either the "stodgy compiler" Diogenes Laertius—stodgy compilers, by the way, are apt to be a lot more trustworthy than authors who thought for themselves—or the "gifted" Cicero.

I myself am not persuaded by DeWitt. Diogenes, whatever be his faults, is trying to present in chapters 31-4 a comprehensive, if brief, account of the three criteria. Cicero, on the other hand, brings in the matter of Anticipation only in relation to the general topic of the nature of the gods. Further, just before Velleius' remark on the Epicurean "instinctive or innate concept of the gods" came the general remark: "You see, then, that the foundation of our inquiry has been well laid," so that we may suspect that Cicero has stretched, either deliberately or under unconscious Platonic influence or in negligence, the meaning of the Epicurean term to suit the subject of his treatise.

My general objection to DeWitt's thesis is that I find it difficult to see how Epicurus, who denied both the pre-existence and the survival of the soul, could have used such a non-physical explanation as "the preconditioning of man by Nature for life in the prospective environment" (p. 146). To me, *πρόληψις* would rather seem to be a correct primary notion gained from frequent previous experience, i. e. a correct recollection of a general or universal sort. (For "correct," see D. L., X, 33-4. Apparently *ὑπόληψις* may be either right or wrong; see D. L., X, 34 and 124. For "primary" or "universal," note that *πρόληψιν* in D. L., X, 33 is defined as *ἐννοίαν* [*ἐννοία* means, as DeWitt says on pp. 135-6, a "primary notion"] and that the idea of godhead [in which connection Cicero had mentioned *πρόληψις*] is called a *κοινὴ νόησις* by D. L., X, 123.)

To be specific, let me look at the four occurrences of *πρόληψις* in the extant texts of Epicurus. For here we may possibly hope for more clarity than is perhaps obtainable from Diogenes (who admittedly interlards technical Stoic vocabulary). The first (quoted by D. L., X, 124) tells us that what the multitude says about the gods are not *προλήψεις* but only *ὑπολήψεις*. Nothing here, so far as I can see, implies that these are "innate concepts." We could as easily suppose them correct recollections gained from beholding *simulacra* of the gods (see Lucr., V, 1169-82). Indeed, to turn back to the controversial section in Cicero (*N. D.*, I, 44-6), having talked of *πρόληψις* in reference to belief in the gods' existence (44-5), Cicero then declares (46): *Nam a natura habemus omnes omnium gentium speciem nullam aliam nisi humanam deorum; quae enim forma alia occurrit umquam aut vigilanti cuiquam aut dormienti?* To pass on to the second and third instances, in K. Δ., 37 and 38 I find no implication of an "innate" concept but rather of a "general notion" worked out from experience. As for the last case (quoted by D. L., X, 72), here Epicurus says that since time is only an accident of an accident, there can be no *πρόληψις* of time. For time has no attributes! I do not see how this negative case can be used for or against DeWitt's thesis.

When we turn to Lucretius—one must remember that DeWitt feels that "Lucretius has no help to offer" (p. 143) since the topic of Anticipation was omitted from the only sources he used, viz. the Little and the Big Epitome (yet Cicero "enjoyed access to all the original texts," p. 144)—here we find that *notities* always demands a model (e. g. V, 182-4 or 1046-9). Actual physical experience is called for. When DeWitt chooses to use Lucretius (as V, 1028-40) on the first gestures made by all living creatures, he leaves out of account the natural instinct of young animals to observe and do likewise. But let me close this already too long objection by admitting that the problem is a most difficult one which perhaps admits of no certain conclusion.

Chapter IX on the New Physics and X on the New Freedom are clear and orderly in their presentations, and need no special comment. I particularly admire the candid section (pp. 168-70) on the problem of Cause and the author's sensible refusal (p. 173) to read back nineteenth century ideas about Will into our ancient texts. The fact is that neither Greek nor Latin had a single word which can always be translated as our "Will." And DeWitt's

comments on Epicurus' attitude toward law—he was no anarchist—and toward public service and the simple life seem to me sober and informative. Two minor matters: *stochēion* on p. 159 (and in the index) should be corrected and, if I may speak as a one-time (and inferior) runner of the mile, the fact that the Greeks had sundials and water clocks (p. 162) would hardly have led them—so inaccurate must these instruments have been—to conceive of timing a runner.

Chapter XI on Soul, Sensation, and Mind gives a graphic diagram of how Sensations and Feelings are processed by the Mind and of how impulses arise. To summarize this at all quickly would take the talents of a Bell Telephone Co. engineer or a Walt Disney. But the chapter is remarkably clear reading and should not be missed. I have a few trivial queries. Would it not have been fair, when quoting Lucr., III, 444 (on p. 199), to have confessed that the text here is very doubtful? On the same page, the remark about the New Testament use of the body as a vessel omits what the note of p. 371 significantly tells us: this conceit occurs in the Old Testament also! On p. 206, in dealing with images, DeWitt translates D. L., X, 50 to explain why the shape presented is a faithful presentation of the original body. DeWitt says that the presentation is true "by virtue of the orderly condensation or residue of the image." But is "condensation" the meaning of *πύκνωμα* (it is of *πύκνωσις*)? "Denseness," not the process, comes closer, and so I prefer Bailey's "repetition."

Chapters XII-XIV deal with the New Hedonism, True Piety, and the New Virtues. Here, often in an original fashion, DeWitt expatiates upon Epicurus' originality. The chapters are highly suggestive. The layman may conclude from them that we know a good deal more about Epicureanism than we actually know; the scholar may be a bit put off by the amount of "propagandizing" and by the fairly sensational color of some of the proposals. I wish to call attention here to several of the key theses, and to raise several questions.

DeWitt, commenting on the ambiguity of *summum bonum*, declares (p. 218) that "To Epicurus pleasure was the *telos* and life itself was the greatest good." Perhaps a word or two about the history of *τέλος* in the singular and the plural from Aristotle on might have helped clarify the matter, and a word, too, on what Cicero meant by his title *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. And a reference to Lucretius' *exposuit bonum summum quo tendimus* (VI, 26) would not have been amiss. The section on the Unity of Pleasure (pp. 232 ff.) seems to me particularly salubrious, since nowadays there is so much talk about kinetic and static pleasure in Lucretius' first proem.

But we may have doubts about some of the conclusions on the gods. This subject, to be sure, inevitably demands much conjecture. Indeed, we might as well admit that we may never reach surety here. DeWitt might give as the reason his belief that a full treatment of the gods was reserved for advanced courses of study—a good deal more advanced than those for which our surviving proreptic works were composed. He would say, I take it, that we have simply lost the more complex documents which would have given

us the full picture. On the other hand, we may ask whether there ever was a "full picture." May not Epicurus, in the end, have been somewhat vague? Did he really care enough about the subject to be specific and full? Perhaps there is something in Posidonius' charge that Epicurus only said what he did about the gods *invidiae detestandae gratia* (Cic., *N. D.*, I, 123). After Epicurus had proved that the gods exist, had touched upon their composition and size and language, had described their state and what they do *not* do, and had expounded the correct attitude which mankind should have toward them (note that his *On Piety* was for beginners; DeWitt, p. 251), what was there left to be said, or why bother to say it? Stoics, to be sure, could talk about divine governance of the universe and about Providence. But for the Epicureans? Little would seem to be left, and we may wonder whether there ever existed the detailed and precise account DeWitt essays to reconstruct for us.

Be that as it may, I turn now to individual points. We may agree with DeWitt that Epicurus called the gods "incorruptible" (D. L., X, 123) and not "immortal," even though his followers reverted to the Homeric concept (but see A.-J. Festugière, *Épicure et ses Dieux*, pp. 83 ff.). But we may not assent so readily when DeWitt denies that the primary evidence for the existence of the gods is to be found in visions. Much here, of course, hinges upon what we think Epicurus meant by Anticipation. And upon how we translate Epicurus' *θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν. ἐναργὴς δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις* (D. L., X, 123). Bailey renders *ἐναργὴς* "by clear vision" (which is admittedly interpretative), and so Festugière (*op. cit.*, pp. 86-7); Hicks is safer (but safely vague) with his "manifest." DeWitt, too, says (p. 255) "manifest," but then explains it in terms of *πρόληψις*. Not again to discuss Anticipation, against DeWitt's explanation of "manifest" we should recall the Homeric use of *ἐναργὴς* in reference to the gods' appearing in their own form, and the fact that Lucretius distinctly ascribes our knowledge of the gods to the visions of them which our minds receive. Perhaps, then, we should interpret *τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοῦς* (schol. to K. Δ., I; see below, p. 83) in the light of the Lucretian explanation (cf. especially *λόγῳ* with the *animo* of Lucr., V, 1170 and with the *non sensu sed mente* of Cic., *N. D.*, I, 49).

More trouble confronts us in DeWitt's views about gradation in godhead (pp. 260-7). Put baldly, did Epicurus recognize more than one class of gods? DeWitt says "two." He conjectures that, since there is a gradation in the atoms themselves, "it is reasonable to assume at least a moderate degree of gradation in the bodies of the incorruptible gods" (p. 263), and he appeals to the "accepted assumption of contemporary thought" that all living things are arranged in an "ascending scale."

The first thing to look at is the only (real) evidence for believing in two classes of Epicurean gods. This is a scholium to K. Δ., I: *ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ φησι τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοῦς, οὓς μὲν κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὑφεστώτας, οὓς δὲ κατὰ ὁμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων εἰδώλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτελεσμένων, ἀνθρωποειδεῖς*. Hicks translates: "Elsewhere he says that the gods are discernible by reason alone, some being numerically distinct, while others result uniformly from the continuous influx of similar images directed to

the same spot and in human form," and DeWitt: "... some of them existing under limitation, others [not under limitation] by virtue of identity of form. . . ." Gassendi emended οὗς μὲν . . . οὗς δέ το οὐ μὲν . . . ὥς δέ, and Bailey in 1926 approved (preferring Bignone's οἷους δέ). But I ask with Philippon whether the scholium means "some . . . others"? Certainly τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ or ὥς with a finite verb would be more regular for that. I think the key is θεωρητοῦς, to which the relatives are closely tied: "discernible in one aspect as subsisting according to number, in another aspect [as subsisting] by virtue of their identity of form . . .," and that we have no question here of two categories but of two aspects. To put it another way, we should render οὗς with the force of ὥς (and possibly even so emend the text). In fine, whatever else we may think about this scholium, it does not, I believe, postulate two classes of gods. (For a summary of the various interpretations of this scholium, see C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* [1928], pp. 588-94.)

The second thing to look at is Cicero, *N. D.*, I, 49: *Epicurus . . . docet eam esse vim et naturam deorum ut primum non sensu sed mente cernantur, nec soliditate quadam nec ad numerum . . . sed imaginibus similitudine et transitione perceptis, cum infinita simillarum imaginum species ex innumerabilibus individuis existat et ad deos adfluat.* The problems raised by this passage are well known. It is plainly related to the scholium.

The phrase *nec ad numerum* interests me especially. What does it mean? Rackham translates it "not individually," which is probably the best that can be gotten out of it. But it is odd Latin, and it looks as though Cicero were translating a Greek source fairly directly. Even if we did not have the *κατ' ἀριθμὸν* of the scholium, we should guess that this (or more likely *ἐπ' ἀριθμὸν*) was behind Cicero's phrase. The Greek fully supports Rackham's translation. Just as the gods have only *quasi corpus* and *quasi sanguinem* (*N. D.*, I, 74), so they lack individual identity (not, I think, "permanent identity," as Rackham explains it in his Loeb edition, *ad* I, 105). They would then be as countless as the worlds or as human beings.

But what of the *nec* in this phrase? That this was no scribal error is shown by the *neque . . . ad numerum nec* of *N. D.*, I, 105. Further, Cicero may well be using two separate sources in the two passages, inasmuch as Velleius is presenting Epicureanism while Cotta's criticisms of Epicureanism probably come from some sort of refutative treatise. The *nec*, of course, supported Gassendi's οὐ μὲν for οὗς μὲν.

DeWitt translates the *κατ' ἀριθμὸν* of the scholium as "subject to limitation," meaning that thus "they resemble human beings, whose substance does not change" (p. 265). Cicero's *nec ad numerum* he takes as "nor subject to limitation," adding that "this applies only to the second class of gods, the other class being ignored as less open to ridicule" (p. 266).

Apart from the fact that I do not think the scholium demands two classes of gods, I tend to accept Cicero's two accounts and to conclude—quite beyond concluding that there were not two classes of gods—that the gods were numerically blurred, i. e. countless. No other source refers to any such divine dichotomy. It is hard—even

though this be an *argumentum ex silentio*—to believe that Cicero, who had studied under an Epicurean and who had Epicurean friends, would have omitted such a startling matter. Epicurus eliminated daemons. Why, then, should he invent a first class of gods so that between them and mankind there should be a closer nexus (p. 266)? Epicurean piety and "communion with the gods" would have seemed quite able to get along with but one category of divinity. As for the text of the scholium, then, I should accept Gassendi's οὐ μὲν or insert an οὐ after οὐς μὲν. The -ους οὐς, the similarity with οὐ, and the possible palaeographical confusion between οὐς and ὄς might be the cause of the trouble, if trouble there be. I repeat that I do not see how anyone can easily attain the state of certainty that DeWitt exhibits. As for the scholium's εἰδῶλον, I half-heartedly assume that that is proleptic.

One last word on Cic., *N. D.*, I, 49. I agree with DeWitt that *species* here equals εἶδος—a pretty good hint that Cicero is here, as in the case of *ad numerum*, translating a Greek source fairly literally. I agree, too, that the *ad deos* should be retained, even though this makes us assume an unmentioned corresponding efflux of atoms. *Ad eos* would leave us in about the same difficulties, and *a diis* is too violent an emendation.

The last two chapters, The New Virtues, and Extension, Submergence, and Revival, are too suggestive and wide-ranging for summary here. Neither do I think it would be specially profitable to raise questions about some of the "Epicurean virtues"—that set would sometimes seem to have them all and indeed something of a monopoly—nor to quibble over specific proposals of Epicurean influence in, say, the New Testament or to query Julius Caesar's partiality to Epicureanism, or the like. These chapters illustrate fairly well the book's virtues and drawbacks. The suggestions are stimulating, the material is well covered, the texts are dealt with honestly, and the right points are brought up. On the other hand, there is a good deal of "special pleading," sources seem to be praised or damned as they support or weaken DeWitt's theses, and in general I feel that he over-confidently reconstructs with apostolic fervor a whole philosophical system with precision and detail out of what is, after all, quite meager and very often debatable evidence.

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Apokrimata. Decisions of Septimius Severus on Legal Matters. Text, Translation, and Historical Analysis by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN. Legal Commentary by A. ARTHUR SCHILLER. Pp. x + 110; 1 folding plate. New York, Columbia University Press, 1954. \$5.00.

It is a very curious papyrus which is presented to the public in connection with the 200th Anniversary Celebration of Columbia University. It was acquired in 1930 and attracted the attention of Professor Westermann immediately. Reading offered little difficulty.

The writing is a good semi-bookhand of about A. D. 200, legible except where the rather elegant letters are ambiguous, while the papyrus is little damaged by cracking or the activity of worms. On the other hand, the nature of the document was less clear. Professor Leopold Wenger was consulted, but the commentary remained incomplete. In the present edition, Westermann's comments are placed first, then those of Professor Schiller, and the edition has a dual aspect. Both editors command high respect, and the fact that they do not always agree is a testimony to the difficulties which the papyrus offers.

The nature and date of the text are made clear by the heading, which reads, in its original form: "Copies of the *responsa* (ἀποκρίματα) posted in the Stoa of the Gymnasium. Year 8, Phamenoth 18." Later hands added "In Alexandria," and squeezed into the little space between the heading and the body of the text the full name and titles of the Emperors Septimius and Caracalla.

The thirteen *responsa* or decisions follow in individual paragraphs, each preceded by the name of the petitioner in the dative case, and separated in two instances by remarks: "Likewise published in the same Stoa," and "Likewise." In each case, the decision is very brief and assumes a knowledge of the original petition. Usually it is possible to see at least what the petition concerned, although the reply "To the Aurelii Artemidorus and Anoubion and others: Comply with the opinions rendered" is not very enlightening. This may be, actually, merely a statement of the maxim "Stare decisis et quia non movere," as the denial of a suit.

Schiller finds that the text supports Wilcken's reconstruction of the process of publishing imperial decisions. We know from numerous examples the form of the imperial *subscriptio*, the answer to an *epistula*: "Imperator S to X," followed by the decision in brief form. It is clear that this list of ἀποκρίματα consists, in effect, of *subscriptiones* stripped of the original *epistulae* and the name of the emperor. What, however, was the purpose of the scribe or his employer in taking down this list of partly unintelligible decisions on various subjects, addressed to various persons, embodying it in this relatively calligraphic and seemingly complete document, and sending or taking it down to the Fayum, where, presumably, the papyrus was found?

It seems difficult to suppose that the official publication of the emperor's judicial activity can have been anything less than complete. The original petitions, in letter form, were exposed in a public place for a certain number of days, each with its answer written below it in the form of a subscription. It was the privilege of the petitioners, who were not admitted to the imperial presence, to make for themselves, or more probably to have made for them by an officially licensed copyist, a copy of all or any part of the documents in their case, to preserve and present to lower officials in evidence of their rights or privileges. But no petitioner would have wanted the answers to others' petitions; while, without the full statement of the facts in any case, such subscriptions as are here assembled must have lacked general interest.

Schiller suggests that the document is the work of a scribe who was interested in examples of official language, "governmentese," so

that he also might write the jargon of the imperial chancery. It is entirely possible. One may think as well of professional scribes copying such decisions, either for their own information or use, or to sell to such interested parties as might wish to have them. The writing, it must be remembered, is not that of a man making a document for his own use only; it is not only legible but decorative. Presumably there would always be persons coming to the stalls of the copyists after a day's session of the emperor and his group, and they might as well be sold a clean copy of a number of decisions as one of their own case only. Such documents as this, reporting the activities of a day of court, would be reproduced in a scriptorium by dictation, and sold to all interested. The immediately unnecessary inclusion of "In Alexandria" and of the names of the emperors involved occurred later, when they were no longer obvious.

This, to me, is the likeliest explanation of the document, although it is, perhaps, possible to suspect something more interesting. Collections of legal precedents are well known among the papyri, notably the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos*, much resembling the *Columbia* papyrus in style of writing, and probably not far distant in date. Another is *Papyrus Halensis* 1, the so-called *δικαιώματα*. Can these *ἀποκρίματα* actually have been assembled as *δικαιώματα* or documentary proofs of various legal positions? I do not think that the thing is impossible. Even in the obscure condition of several of the decisions, it is possible to see a certain relevance among them. Four of the thirteen concern inheritance (VII, VIII, XII, and XIII), three concern loans or payments (IV, V, X). One concerns a statute of limitations on penalties (I), one the affairs of a tax-collector (XI), one exemption from liturgies (IX), one something to do with inspections (VI). That is eleven of the thirteen, and the other two, including the "stare decisis" reply in III, are not irreconcilable with the theory that the whole body of decisions was intended to apply to the problem of the estate of a tax-farmer, complicated by loans and mortgages contracted by his wife in the attempt to free the estate from its obligations to the government. Obviously it may be regarded as unduly fortuitous that decisions on precisely these points should have been delivered to a wide variety of persons on the same day; but, while obvious difficulties lie in the way of this explanation, it would make very acceptable sense of the existing papyrus, which the editors found almost inexplicable.

I would add some notes on points of detail, in supplement to a brilliant edition of an important papyrus by two of our leading scholars in the field.

Line 2. It would be natural to understand *τεθέντων* as meaning the answers "delivered" by the emperor in the *Stoa*, except that the verb *προετέθη* is used in the parallel passage in line 21.

Line 5. The problem of the Roman citizenship of *Ulpus Heraclanus* (cf. p. 50) would be most easily resolved, I should think, by the supposition that he was a veteran. Military service would explain also his alias *Callineus*.

Lines 13-17. Reading of the name of the petitioner as *Κλ[.]δς* is awkward. The first three letters and the last two are clear enough, and the last makes real difficulty, for *sigma* as the ending of a dative

singular is impossible. It might be possible to read $\text{Κιλλην}<\bar{\omega}>$, assuming a slip in writing. The name is well known in Egypt. As to the ἀπόκριμα itself, I should disagree in translation with both editors. The structure of the sentence $\text{ὥσπερ} \dots \text{ἀξιοῖς, οὕτως} \dots \text{κελεύει}$ does not support the translation of ὥσπερ as "Since" (p. 17) or "Inasmuch as" (p. 56). The notion is certainly parallel: "Just as you are wrong in asking cancellation of the sale of the mortgages, so the prefect will direct that you recover possession of the properties which are held forcibly without legal agreement." The petitioner had asked recovery both of ὑποθήκαι which had been sold in settlement of the obligation and of other property which was being held illegally. The emperor reminded him that legality would hold in both cases.

Line 18. The names are Arabic, the first to be read as $[\text{Ma}] \theta \alpha \lambda \gamma \eta$, "Maid-servant of Al-Ga." The name has occurred at Bosra, as my colleague Professor Ingholt points out (Enno Littmann, *Nabataean Inscriptions from the Southern Haurān* [Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, IV, A, 1914], p. 62, no. 79); it is possible that Ga was an astral deity. The name would be written more properly as Ἀμαθαλγή , but omission of the alpha is common in such formations. Mathalge's father was Ἀμβρῆλος (Amr-El, "Order of El"), and her son Ἀβδομάγχος (for Ἀβδομάλχος), "Servant of the King."

Line 21. The first word in the line is written $.[\alpha i]$, presumably as an accidental error; read $\text{Κ}[\alpha i]$.

Line 26. Read διαδοχή for διατοχή , not $\text{δια}<\kappa \alpha>\text{τοχή}$. "Succession" is the sense required.

Lines 29-31. The editors' difficulties with these lines concern the parenthesis. "It is not right to expel from possession the heirs whose names are written (in the will) $\text{καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι τελευσθαι λέγωνται}$." It is necessary, and seems perfectly possible, to read κάν , thus accounting for the subjunctive mood of λέγωνται and getting rid of the parenthesis as such (an awkward affair in a language which used no punctuation). I suspect that the infinitive may be read as $\text{ἀ}[\pi] \eta \lambda \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$ or something similar, so that the whole sentence means: "Persons designated as heirs who have taken possession of the inheritance are not to be ousted, even if the wills themselves are faulty." Here again the emperor showed himself unwilling to disturb existing arrangements: "Stare decisis et quia non movere."

Line 42. The emperor's order to prevent persons paying in money rather than grain looks like a recognition of the shaky state of the currency. In an inflation, it would be cheaper to settle obligations to the government or to individuals in money rather than in goods. A Yale papyrus shows the emperor collecting supplies for the eastern armies at precisely this time.

Lines 46-51. Complaint had been made both against Comon and against the tax-farmer Apion. The pretorian prefect would judge the former. The latter would be called before the prefect of Egypt "to see if he were not a party to the charge against Comon"— $\text{εἰ μὴ κοινῶν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων Κόμωνι} \dots \text{δικα}[\sigma] \tau \eta \nu$.

Lines 53-6. Another instance of "stare decisis." "Not having taken up your paternal inheritance and not having a plea of youth under the law of sales, you still (reading $\epsilon\tau\iota$ for the impossible $\epsilon\pi\iota$) come forward with the claim that the property has been forfeited. Disallowed."

Line 57. Another Arabic name, to be read 'A[$\beta\delta$] $\epsilon\lambda\delta\theta\eta$. The rest of the line, OKAIPENOY, is apparently the patronymic, although I know of no precise parallels. (Here again I have to thank Professor Ingholt and Miss Florence E. Day for help.) The root 'QR is common to the west Semitic languages. The meaning is "root," with the verbal notion of "rooting out," "exterminating." Hebrew, Safaitic, and Thamudenic have names from this source with the general notion: "May he (the child, or the god in whose protection the child is placed) uproot his enemies." 'Okair- would be the normal diminutive form, and difficulty is furnished only by the -EN-suffix, which should be -AN- or -ON-.

In conclusion, it remains only to thank the editors for their good offices.¹ Schiller is a well-known authority on ancient law, and his legal commentary is thorough and reliable. Westermann's death saddened the world of papyrology last year, and it is welcome that his scientific Nachlass continues to appear. As I write this, his long-awaited "Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity" is announced.

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J. C. KAMERBEEK. The Plays of Sophocles. Commentaries, Part I, The Ajax. English translation by H. Schreuder, revised by A. Parker. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1953. Pp. ix + 261.

With this study of the *Ajax* Professor Kamerbeek has launched an impressive enterprise, a full series of detailed commentaries covering the extant plays of Sophocles, to be accompanied, in time, with a freshly edited text. As slightly over fifty years have passed since Sir Richard Jebb's comprehensive editions of the seven plays were issued and none have appeared to replace them, this new series of commentaries is bound to be viewed with high hopes and keen interest. There is perhaps too something especially opportune for the mid-twentieth century—at least in this country—in having this first volume be upon the *Ajax*. Again men of high and independent talent are having their troubles making peace with the world; and all too often the world of opinion is having its troubles making its peace with them.

This first volume comprises a short preface explaining the absence of a text to accompany the commentary; a list of some 92 preferred readings for a text; a crisp introduction which outlines the editor's general view of the play and upholds the arguments for an early date of composition (between 449 and 446 B. C.); and the com-

¹ Cf. the reedition of the document with many corrections by Schiller and H. C. Youtie in *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXX (1955), pp. 327-45.

mentary proper, extending for a luxurious 242 pages as it treats the play scene by scene and line by line. The production is handsome, but it must also be said that the contents are most curiously uneven. They include often a fine sensitivity to the vibrant language of the *Ajax* and many perceptive insights into other detailed features of the play. The editor shows familiarity with a wide range of previous scholarship and applies it aptly, especially on philological matters. His analysis of the play is judicious and reflects an admirable clarity of mind. But, with all these qualities as genuine assets of the work, they are far from being consistently maintained within it. Moreover, whereas the editor probes acutely into many local details of the play, not much effort is made to penetrate some of the major problems which the structure of the *Ajax* has posed for critically minded scholars. Neither, then, on the score of the general place which there is to be filled by a thorough, fresh, scholarly commentary covering the Sophoclean plays¹ nor in his treatment of this so often brilliant and perplexing play, has the editor given us an unmixed gain in this first offering of the series.

The work, however, asks and, in important respect, merits close consideration. It may be well here, then, to survey the kinds of material which it affords under three headings of increasing generalization: questions of text, interpretative detail, and the inclusive point of view toward the play.

(1) Questions of text: The editor expresses at the outset general agreement with Turyn's recent studies of the manuscript tradition,² albeit they have led him to postpone and revise his initial intent of offering a critically edited text of each play as part of each volume in the series. The reader is directed to the Oxford Classical Text (ed. A. C. Pearson, 1934), at least for the time being. In the 92 instances where the editor offers a different reading, it is almost always to adhere more closely to the manuscripts and especially the older ones (e.g., in lines 45, 61, 167-72, 179, etc.). An especially tidy example of this conservatism is the saving of the manuscripts' reading for 168-70, where the meter is healed without emendation, simply by recognizing the coincidence of a metrical and syntactical pause after αἰγυπῖον. In 516 the pressure to save manuscripts' καὶ μητέρ' ἀλλ' ἡ μοῖρα against the usual substitutions is more forced. A shift of thought and printed dash is called for after μητέρ', so that Tecmessa, conscious of the provocation her words might give, hesitates in mid-sentence and shifts the blame for the ruin of her home and parents from Ajax to *Moira*. As here, most of the list of

¹ For the *Ajax* Jebb's is the last exhaustive commentary in English and dates from 1896. The last comparable commentary on the play in German is nearly a decade older, A. Nauck's 9th edition (Berlin, 1888). In Italy in recent years the *Ajax* has been more fortunate, with the commentaries and texts from M. Untersteiner (Milan, 1934), V. de Falco (3rd ed., Milan, 1950), and G. Ammendola (Turin, 1953). The latter two can claim no special distinction. Untersteiner's edition is of a higher order and is to be valued both for its methodological thoroughness and for provocative critical acumen.

² Alexander Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles* (Urbana, 1952).

preferred readings involve an enlivened sense of emotional tone rather than radical alterations of sense, against the OCT. Unfortunately the presentation is not entirely consistent. Νῦξ is personified in 660, an idea which is surely fitting in its context, and so is Θάνατος (with Jebb, but without credit to him) in 854. But since these two are listed as preferred readings, it is strange that Φάτις in 173 and Μοῖρα in 516 are not; the commentary, when it gets to them, argues for personification. The citing of previous scholarly authorities for accepted emendations is also rendered erratic by omissions. And somehow the entire note on 1011 argues for the reading ἔλεως γελαῖν (MS L); yet, it has failed to receive an *imprimatur*. In the opinion of this reviewer conservatism on matters of the Sophoclean text is both sound on principle and intrinsically rewarding. Kamerbeek helps to demonstrate this. We are entitled, however, to expect more care in the editor's presentation of his materials and a closer rapport between the preferred readings and the pertinent sections of commentary.

(2) Interpretative detail: Still leaving to one side the major theses which undergird Kamerbeek's specific interpretations, one finds that the editor renders the most notable service within the latter—i. e., in his detailed treatment of the words, phrases, speeches, and specific actions which make up the drama. The line-by-line commentary occupies almost the entire volume and affords a wealth of illuminating and provocative insights. A review can only suggest a few of its features and illustrate them briefly.

An admirable sensitiveness to the nuances of meaning which are established by the poet's choice of word and phrasing is certainly one important contribution, especially when it stands against the rather strictly denotative approach Jebb took to the language. Thus on lines 735-6 Kamerbeek observes the underlying image of yoking and remarks on the ominous suggestiveness the image bears as an echo of line 123, while it is seen that νέας too may here bear a sinister undertone. In 647 and again 676, the chiasmic syntax is aptly seen to be the verbal analogue of Ajax's theme: the endless change and exchange of all things under Time. Many similar verbal aperçus are studded through the commentary. Suffice it here to cite the notes on 216, 282, 485, 859, 1030, 1037.

Often too the editor points up succinctly the emotional values which accrue to given phrases from their context. The comment on 532 is typical—"ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖσιν: Ajax refers to his own madness. The dialogue assumes a poignant character just because it deals with that which neither wishes to call by name." Again, on 1077, as Menelaus moralizes, Kamerbeek fittingly observes, "The tragical theme of 131 sqq. has a coarse note here and comes from an insincere and derisive mouth (καὶν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα)." The attention paid to the stage action and its import also merits special mention. So far as stage machinery is concerned, the editor rejects Pickard-Cambridge's dismissal of the *eccyclema* from the fifth century theatre³ and seems to assume a fixed stage-building upon which some kind of movable panels were placed to indicate first the setting

³ A. W. Pickard Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 100-22.

of a barrack and then the change to a remote spot near a grove (p. 168). However this may have been, it is toward more demonstrable interactions between visual and verbal aspects of presentation that the commentary directs a more arresting regard. See, for example, the comments on 351-3, on 874, and 1171-2, dealing with Ajax's second appearance, the epiparodos, and the parallelism between the family group near the end and its earlier stance (545 ff.).

The commentary offers, then, a wealth of sensitively conceived, detailed explanation and interpretation for a study of the *Ajax*. Yet, here too the lights of illumination flicker. Thus, next to nothing is made of the sword in Ajax's hand when he steps forth to speak of change and reconciliation (646 ff.). This impressive detail of the physical action has recently received more effective consideration in Linforth's treatment of the episode.⁴ Similarly in such comments as those on 132-3 and 1389-92, the editor's reading of emotional tone tends to vitiate the confidence it elsewhere may invite. In the latter instance he seems to maintain that Teucer's curse is not vindictive, though heretofore Teucer has been anything but dispassionate. In the former and far more crucial case, the words with which Athena ends the prologue, to term the lines "devoid of import" quite certainly avoids the issue; nor does it help to have *Electra*, 1505-8 cited as comparably meaningless. Orestes' brutal words seem to some of us far from meaningless. Again, there are lapses—sometimes quite curious ones—in the editor's attention to the verbal imagery and effective connotations of the language—e.g., in his treatment of lines 51-2 (especially as concerns the disease metaphor in ἀνηκέστου) and of the phrase τοῦ μηδέν in 1231.⁵ On a larger scale, the handling of the γελᾶν-motif is indicative. While Kamerbeek (on 267) recognizes the laugh of scorn to be a "leit-motif of the drama," the possible functions of such a motif are never explored. Obviously it is a significant factor in the play, for it has been cast to catch our ear again and again, carrying into the penultimate turn of the action (1043). Is it too much to suggest that the reiterated expectation of mockery voiced by Ajax and his followers sustains a memory of that broad and compassionate understanding which Odysseus has in fact exhibited, in place of mocking laughter, when invited to vaunt over Ajax? For the final turn he is to stand forward again to exhibit an understanding far beyond Teucer's expectation (1382), but not beyond ours, for we have steadily been reminded of it.

(3) The comprehensive interpretation: The commentary form, proceeding for the most part line by line, is manifestly a restricted vehicle in which to express a synoptic or effectively organic interpretation of a play. That the latter is not much Kamerbeek's interest may be reflected in the fact that he devotes less than 17 pages to stating such an interpretation. Yet unmistakably a point of view toward what the play is and is about underlies many aspects of the

⁴ Ivan M. Linforth, "Three Scenes in Sophocles' *Ajax*," *Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Philology*, XV (1954), pp. 10-11, p. 16.

⁵ There are also regrettable failures in the commentary to acknowledge debts to previous scholars. E.g., the interpretation of lines 257-8 is almost certainly derived from Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, where Jebb's interpretation of the storm simile is effectively corrected.

commentary, and it is well that he has sketched out in the Introduction at least the general outlines of his view. In the light of a succinct résumé of the earlier literary history of Ajax, which covers the known ground expeditiously (pp. 1-6), Sophocles is seen to have derived the most complicated version out of past treatments. He has done so in order to give full dimensions to a dramatic interpretation of the hero as one in whom "offense and greatness spring from the same root." The character of Ajax, then, is the center of the poet's concern. In him we also see the poet's fascination with the hero "who exceeds the bounds set to man, is annihilated, and in his annihilation finds the confirmation of his greatness" (p. 8). It is irrelevant to look for theological consistency, and the *hybris*-issue as such is secondary. (The relative prominence of the latter is "Aeschylean" and a sign of an early date of composition—p. 16.) Athena marks the bounds set to man. Ajax exceeds these bounds, but his death is not so much punishment for *hybris*. Instead, the play invests Ajax's suicide with two-fold achievement. In the first place, the suicide gains the hero the recognition of his *τιμή* by his rivals which it requires, whereas otherwise it could scarcely have been saved. Second, and the commentary (pp. 133-4) is relatively expansive on this point, Ajax's speech on Time and universal change sets the hero against the order of the universe to the end, so that he carries the dignity of a supreme and clear-minded refusal to submit.⁶ But while Ajax thus saves his heroic honor by suicide, this "honor exists in the world only in the recognition of others." The play's final 555 lines dramatize this matter of due recognition, completing as it were the hero's honor. And, so considered, the play is more remarkable for its coherence than for the lack of unity sometimes charged against it.

In the view of this reviewer, there is wisdom in this interpretation, but not enough. In almost every part it reflects important elements that are in the play; at the same time it slides readily by others which are no less integral but which do not bear, perhaps, quite such simple lucidity. Thus next to the very powerful portrayal of Ajax's "self" which indubitably is the major pivot of the action, the shift of agents and new swing given to the action a little less than two-thirds through its course is the major dramatic fact of the play. It has been also a major crux for interpretation and should at least be respected as such.⁷ Instead, the problem has been glossed over

⁶ Except for C. M. Bowra's effort to turn the evidence otherwise, in *Sophoclean Tragedy* (Oxford, 1944), pp. 139-43, it would not be necessary to note that Kamerbeek builds a good case in his detailed notes for regarding this speech (646-92) as planned deception—deception designed, that is, to mislead Tecmessa and the Chorus. It remains an issue whether Ajax is defying the cosmos even as he apprehends its order, as Kamerbeek maintains, or whether he may not have reached a point of understanding where he is in ultimate harmony with it. For a recent study which argues for the highest achievement of *sophrosyne* see again Linforth, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20. Cf. also Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 40, for a similar but less absolute view of the hero's accomplishment in this speech.

⁷ See Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-3 for a convenient summary of earlier efforts to deal with the problem. Masqueray in the subsequent Budé text, *Sofocle*, I (Paris, 1946), be it noted, advanced the most reductive view: the play is just badly composed.

and the structure of the play, quite probably, has been seriously misread. For instance, the notion that honors are required to complete the hero's honor is certainly in the latter part of the play (e.g., 1166-7), but it is not finally in terms of accorded reputation that the poet leads the issue of burial out from dispute. The "unity" must lie deeper. Indeed, just as "face" and "name" were important to Ajax, so it is the narrow mind of Agamemnon near the end which is concerned with "recognition," the qualities others may accord him for better or worse (e.g., 1362). In marked contrast Odysseus simply claims three things for Ajax: that he had been both remarkably serviceable and noble in his life; that to disgrace the bodies of such is to violate divine laws; and, in a telling reminder of the prologue, 121 ff., that humanity is due in the face of humanity's common prospect. This terminal development may also, more broadly, serve to confirm what numerous other readers of the play have felt—namely, that the play is not wholly Ajax's play, or at least that Odysseus is considerably more fundamental to whatever is the author's central concern than Kamerbeek allows.⁸

The rather externalized but certainly lucid view toward the play's unity which he offers is reflected in his treatment of at least two critical *pragmata* besides those of the last third. As perhaps suggested, the action with Athena and Odysseus in the prologue is only loosely related to what follows, more or less as context for the hero's passion. Subsequently, the introduction of Calchas' warning, which surely is contrived with just such ironic tardiness as to demand attention, evokes a provocatively clipped suggestion that we are facing "theological casuistry" (p. 152). Otherwise it passes as filling out the picture of the hero's personality and attitude toward the gods (e.g., p. 154). Aristotle reminds us in the *Poetics* that a hero does not make a play (1450 a 15 ff., 1451 a 16 ff.); the still more critical consideration is the action and especially the arrangement of the actions (*τὴν σύστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων*). If this applies to construction, it must also apply for interpretation. The editor's eye, however, if influenced by the *Poetics* at all, is guided instead by the famous section on the tragic hero.

It must be clear that this reviewer regards the *Ajax* both to be more profound and more complex than does Kamerbeek. In emphasizing what seem to me serious deficiencies in this study, both of interpretation and of presentation, the intent has not, however, been to undermine the effort. This book, I repeat, offers much that is worth close attention for a student of the *Ajax* and of Sophocles. But even Io needed the gadfly to get to Egypt and glory, and Kamerbeek has at least the lengths and depths of six more plays to traverse.

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⁸ Cf. H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (2nd ed., London, 1950), pp. 118-23; F. J. H. Letters, *Sophocles* (London, 1953), pp. 66, 132 ff.; Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-7, 54. Each of these fairly recent studies reads these facts, together with the forward and backward swing given to the action, more accurately, I believe, than does Kamerbeek with his concentration upon the tragic hero. The first two are quite probably, however, "harder" on Ajax than is warranted by his great moments in the center of the play.

ETTORE LEPORE. *Il Princeps Ciceroniano e gli ideali politici della tarda repubblica*. Napoli, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1954. Pp. 448. 2500 lire.

Cicero's political theory, and particularly his concept of the *princeps*, have been subjected to intensive study since Cardinal Mai published the palimpsest fragments of the *De Republica* in 1822. The first chapter of Lepore's book surveys previous works and concludes that they afford two main points of view. Heinze, "Cicero's 'Staat' usw." in *Hermes*, LIX (1924), was the chief proponent of the view that Cicero presented the traditional ideals of the senatorial aristocracy with no monarchical overtones. The alternative view is that Cicero attempted to graft onto the senatorial mixed constitution a monarchical chief of state. This last interpretation has two sub-aspects. Reizenstein, "Die des Prinzipats usw." in *Gött. Nachr.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, Heft 3, argued that Cicero's theory of the *princeps* was directly and consciously a model for the Augustan principate. However, the bulk of adherents of the monarchical position have followed Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie usw.* (eds. 1-3, 1918/22) who distinguished the Ciceronian *princeps* from the Augustan as representing an aristocratic leader of the type represented by Pompey rather than a real monarch like Caesar. Lepore ranges himself with this last sub-group.

These different views reduce themselves in the end largely to questions of emphasis. Mommsen saw the *imperium* as the primary basis of Augustus' power and therefore regarded his principate as monarchical and different from the Ciceronian ideal. The exaltation of *auctoritas* by such more recent scholars as von Premerstein, Syme, Grant, and Magdelain attaches Augustus more closely to republican, if not to Ciceronian, traditions. The present reviewer has sought to steer a middle course between these two emphases and to interpret the Augustan principate as a sincere attempt to compromise between republican tradition, based on the theory of the mixed constitution as developed by Polybius and Cicero, and the need for executive unity of control over the empire. Both the *imperium* and the *auctoritas* were important, not to mention such other elements as the tribunician power and the religious position of Augustus. If Augustus did not consciously model his principate on Cicero's theory, as he may well have done, he surely conformed its republican and traditional aspects to the senatorial ideals which Cicero expressed.

Lepore justifies a reëxamination of this already much probed problem on the ground that previous treatments have been too restricted in their approach and concentrated on one or another of its various facets, such as the relation of Cicero's theory to the contemporary political scene or its abstract and theoretical character. As a result Cicero appears in them either as a reactionary spokesman for an outmoded aristocracy, or as an impractical visionary whose program could not possibly stem the collapse of the republic, or as a genial prophet of the future. Lepore therefore undertakes to show that Cicero's theory of the *princeps* reflects its author's reaction to the contemporary political scene and was inspired both by the republican ideal of *libertas* and by Cicero's own concept of *humanitas*.

Lepore describes three stages in the development of Cicero's political theory. During his consulship, Cicero found support against Catiline in the agreement of the senatorial and equestrian groups. Though this *concordia ordinum* began as a practical political move to rally the propertied interests against the revolutionaries under Catiline, Cicero generalized it as a political ideal of harmony in the state under the leadership of the best. The experience of the five years after 63 B. C., culminating in Cicero's exile and recall, led him to see that the alliance of senators and knights could only succeed with popular support. He therefore argued that the *concordia ordinum* could succeed only with the agreement of all right-minded citizens, the *consensus omnium bonorum*. Finally, Cicero came to realize that the Roman political system made it possible for ambitious leaders to command power by control of public or military opinion. To prevent the perversion of the state by false leaders, he felt that within the governing classes one or more men of outstanding wisdom and respect should control the general course of politics by their *auctoritas*. Lepore argues that Cicero at first envisaged such a person or persons simply as moderator and guider, *moderator aut gubernator*, of affairs but ultimately as more directly supervisor or director of the commonwealth, *procurator aut rector rei publicae*.

Cicero's program throughout its development had the practical aim of correcting the weaknesses of the republican government. Of these the two most significant were the failure of the aristocracy to measure up to the ideal of the mixed constitution, as expressed in the *concordia ordinum*, and the emergence of false leaders. Cicero's concept of the mixed constitution and of the dignity and authority of the *princeps* are inspired by his optimistic faith in human nature at its best, his *humanitas*, and by his conviction that if the state were run for the best interests of all, if the *res publica* were truly a commonwealth or *res populi*, then *libertas* would be attained. Liberty meant for him not lack of restraint but independence from arbitrary control and the possibility of realizing full individual moral responsibility. In a genuine *res publica*, individual moral responsibility would express itself by support of the wisdom of the disinterested aristocracy and its leaders. Real equality did not mean that everybody should count alike but was proportional, assigning to each his proper function. While, of course, Lepore realizes that these views derive directly from Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers, he does argue that Cicero attached more importance than did his predecessors to the relation between *libertas* and *humanitas*, between political freedom and moral responsibility.

In his later years, Cicero based his own political position on friendship, *amicitia*, and on *mediocritas*, a middle way between the extremes of senatorial conservatism and one-man power. Though for him both Pompey and Caesar were false leaders, he found Caesar more unacceptable because, despite personal friendship, he completely disagreed with Caesar's political aims. Thus, after the assassination of the "tyrant," he at last could himself step forward as the *princeps et auctor libertatis*, the true leader whose authority would lead the senate along the path of liberty. Lepore concludes that the Ciceronian theory of the *princeps* was as much moral as political. It established a new ideal of the relation between the

citizen and the state, according to which the individual realized his moral responsibility through political activity. Though the theory originated in the practical need for reforming the aristocracy and ensuring wise leadership to save the republic, the ultimate test of its validity is not whether or not it could have succeeded in preserving the republic but in this new ideal of civil liberty as an expression of individual responsibility.

Lepore has collected and discussed every phrase in Cicero which bears on the theory of the *princeps*. His index of passages covers thirteen pages of fairly small type in double columns. He also provides an index of proper names and major terms. The book is not an easy one to read. It is verbose and somewhat repetitive. Neither the course of the argument nor the transitions nor the conclusions are clearly and succinctly marked. Scholars will find Lepore's consideration of individual passages and his general opinions valuable. But students and lay readers can find Cicero's political theory more clearly and directly stated elsewhere. Moreover, the novelty in Lepore's interpretation does not lie in his analysis of the words of Cicero but in his interpretation. Ancient political theory did indeed regard ethics and politics as part of one philosophical whole. However, Lepore's argument that Cicero's political ideal is ultimately one of the moral responsibility of the free individual towards the state appears to interpret Cicero's words in terms of the author's own attitude towards contemporary politics. The concept of individual moral responsibility is more Christian than classical and came into modern politics through the Protestant attack on Catholic authoritarianism. Plato did indeed see the political character of the state as the moral character of the individual writ large. One can therefore find in his political virtues of wisdom, courage, and temperance as subsumed in justice elements of moral responsibility. But essentially, moral responsibility depends on the Christian theory of free-will and the problem of its relation to divine omnipotence. The Protestants in theology and the rationalists of the eighteenth century in politics believed that the individual, freed from the restraints of dogma and ignorance, would naturally seek the right. This optimistic faith in human nature is basic to the theory of western democracy today. But it may be questioned whether Cicero, for all his *humanitas*, was the first modern liberal.

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✓ CHARLES SINGER, E. J. HOLMYARD, A. R. HALL, editors. A History of Technology, I: From Early Times to Fall of Ancient Empires. Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1954. Pp. lv + 827; 37 pls.; 570 text illus.; 8 maps. \$23.55.

This is a magnificent volume, indeed. Illustrations are excellently clear and instructive, text is at once learned and entertaining. Technical terms are used sparingly and carefully defined for the benefit

of the unscientific reader. As to the scope of the work, there is nothing, I believe, that covers anything like the same wide ground. The volume is a store of valuable information, from the use of a pebble as a hammer by a North-American wasp (p. 1) to the impact of Babylonian mathematics on Hellenistic science (p. 802). In between we learn of the basic social factors in the development of technology, of the technology in the food-collecting societies, of the beginning of chemistry and pottery, of the art of building and the use of metals, and so on. "The Preparation for Science" in writing, measuring, and mathematics, bringing us down to the Greek Age, concludes the collective work. The names of K. P. Oakley and O. Neugebauer, who wrote the first and the last chapter respectively, suffice to intimate the competence and quality of contributors.

Yet, comprehensive and authoritative as it is, the volume is somewhat disappointing. It is no history. The authors do not treat of a single common theme, nor contribute to a common argument. Their chapters, which are for the most part very good, just co-exist inside the same binding. As the editors candidly state (p. vii), they did not give much attention to the definition of technology ("the field of how things are commonly done or made, extending it somewhat to describe what things are done or made"). To the question what history of technology is, or should be, they apparently gave no thought at all. It seems as if they just made a list of thirty-one chapters, chose some twenty-eight eminent contributors, and let everyone struggle by himself with his assignment. This kind of collaboration, à la *Cambridge Ancient History*, may go in political history where, superficially, at least, as someone said, one damned thing just happens after another. But the history of technology, it would appear, is that of progress, from the first sledge to the latest car model. By itself, twill weaving is no more important historically and, certainly, less exciting than the length of Cleopatra's nose.

To begin with the external, there is no common rule on bibliography and reference notes. Some authors dispense with both, some thoughtfully give more or less meagre bibliographical hints. The editors optimistically think (p. vi) that anyone can find what he needs among "many thousands of references" in R. J. Forbes' *Bibliographia Antiqua* and such. At least the handlists of J. O. Lindsay (1950) and of F. Russo (1954) should have been referred to. On p. 200, referring to some artifacts found at Jericho and elsewhere, V. G. Childe says that the potter's foot-wheel was already invented before 2000 B. C. in Hither Asia. The hypothesis is repeated by another contributor (p. 388), again without reference; but disregarded by a third contributor on p. 274. Childe enigmatically says that "the connexion of these stones with a potter's wheel was not established before 1939." By whom? Where? Neither in the meagre bibliography appended to Childe's article, where the latest quoted paper is from 1934, nor in his *New Light* (1952), nor in his latest study on the "Documents in the Prehistory of Science" (*Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 1954) was I able to find any reference to the anonymous discovery of 1939.

The various technical topics discussed in the volume required specialized knowledge, and the technicians are naturally not always informed of the progress of archaeology. Nobody would blame an

ethnographer for speaking of "Minoan coins" (p. 742), nor the authors of the admirable chapter on "Fine Metal-Work" for assuming that no chryselephantine objects from Greece have been preserved (p. 661). But it is regrettable that the history of navigation is distorted by the assumption that the Mesopotamian peoples used skin floats and such only (p. 736). In fact, a seal of the Jemdet Nasr period clearly depicts a sailing boat, ca. 3000 B. C., and a terracotta model of a boat with mast, found at Eridu, is probably even older by many centuries. See A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (1939), pl. III, 4 and S. Lloyd, *Sumer*, IV (1949), pl. 5. Cf. also now J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures* (1954), 104. Speaking of "Extracting, Smelting and Alloying," R. J. Forbes apparently offers an extract from his *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, which was already out of date at the time of its publication in 1950. See its review by R. North, *Orientalia*, XXIV (1955), pp. 77-88. The discreet collaboration of an archaeologist on the editorial staff would have eliminated blemishes of this kind.

The editors state (p. v) that their aim was to provide students of technology "with some human and historical background for their studies." For this reason alone, it might be thought, the question of sources should have been of paramount importance in this history. But there is no chapter (and no sections in relevant chapters) dealing with technological theories of the ancient Orient, from Sumerian classification lists of minerals, etc. to the idea which, if I am not mistaken, was still alive four millennia later, until the eighteenth century of our era, that metals like plants are produced by the earth. Cf. J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIII, 1 (1950), pp. 384-5. In the present volume the remarkable chemical receipts of the Assyrians just figure as evidence that a certain alkaline substance was known in Mesopotamia (p. 261). Again, keeping in mind the stated purpose of the editors, would it not be important to tell students of technology and applied science something about the value of materials and work in the ancient East? For instance, the law of the city of Eshnunna (near Baghdad), promulgated ca. 2000 B. C., established the price ratio 2:3 between crude copper (*erum*) and the "washed copper" (*erum-ma-sum*), that is refined metal, as Albrecht Goetze kindly informs me. Cf. also his translation of the text in J. Pritchard's *Near Eastern Texts*, p. 161. Another point: R. J. Forbes (p. 576) rightly stresses the capital fact that Egypt and Mesopotamia lacked fuel necessary for metal-working. Yet, if I have not overlooked some item, the technologically paramount problem of fuel in the Ancient Near East is nowhere dealt with in the volume under review, though we learn incidentally (p. 551) that stones of dates were used for charcoal.

No less surprising is the failure to deal with the efficiency of ancient methods of technology. It is true that Lefebvre de Noettes' view on harnessing in the Ancient World is taken over (p. 720) and that, for instance, inadequacies of Egyptian masons are emphasized (p. 479). But such remarks again occur haphazardly. In Egypt and Mesopotamia bricks were made with straw (p. 461). Is the method the same today in these lands? Yes—but that I learn from an excellent popular account by Ch. F. Nims, in *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIII (1950), pp. 22 ff. Was the ancient Egyptian (or Mesopotamian) brick as good as the bricks of our houses? A cunei-

form tablet of the XVIIIth century B. C. gives a cryptographic formula for making a lead glaze colored with copper. Is the receipt good? Cf. W. F. Albright, *Vetus Testamentum*, Suppl. III (1955), p. 12 and L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, pp. 93-4. As early as the First Dynasty the Egyptians possessed copper tools, such as saw and chisel. How efficient were these instruments? And what about ancient bronze and iron? The classicist remembers Polybius' reference (II, 33) to badly tempered Gallic swords. Bow and arrows are often dealt with in the volume. But we never learn the range of this weapon in the Ancient Near East. Cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (1913), p. 66 and B. v. d. Walle, *Chron. d'Égypte*, XXVI (1938), pp. 234 ff. I freely admit that the full documentation for many questions raised here is not yet available, but it will not be at our elbow until this kind of question receives attention.

In fact, though the editors rightly stress the central importance of the Near East (p. vi), its history is rather overshadowed by the pre-historic and ethnographic evidence. The domestication of the camel is dealt with incidentally in a half-paragraph not free from mistakes (p. 706). The correlation of the Assyrian Empire and of the expansion of iron is mentioned in one line (p. 648). The planting of cotton by Sennacherib is referred to in the chapter on irrigation (p. 554), forgotten in the chapter on "Textiles," and the reader is not informed whether cotton became acclimatized in Mesopotamia. Cf. G. Goossens, in *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, IV (1953), pp. 167 ff. The far advanced art of fortification of the Ancient Near East is passed over (cf. now I. Yagdin, *B. A. S. O. R.*, CXXXVII [1955], pp. 23 ff.), yet flooding of a country as a war measure is oddly described at length (p. 554). For the composite bow we are referred to the Eskimo, etc. (p. 163), yet there is a perfect description of making a bow of this kind in an Ugaritic poem. See H. L. Ginsberg, in J. Pritchard's *Near Eastern Texts*, p. 151. David's sling is referred to (p. 157), but not Goliath's armor; yet defensive covering had already reached great perfection in the bronze age of the Ancient Near East; even horses were sometimes mailed. Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *C. R. A. I.*, 1952, p. 232. But the pre-historic weapons, too, are treated in a purely antiquarian manner, by enumeration. Childe made it probable that sling and arrow originally belonged to two different areas of civilization (cf. now J. Neustupsky, *Arch. Orientalni*, XX [1952], pp. 655 ff.), but such historical insights do not belong apparently to the history of technology which, however, finds place for a detailed description of the Mayan calendar (pp. 124 ff.).

Any reader coming to the chapter on "Discovery, Invention and Diffusion," which, it might be thought, would be the heart of the volume, will find little guidance on the problem of convergence and borrowing, but an abundance of generalities and even platitudes (p. 60: many for us simple facts "were as remote from the conception of early man as the idea of television to Queen Victoria"). There is nothing about the traditions of invention among the Ancients. No example is given of an invention the origins of which we may trace. I think of the alphabet for instance. Most startling is the omission of the channels of diffusion. See e.g. V. Childe, *New Light* (1952), pp. 238 ff. I would like to add a significant example:

the Uratrians imitated the weapons of their Assyrian enemies. See S. M. Baziewa, in *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1953, no. 2, pp. 25 ff. As to the general problem of the migration of ideas and technology see now the brilliant chapter in J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, I (1954), pp. 226 ff.

This long comment has been undertaken in no spirit of captiousness. It is rather a tribute to the book's importance. Perhaps these strictures might help the editors to make the next volume, on Greece and Rome, even more useful. In any case, every reader of this volume will join the editors in expressing thanks to the "Imperial Chemical Industries" for financing the undertaking.

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MARIO UNTERSTEINER. *The Sophists*. Translated from the Italian by KATHLEEN FREEMAN. Oxford, Blackwell; New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. xvi + 368. 30s., \$6.00.

This book¹ is the second of a series of three planned by Professor Untersteiner on the sophistic movement. The first was his *La fisiologia del mito* (Milan, 1946), which showed "how sophistic philosophy could . . . be resolved into an expression of the predominance of logos over the myth" (*The Sophists*, p. vii). The third part of the study is to examine "the cultural aspects of sophistic."² The present volume is intended as "a study of the sophists reinterpreted from their sources" (*ibid.*); so that it is only natural for the general theme to be almost lost to view, sometimes, in the fullness of detail. This theme is always present, however, and forms the basis for interpretation of individual men and their views. (Sometimes, indeed, it is hard to understand how he can have arrived at particular results except by application of this main idea to the available evidence.)

In spite of their many differences in detail, the sophists agree, Untersteiner thinks, in that they "actually pose a single problem from which are derived all the variations and the mutual contradictions" (p. xv). Their philosophy represents the coming of humanism; but their problem was not simply the study of man. It was the study of "*χρήματα, πράγματα, όντα*, 'experiences' of what man encounters in the individual, in society and in thought" (p. xvi). That is, they studied not the world of nature in general (like the other pre-Socratic philosophers), but man and nature in their dynamic interaction. Further, "The sophists agree in an anti-idealistic concreteness which does not tread the ways of scepticism but rather those of a realism and a phenomenism which do not confine reality

¹ Originally published as *I sofisti* (Torino, Einaudi, 1949).

² The author has also published a number of articles on particular topics and an edition of the sophistic fragments, with translation, which is still incomplete: *Sofisti: Frammenti e testimonianze*, fasc. 1, 2 (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1949).

within a dogmatic scheme but allow it to rage in all its contradictions, in all its tragic intensity, in all the impartiality imposed by an intelligibility which will revive the joy in truth" (*ibid.*).

As is suggested by this last sentence, Untersteiner sees the essence of the sophistic view of man and nature in the perception of antinomies, ambivalence, "tragic contradictions" which in one way or another they seek to surmount.³

Untersteiner's general interpretation is interesting, and as always it is stimulating and valuable to survey a familiar historical landscape from a new point of view; but in the details of its application it seems to be almost completely unsubstantiated by the evidence. There would be small profit in a full analysis of the argument, but one or two examples will illustrate the method.

The discussion of Protagoras takes its departure from fragment 6a (context in *Vors.*⁶, 80 A 1; Diog. Laert., IX, 51): καὶ πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις. This seems at first sight to be a statement about "arguments," and we recall that Protagoras was a teacher of rhetoric. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by other references to this dictum.⁴ But Untersteiner translates, "He was the first to maintain that in every experience there are two logoi in opposition to each other" (p. 19), understanding by "logoi" something much more profound than "arguments." Protagoras takes up a tradition in Greek thought, of the recognition of very deep conflicts in reality, an "intellectual phenomenon by which things purified into abstract ideas become relative and opposed to one another" (p. 21).

This is perhaps not entirely unfounded, and in any case not as peculiar as his interpretation of the "man-measure" fragment (80 B 1: πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν). The many divergent interpretations of this sentence usually make out that it reflects some kind or degree of relativism, skepticism, or subjectivism. To Untersteiner it means that in spite of the contradictions in things (the δύο λόγοι), one *can* have certain knowledge, and it represents the conquest of the antithesis by a new constructive thought. He translates: "Man is the master of all experiences, in regard to the 'phenomenality' of what is real and the 'non-phenomenality' of what is not real" (p. 42). (An elaborate excursus, pp. 77-91, attempts—vainly, I think—to substantiate this curious interpretation.)

What is more, the famous phrase τὸ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν, attributed to Protagoras by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* (B 24, 1402a 23; *Vors.*⁶, 80 A 21), does not mean, for Untersteiner, anything remotely like "making the weaker argument stronger," but "to change the lesser possibility of knowledge into a greater possibility of

³ Sometimes one seems to hear echoes of Hegelian terminology, as in Chapter V (on Gorgias): "The Hellenic genius frequently manifests itself when two independent and autonomous intellectual forces find themselves convoyed into a single channel, where they collide with the dramatic force of a conflict which seeks a difficult equilibrium. . . . The problem required the imposition of a hitherto unsuspected category of being which will override, by means of synthesis, two known categories."

⁴ The quotation continues, in Diogenes, οἱ καὶ συνηρώτα, πρῶτος τοῦτο πράξας. Cf. also A 20.

knowledge" (p. 53). There is nothing in Aristotle's citation, or elsewhere, to suggest that this phrase was the expression of an epistemological doctrine.

Often Untersteiner constructs, or infers, a philosophical doctrine on the basis of a single expression, and then raises on it a whole superstructure in an imposing, reference-studded discussion whose substance is just moonshine. The "tragic epistemology and ontology" of Gorgias is derived not primarily from his work *On Non-Being* (which is, however, made to conform), but from expressions in the *Helen* and *Palamedes*. Gorgias' final words in the former are, "My desire was to write the piece as an encomium for Helen, and a pastime (παίγνιον) for myself" (*Vors.*⁶, 82 B 11, 21), but Untersteiner insists that it is a serious work, "hinting at profound doctrines, or more probably, at a more profound development of them elsewhere" (p. 113). In defending Helen, Gorgias says, "Either through the wishes of Fortune and the plans of gods and the decrees of Necessity she did what she did, or because she was abducted by violence, or persuaded by words . . ." (§ 6). To the ordinary reader the "violence" mentioned seems very obviously that of Paris, and this is confirmed by the exposition of this point in the next section of the speech. But our author says, "Here . . . we are on strictly theological ground." The violence is "an expression of the divine," and illustrates "the descent from the transcendent to the immanent" (pp. 105 f.). In a similar manner, an ethical system is developed for Gorgias from one highly rhetorical passage in a fragment of his *Funeral Oration*.

In the chapter on Hippias, the section entitled "The stages of knowledge: names, sensory experiences, concepts" (p. 278) begins with the sentence, "The knowledge of physis is reached by three stages: letters or words; numbers or sense-images; the concept of justice, or in general, the concept." The footnote here says, "These three themes are clearly formulated in Xen. *Mem.* IV, 4, 7 [*Vors.*⁶, 86 A 14], as γράμματα, ἀριθμοί, τὸ δίκαιον. [This is true, but they are not formulated as themes proposed by Hippias.] They are criticised by Plato in *Ep.* VII, where after mentioning what are in his opinion the five stages of reality, of which the first three, of interest to us, are defined as ὄνομα, λόγος, εἶδωλον (342 A, B: 342C) he passes on (342E-343C) to examine them, but in the following order: ὄνομα, εἶδωλον, λόγος because this is exactly the order followed by Hippias, as is confirmed for us by the above-quoted passage in Xenophon." But Hippias is not mentioned in Plato's letter, and it is very difficult in reading this passage through to imagine that his exposition has anything whatever to do with him. If Plato wanted us, or anyone, to understand this as a criticism of Hippias' epistemology, why did he change the terminology? Why did he not name him? Besides, while ὄνομα might correspond roughly to γράμματα, εἶδωλον is hardly the same as ἀριθμοί (Hippias' "numbers or sense-images"), and λόγος is not the same as τὸ δίκαιον. In addition—a lesser point—Plato does not actually change the order of treatment in the way Untersteiner asserts.

The *Dissoi Logoi* is regarded by the author as a "Pythagorean-sophistic" work (a wondrous collocation!), "the expression of an anti-Gorgian polemic, or at least its echo" (p. 304).

Rather more persuasive is the picture of Thrasymachus which Untersteiner draws, following Salomon and Levi, as expressing the bitterness of one whose realistic view of society has brought disappointment. The gods cannot be watching mankind, he says, because if they were they would not overlook the fact that men do not employ justice in their relations with each other (fr. 8). And when he says (fr. 6a; PL, *Rep.*, 338C) that justice (meaning not necessarily what is right, but what gets called justice) is the interest of the stronger, he speaks as one of those "who have much loved and honored justice" (p. 328, quoting A. Levi). However, the argument seems to go badly astray in attempting to work Thrasymachus into the pattern of the "tragic epistemology." When we read in the *Funeral Oration*, "I could wish, men of Athens, to have belonged to that long-past time when the young were content to remain silent unless the political situation compelled them to speak, and the older men correctly administered the affairs of state," does this mean that "the necessity of coming to a decision when this is impossible is a tragedy for the intellect," or is it not rather simply the rhetorical apology of a young man rising to speak before his elders?

A recently-discovered "sophist" is the author of the treatise *On Laws* which Pohlenz believed he had detected as a source of Demosthenes' first oration against Aristogeiton (Dem., 25; cf. *Gött. Nachr.* [1924], pp. 19 ff.). Untersteiner does not discuss the evidence for the existence of such a treatise, nor for the spuriousness of the speech, though both are far from certain. As to the "doctrines" involved, it is true that, as he says, the author begins a section of his discourse with νόμος and φύσις (§ 15), and here we seem to be immediately on the track of something very significant; but it soon becomes apparent to the unprejudiced reader that this is merely the introduction to a basket of commonplaces on the importance of law and the villainy of the orator's opponent, who was a law-breaker. When the writer says that "everyone ought to obey (the law) for many reasons, and especially because every law is a discovery and gift of the gods, a counsel of wise men, a corrective of voluntary and involuntary errors, and a common contract of the city, according to which all who live in it ought to live" (§ 16), is he putting forth an eclectic doctrine, "the outward manifestation of a conflict . . .," leading to "a profound theory . . ." (p. 339)? The reviewer would rather apply the words of the orator (or forger) a page or two further on: "I shall not be saying anything new or extraordinary or peculiar to myself, but what you all know as well as I" (§ 20).

Untersteiner does not usually handle the evidence in the impressionistic manner of Dupréel in his books on the sophists,⁵ but tries to stick more closely to the texts. He avoids a head-on collision with the interpretations of Plato, whom he largely ignores. To be sure, he has laid claim, in the name of various sophists, to a good deal of new source-material. Thus a chapter of Thucydides (III, 84) is attributed to the Anonymus Iamblichi, and Hippias is identified with the Anonymus; the prologue of Theophrastus' *Characters* is

⁵ Most recently *Les Sophistes*, on which see Cherniss' review, *A. J. P.*, LXXXIII (1952), pp. 199 ff.

attributed to Hippias; a passage in Cicero's *Laws* is said to reflect doctrines of Protagoras. All of these attributions are open to question, and Untersteiner recognizes this. He uses them with restraint, mainly by way of "corroboration" of analyses (like those discussed above) based on authentic fragments, and wants the reader to regard this book as a tentative reconstruction (p. vii). This means, however, that the book has to be studied carefully by the expert, and that it is scarcely suitable as a general treatment of the subject for the non-specialist. Therefore one may be permitted to doubt the utility of an English translation. This is all the more so since Untersteiner's style is of the cloudy type—or should one say the poetic type?—which frequently causes the reader to question even the best translation.

Miss Freeman's translation is, in fact, quite adequate, though there are a few small slips, and she has missed a few blunders of the author.⁶ The notes contain many valuable bibliographical references and interesting discussions of particular points. The references are usually accurate, but sometimes have little apparent relevance to the argument. And in spite of the abundance of documentation, the book can only be used with caution as a handbook. Even in the short chapters on the "life and works" of each man, important facts are occasionally omitted or misstated. Miss Freeman's own *Companion to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* is more reliable.

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GINO BOTTIGLIONI. *Manuale dei dialetti italiani* (Osco, Umbro e dialetti minori). Grammatica, testi, glossario con note etimologiche. Bologna, Via Stalingrado, 1954.

During the period between the appearance of the revised edition of Buck's *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Boston, 1928) and the middle of the present century a considerable number of studies of individual problems in Italic dialectology, varying in importance, appeared in the philological and linguistic journals of Europe and America. In 1931 came Blumenthal's edition of the Iguvine Tables, with commentary on selected passages, then in 1937 the far more important edition of Devoto (2nd ed., 1940). But during all this time students and specialists were obliged to depend for grammatical study on the works of von Planta and Buck, which were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. In 1953 Pisani published *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* as Vol. IV of his *Manuale storico della lingua latina*. The second volume of Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* is expected to supply the grammar to accompany the texts in Vol. I. Meanwhile we have in the work now

⁶ Few mistranslations are disturbing, except perhaps "conceded to" for "bestowed upon," p. xvi; "the older of these conflicts" for "the most profound of these conflicts," p. 21; "solely" for "however," p. 108. "Autarchy" for "autarky" (pp. 284 ff.) is Untersteiner's slip.

under review a new collection of all the important texts in Oscan, Umbrian, and the minor dialects, together with the grammar and glossary necessary for the study of these texts. Italian students and those outside Italy who can read Italian have therefore a convenient means of familiarizing themselves not only with the texts themselves but also with the results of much of the recent labor that has been devoted to them, for the numerous bibliographical references are among the many merits of the book.

Bottigliani, like Devoto and Italian scholars generally, represents the reaction against the close grouping together of Latin and Oscan-Umbrian. For him the term *italico* refers only to the last pair together with the closely related "Sabellian" dialects. His collection therefore includes several Paelignian, Marrucinian, Vestinian, Marsian, and Volscian texts, and also the Picene inscription on the bronze statuette from Auximum, but no Faliscan, early Latin, or Sicilian texts, not to mention Venetic, whose classification as Italic not all are even now willing to accept. From among epigraphical material too recently discovered to be included in Buck's edition Bottigliani has about three short Oscan inscriptions and one Umbrian (nos. 5b, 20, 21, 114); Vetter has nearly twenty in all, but most are shorter and less interesting than those just cited.

The grammatical portion of the book is in general excellent; by judicious economy of the material the author has managed to include in the space of less than two hundred pages all the most essential information on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the dialects, from both the descriptive and the historical standpoint. The account of the history of the alphabet and the forms of the letters on pp. 12-22 is especially thorough. A number of other matters call for brief comment either because of their problematical character or because of minor errors of doctrine or of typography. On p. 24 the author favors the view that the dialects, like early Latin, had initial stress, although he does not exclude the possibility of a later development parallel to that of the classical accent-system of Latin. (Most recently Wolfgang Schmid, *K. Z.*, LXXII [1954], pp. 30-46, has argued in favor of uniform antepenultimate accent in Oscan.) Pp. 28, 30: no mention is made at this point of the fact that the spelling with *ei* is especially characteristic of Iguvine Table VIa 1-37. Pp. 34, 65: the fluctuation of *d*, *l*, as in L. *odor*: *olere*, is attributed to a Mediterranean sub-stratum; similarly the dialectal change *u* > *ü* on p. 37. Pp. 37-9: against von Planta he favors consonantal pronunciation of the second element of the diphthongs written *av*, *üv* in the native Oscan alphabet. P. 50: *arenīkai* does not belong with *dekētāsūū* as an example of non-occurrence of syncope in the second syllable, for the syllable in question is long by position. P. 53: Umbrian *meīs* must be not from **medes* but from **medos* with gradation in the ultima of nom.-acc. sg. as in γένος, L. *genus*. In general the treatment of ablaut on pp. 53-6 presupposes a fair degree of previous knowledge on the student's part, for the series are not presented in schematic form, and it is not always made clear what grade a particular form represents; on p. 53, for example, it should be made clear that τικ- is not a variant to τεκ/τωκ but that τικτω < *τι-τκω shows zero-grade. On p. 54 in § 44a) *sēdeo* should not have long *e*; the correct spelling *sēd-eo*

appears twice near the top of the same page. On p. 56 O. *patir*, Gr. *πατήρ* should not be shown with L. *fēci: facio* as examples of the *ē*-series, but belongs rather in § 44a) with U. *prusikurent* as lengthened grade to the *ē*-series. P. 65 *atēro* < **altera*: if we adopt this etymology the *e* cannot be long; whether the *a* was long in consequence of the loss of *l* before *t* is uncertain. P. 69: the *z* in *egmazum*, etc., in the Tabula Bantina is taken to be not so much an indication of voicing as of prepalatal quality. P. 73: *zēref* does not belong under d) and has already been accounted for under c). On the same page in § 64 it should be made clear that *úpsannam* and *supruis* had intervocalic *p* before syncope took place. P. 82: for the sign *q* in the Umbrian inscriptions of Todi and Ameria as well as in the Iguvine Tables he favors spirant pronunciation and so writes *runum řere* in contrast to the customary *dunum dede*. Pp. 84 in § 77: the remark on loss of final *d* applies to most of the abl. sg. forms cited, but not to the consonant-stems *kapiře* and *nomne*, which have -*e* from locative -*ī*. P. 90, lines 5, 7: not *davanti a cons.* (voc.) but *preceduto da cons.* (voc.). P. 95: *perum* with Gk. *πεδον* is not a root-stem, but is given its proper classification as an *o*-stem on the following page. P. 109, § 117a): the statement is wrong in so far as it pertains to Sanskrit (*ai*), for there the nom. pl. shows the original ending -*āḥ* < -*ōs*; *airl.* (*antico irlandese*) may have been intended. P. 128: U. *pora* belongs in the table beside O. *poizad*. P. 165: for *prupehas terek* read *prupehast eřek*. P. 180: for *coisantes* read *coisatens*. Pp. 185 top: **kuenkue* is the proto-Italic form, **penkue* the proto-IE. P. 232: in the descriptive remarks the cross-reference should be to 28, not to 248. Pp. 278, n. 6: the volume of *Bursian's Jahresbericht* cited is 270 (1940). P. 386 under *habe*: among the paragraph references read 171 in place of 170. P. 389: *hostatu* would fall under the *ā*-series, not the *ā*-series of § 44. P. 452 under *uerfale*: the root is not **uerbh-* but **uerdh-*, as shown by the cognate forms Goth. *waúrd*, Lith. *vařdas*. If these minor blemishes are given more notice here than might otherwise be the case, it is because the student who is confronted for the first time with a mass of difficult and unfamiliar material might be led astray by them. The fact that they are fairly numerous does not entirely alter the positive value of the book.

It is impossible here to discuss the solution adopted for each one of the innumerable problems of etymology and interpretation in the Iguvine Tables; it must suffice to discuss several passages in which Bottiglionni has arrived at a solution which is, as far as I can determine, original. In VIb 51 the oblique stroke of the *r* in *ponisiater* is scarcely visible on the bronze; or to be exact, the whole lower part of the letter is very faint in the plate in Devoto's edition but quite clear in Bréal's. My own memory of the actual tables does not serve me, but Bottiglionni presumably worked from autopsy. He proposes (p. 312, n. 3) that the copyist wished to correct *ponisiatēp*, and that the reading really intended was *ponisiatēf*. Accordingly he sees in *puničate* Ib 15 an instance of loss of final *f* (cf. for example *tre* beside *tref*). The sense of the passage as *trabeas habento* **puniceatas* is good, but *puničate* **ponisiatēf* would have to be an *i*-stem similar to *Tarinate*, L. *Arpinas*, *optimates*, etc., which seems considerably less probable than a stem of the type represented by *armatus*,

togatus, etc.—In Ia 45 the praenomen of the quaestor *Teteies* appears as *Vuvçis*, in IIa 44 as *Vuvçis*, with a blur in the interior of the third letter in Bréal's plate but a clear cross-stroke making an *e* at the same place in Devoto's plate. Bottiglioni reads *Vuvçis* in the former passage, *Vueçis* in the latter and translates **Voecius* in both places: very tempting, since it seems more natural to assume that the cross-bar was erroneously omitted in Ib 45 than erroneously added in IIa 44. Yet there are certain objections. Latin *Voecius*, which the author cites (p. 270) as support of **Voecius* (cf. Conway, *It. Dial.*, I, p. 328, Schulze, *Lat. Eigennamen*, pp. 105 f.) is a nomen, while the Iguvine *Vuvçis* or *Vueçis*, like L. *Lucius*, is a praenomen. Moreover forms with -s- from scattered sites in Etruria or from Praeneste are not reliable evidence for Umbrian forms with ç (from *k* before a front vowel) unless we assume that such palatalization had an extraordinarily wide distribution. It seems best therefore to adhere to the old equation of *Vuvçis* with *Lucius* or possibly with **Vovicius* after Devoto. For *e* in place of *v* we have a possible parallel in Ia 17, where the fifth letter of *Fiiuvi* (for *Fisuvi*) has in its center a blur which gives evidence of a not entirely successful attempt to correct an *e* into a *v*.—*disleralinsust* in VIa 7 is divided into two words and translated 'delerus licuerit' ('sarà ritenuto, rimarrà estraneo alla cerimonia'), the prefix of *alinsust* being *a-*, *an-* with perfective value. There is no sure solution for this passage, but the interpretations of editors who make a word-division after *disler* appear to show no real improvement over the derivation from **dis-leisāli-* adopted by Buck and others.

The plates in the back, which form a valuable supplement to the book, show the Agnone Dedication (in facsimile), the Curse of Vibia, both sides of the *Cippus Abellanus*, the *Tabula Bantina* and four shorter Oscan inscriptions; the Herentas inscription from Corfinium, and Iguvine Tables Ia, III, Va, and VIIa; and also a map of central and southern Italy showing the source of the dialect inscriptions.

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W. DEN BOER. *Laconian Studies*. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954. Pp. vii + 313. \$4.75.

In 1949 Miss Chrimmes published her adventurous *Ancient Sparta*, which must be read with A. M. Woodward's masterly review in *Historia*, I (1950), pp. 616-34; in 1952 H. Michell published his undeniably sober *Sparta*. Now W. den Boer, Professor of Ancient History at Leyden, has contributed in very good English a volume of *Laconian Studies*, one of the most important works on Sparta in many years. The author constantly displays learning, and occasionally a remarkable insight. Much of the book seems highly controversial, but all of it seems interesting and most of it rewarding. While Miss Chrimmes succeeded best in her protest against the misuse of archaeological evidence and in drawing attention to the interest and importance of material in the late inscriptions, den Boer has

based his book on a felicitous restudy of many problems arising from Plutarch's *Life of Lysurgus*. While Michell, whose best chapters are those on land tenure, money, and public finance, cautiously restates what seem to him the safest among usually well-known opinions, den Boer has written a book consisting of quite new conclusions supported by a full presentation of his arguments.

The discrepancy among the dates assigned to Lysurgus by the ancients poses the basic problem behind Part I, "The Struggle for the Chronological Pattern," which occupies half of the whole book. Building chiefly on foundations laid by Eduard Meyer and Felix Jacoby, the author tries to formulate more precisely the history of chronological efforts down to, and including, Aristotle, on whom Plutarch depended.

According to den Boer's well argued, careful, but still conjectural reconstruction, the earliest chronological lists were of course local genealogies, which, however, could be placed on a supra-local basis by combining them with events like the Fall of Troy, the Return of the Heracleids, the First Olympiad, etc. These genealogies were aimed at establishing sequences, not at true dates. When they began to be used as dates, they were, since precise dates were not given by years of a king's reign, dates by periods of forty years or whatever the vague term "generation" meant, and synchronisms by those who used them were often based on generations which were reckoned in different ways. Then dating by Olympiads occasionally made possible more accurate dates, but it is important to notice that dates were not yet given by years of an Olympiad. The Athenian list of archons made possible a still more accurate dating, so also with other lists of annual eponyms, which, *pace* Jacoby, were not just bare lists. Before dating by Olympiads came to prevail in the third century, there was a long struggle between dating by Olympiads and dating by generations. Lists of Olympic victors existed and were used before Hippias of Elis, though Hippias may have been the first to introduce the numbering of Olympiads and the dating by one special victor. The struggle to reconcile eras or to compromise between genealogical chronology and dating by Olympiads engages the close attention of den Boer, who illustrates with the cases of Pheidon of Argos and the Spartan king Theopompus. The reviewer finds some arguments weak or even unlikely without however feeling that the main arguments are therefore undermined. Then the author shows the importance of the Olympiads to Aristotle and appreciates Aristotle's radical and logical approach to chronology. He makes a good point by arguing that the description of the inscription with the names of Iphitus and Lysurgus as a disk in no way proves that this was a quoit for throwing and that the date 708 B. C. when the discus throw was added to the Games constitutes no *terminus post quem* proving the disk a forgery. An alphabetic inscription in 776 B. C. may still worry some, but den Boer spurns the easy way out of this objection. Accordingly, den Boer finds Aristotle an even more penetrating student than modern scholars as a rule concede, and finds that Plutarch deserves praise rather than condemnation for following (not blindly) Aristotle.

The second part entitled "The Spartan Gerontarchy," a very interesting study indeed, contains many good observations about the

divine, unalterable character of early law, among which the ingeniously simple interpretation of the phrase *χρηστοῦς ποιεῖν* in the Dreros inscription (Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 3rd ed. [1955], No. 116) as meaning "make (them) subject of a consultation of an oracle" deserves special mention for its far reaching import. The weight of this section lies in the study of Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 6 on the rhetra with the supplementary clause which Polydorus and Theopompus added, and in the study of Tyrtaeus 3 a and b Diels³. Views of previous scholars are conscientiously examined and well criticized. The author concludes that the rhetra is no late falsification but a genuinely early oracle as Plutarch says. The unexpressed noun accompanying the participles *ιδρυσάμενον, φυλάξαντα, ὠβάξαντα* and *καταστήσαντα* is *δῆμον*, he thinks. In the garble *γαμωδαγοριανημην καὶ κράτος* he sees the word <δ>άμω (as do many others). But he unfortunately accepts as basic Wade-Gery's {δ}άν<τα>γορίαν, which seems to the reviewer at best a merely possible emendation. The purpose of the supplementary clause den Boer defines as an attempt to curtail what few popular rights the rhetra did allow. The reviewer, who rejects particularly this interpretation of the rider, will set forth his own views elsewhere.

In treating the ephors den Boer translates Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 7, 1 as follows: "Lycurgus' successors about 130 years after him, when they observed the proud bearing of the oligarchy, placed on it the check of the power of the ephors—Elatus and his colleagues had been the first ephors, in the reign of Theopompus." After this interpretation he argues that Plutarch agrees with Aristotle in assigning the institution of the ephorate to Theopompus. The author rightly denies that Plutarch praises Lycurgus for the institution of the ephorate. Plutarch places Lycurgus above Theopompus because the former kept kings, council, and people well-balanced (as den Boer says), whereas Plutarch's Theopompus merely restored balance between the Few and the Many (as den Boer fails to see because of his, in our opinion, false interpretation of the rider as a withdrawal of the rights of the Many).

Part III, "Some Spartan Customs," concerns Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15-27. The author first analyzes Plutarch's treatment of Spartan marriage ceremonies in *Lyc.*, 15 and finds it restrained and valuable and less dependent on Xenophon than modern critics realize. Then he treats the Spartan *agôgê* of *Lyc.*, 16-27, in an attempt to separate factual information from Plutarch's moralizing. In his treatment of the *Gymnopaediae* the inference (on p. 224) that the appointment of Demaratus as *bidyos* (Herodotus, VI, 67) was "a grievous insult engineered by his enemies" surely outruns the evidence, but the whole section deserves careful study. On pp. 248-61 den Boer devotes sensible remarks to the Spartan age classes. He identifies the *πρόπαις* of the scholia on Herodotus and Strabo with the *ἀτροπάμπαις* of the inscriptions as the boy in his 17th year, and the *παῖς* of the scholia with the *πρατοπάμπαις* of the inscriptions as the boy in his 18th year. The age classes are, of course, a perennial subject of dispute, but in the reviewer's opinion Miss Chrimes and now den Boer have really advanced our understanding, though the last word will never be said. On pp. 261-75 den Boer, successfully, we think, connects the stealing of cheeses with a passage in Aleman

(Fragm. 37 D) and argues persuasively that the rite had a two-fold meaning from the beginning: it was a rite of transition to puberty and at the same time a rite of initiation of the young men emphasizing perseverance and endurance. On the following pages other problems too are treated carefully. At the end the reviewer rejoiced in the bibliography and indexes.

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STEWART IRVIN OOST. *Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania in the Age of the Roman Conquest of Greece*. Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1954. Pp. vi + 138. \$4.00. (*Arnold Foundation Studies*, New Series, IV.)

This book treats the complicated subject of Roman interference in and conquest of Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece, with particular emphasis on Epirus and Acarnania which, because of their geographic position on the western coast of Greece, were of great strategic importance to the Romans in their eastern expansion. Oost begins with a useful résumé of the little that is known of Epirus and Acarnania in the third century down to 230 and then gives a brief account of the First Illyrian War. Here, in a discussion of Roman motives, one might expect some comment on the possibly significant fact that the Romans, after long indifference to the problem, finally decided to take action on Illyrian piracy precisely at a time when Macedonian strength was at a particularly low ebb. After rapid treatments of the Second Illyrian and the Social Wars, Oost comes to the first of the Macedonian Wars. He argues well, but not entirely convincingly, for Epirote neutrality in this latter war. The rest of the book is primarily devoted to discussions of the Second and Third Macedonian Wars and the intervening struggle with the Aetolians and Antiochus III. Throughout these pages the strategic value of Epirus and Acarnania to Rome is clearly presented, and also the increasing severity of Roman policy towards these countries as the supposed danger from Macedonia, Aetolia, and Antiochus subsided.

The author knows Polybius and Livy well and on the whole is refreshingly immune to their propaganda. He is also conversant with the most important modern scholarship on the subject of Roman expansion eastward. Although quite properly he is greatly influenced by Holleaux, Larsen, de Sanctis, and Walbank, he reveals considerable independence of judgment, and some of his observations on matters of detail are acute. The shortcomings of the book derive chiefly from its restricted subject matter, for, as Oost says in the preface, his essay is "devoted to studying certain side-issues." Since the subject matter is Roman policy in Epirus and Acarnania, the great figures of the age—Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus—are perforce kept in the background. Nevertheless, since an understanding of side-issues is essential for an understanding of main issues, this

study is a useful contribution to the literature on a complicated period of Roman and Hellenistic history. It is also pleasing to have assembled the pertinent data about the Acarnanians, who must have been a people of an unusually high type to elicit, despite their Macedonian sympathies, Polybius' eloquent tribute (IV, 30, 2-5).

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SENATORIAL OPPOSITION TO CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

A friend of the Younger Pliny, C. Fannius, wrote three books describing the *exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone*.¹ If, as is most likely, he was related to Fannia,² daughter of Thrasea Paetus, then he was linked appropriately with a tradition of anti-imperial feeling lasting from the reign of Claudius till that of Domitian. Under Claudius, C. Caecina Paetus, as a result of the part he took in the revolt of Scribonianus, was condemned and committed suicide with his wife.³ Their daughter Arria⁴ was married to Thrasea, who was condemned in 66.⁵ Thrasea's daughter,⁶ in turn, was the wife of another philosopher, Helvidius Priscus,⁷ who was deported by Nero and Vespasian, and killed under the latter emperor.⁸ Both Arria and Fannia were banished in the reign of Domitian,⁹ when the son of Helvidius by an earlier marriage was condemned to death for *maiestas*.¹⁰ The connection between intermarriage and anti-imperial feeling does not end here. The wife of the younger Helvidius was called Anteia;¹¹ of the three Anteii we know after the reign of

¹ Plin., *Ep.*, 5, 5.

² *P. I. R.*², F 118. The relationship is suggested by Stein, *P. I. R.*², F 116.

³ *Ibid.*, C 103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, A 1114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, C 1187.

⁶ *Ibid.*, F 118.

⁷ *P. I. R.*, H 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *P. I. R.*², A 1114.

¹⁰ *P. I. R.*, H 38.

¹¹ *P. I. R.*², A 732.

Tiberius, one was killed after being exiled by Gaius, another as a result of that emperor's murder, and the third committed suicide in 66, being accused of *maiestas*.¹² Lastly, a P. Helvidius Priscus,¹³ probably an uncle¹⁴ of the younger Helvidius, was the husband of Plautia Quinctilia, with whom it is natural to link either Plautius Lateranus, expelled from the senate in 48, and executed for conspiracy in 65,¹⁵ or the young Plautius who suffered the same fate under Nero.¹⁶

An examination of the career and background of those executed or banished under Claudius and Nero, showing a high incidence of casualties within certain families, or groups of families, as in the case already considered, tends to throw some light on the confused cause/effect relationship between hereditary senatorial resistance and imperial persecution, and to dispel certain superficial notions regarding the unity and distribution of senatorial opposition. The position into which emperors were forced by family pride and resentment, leading both to imperial aspirations and stubborn philosophic resistance, can thus be better understood in the absence of unbiassed sources, and many condemnations, attributed to a multitude of causes, appear, when seen in their context, to have been at least understandable precautions and sometimes justifiable measures against treason, committed or contemplated. This is especially the case in the reign of Claudius; as a result of provocation on the part of his successor, the traditional opposition was joined in the next reign even by some members of hitherto loyal families.

The sources state that thirty-five senators were put to death by Claudius.¹⁷ There is no reason for rejecting this allegation, especially since Suetonius and Seneca are in agreement about the numbers of senators killed, but not regarding the equestrian casualties.¹⁸ We know the names of eighteen senators whose deaths were due to political charges or alleged imperial in-

¹² *Ibid.*, A 728, 729 (his son), and 731.

¹³ *P. I. R.*, H 41.

¹⁴ The possibility that this was Helvidius the Elder is dismissed by Gaheis, *R.-E.*, VIII, col. 222, no. 5.

¹⁵ *P. I. R.*, P 354.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, P 345; *R.-E.*, XXI, col. 29, no. 40; cf. no. 48.

¹⁷ Suet., *Claud.*, 29; Sen., *Apocol.*, 13.

¹⁸ Over 300 (Suet.) and 221 (Sen.).

trigue;¹⁹ along with these, within the senatorial order, but not strictly *senatores*, were the wives of two of the foregoing, and five other women;²⁰ also to be considered are the "many" accomplices of Scribonianus²¹ and others whose names might have been known had the account of Tacitus been complete. When we find that in the first seventeen years of Tiberius' reign—four years more than the total reign of Claudius—not one senator had been sentenced to death,²² the figures for the later period are surprising. They are even more so when we take into account the ample evidence of Claudius' respect for, and attempts to placate the senate. His desire to appear as one of their body is frequently illustrated by the sources,²³ as is his respect for magistrates, and consideration for individual members.²⁴ He sought to convert to healthy criticism in the senate the underground hostility of some senators and the servility of almost all.²⁵ His campaign to increase the dignity of the senate²⁶ and the *maiestas huius ordinis* which he speaks of²⁷ was no more severe than the many regulations imposed by Augustus. His clemency was such as to remove all but the most obdurate prejudice regarding his attitude to the senate. He pardoned and gave office and honours to those who had hoped for a republican restoration or had themselves aspired to

¹⁹ *P. I. R.*², A 701, 1140, 1225, C 103, 1400; *P. I. R.*, I 462, 541, 559, L 130, 327, P 109, 477, 481, 564, S 505, 618, V 25, 445.

²⁰ *P. I. R.*², A 1113, *P. I. R.*, S 221 (and Sen., *Apocol.*, 11); *P. I. R.*², D 180, *P. I. R.*, I 422, 444, L 242, V 161. This possible extension of the word *senatores* might conceivably be deduced from the elasticity of the term *ordo*: cf. its use by Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 25 with that in the speech of Claudius, Charlesworth, *Documents*, no. 3, p. 7.

²¹ Dio, LX, 15, 3, 6.

²² Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus*, Appendix II.

²³ Dio, LX, 6, 1, 3; 11, 6-7; 12, 5; Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 27, 7; Suet., *Claud.*, 12, 1-3; 36.

²⁴ Dio, LX, 6, 1; 7, 4; 12, 2-3; Suet., *Claud.*, 12, 1-2.

²⁵ Cf. his criticism of the consul Vipstanus (Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 25, 7) and his favourable reception of the speech of Domitius Afer whom he proposed to remove from the senate (Hieron., *Epist.*, 52, 7, 3; *P. I. R.*², D 126).

²⁶ Dio, LX, 11, 6, 8; 25, 6; 29, 1-2; Suet., *Claud.*, 24, 1; 23, 2 (cf. Suidas, s. v. Κλαύδιος); Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 25.

²⁷ *B. G. U.*, no. 611 = Charlesworth, *Documents*, 3, col. 3.

the throne.²⁸ The sons of those who participated in the revolt of Scribonianus, unlike the sons of many conspirators under Nero,²⁹ received immunity and sometimes money gifts. The sons of Valerius Asiaticus and Scribonianus both became senators after their parents' deaths.³⁰

Nec tamen, as Suetonius says after describing Claudius' efforts to obtain popularity,³¹ *expers insidiarum usque quaque permansit, sed et a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello infestatus est*. This sentence alone would suffice to account for the number of senatorial casualties; but the impression given by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio in their accounts of individual cases is that most of the condemnations were unjustified and often due to the emperor's wives and freedmen. In assessing the relative worth of the two traditions, it is in the latter case, since senatorial prejudice is involved, that one may well ask "Quis unquam ab historico iuratores exegit?"³² That it is distorted is generally accepted.³³ It was probably coloured by literary accounts of the deaths of famous men,³⁴ and the nature of accusations in the empire was such that a historian could, if he wished, be selective.³⁵ A good example is the case of L. Silanus.³⁶ Tacitus mentions only a charge of incest. Neither Suetonius nor Dio refers to this, however, though its authenticity is almost certain in view of the expiatory rites in Tacitus; on the other hand Dio mentions only the charge of plotting against the emperor.³⁷ A common premiss of senatorial his-

²⁸ Dio, LX, 3, 5-7; 4, 1-2; Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 1; 17, 3. Cf. Sen., *Ad Polyb.*, 13, 4.

²⁹ Suet., *Nero*, 36, 2.

³⁰ Dio, LX, 16, 2; *P. I. R.*², A 1147, *P. I. R.*, V 26. The son of Asiaticus may have entered the *cursum honorum* under Nero.

³¹ Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 1.

³² Sen., *Apocol.*, 1.

³³ See Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, ch. 1; Walker, *op. cit.*, ch. 6.

³⁴ See Marx, "Tacitus und die Literatur der exitus illustrium viro-
rum," *Philol.*, XCII (1937), pp. 83-103.

³⁵ Cf. Quint., III, 10, 1: *Una controversia est per se furti, per se adulterii. Plures aut eiusdem generis, ut in pecuniis repetundis, aut diversi, ut si quis sacrilegii et homicidii simul accusetur. Quod nunc in publicis iudiciis non accidit . . . principum autem et senatus cognitio-
nibus frequens est. . . .*

³⁶ *P. I. R.*, I 559.

³⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 4, 8; Dio, LX, 31, 8 (Epit.); Suet., *Claud.*, 29, 1-2.

torians seems to have been that the charge of treason, or at some periods of *maiestas*, which was often included in a complex indictment was to be regarded as false unless it was corroborated by rebellion or attempted assassination. Tacitus in this case chose to use the plausible tradition that Agrippina was responsible for laying false accusations against Silanus, agreeing to this extent only with Dio. The *Apocolocyntosis*, however, which implies that Silanus was guilty of incest, and Seneca's introduction of the subject seem to show that there was no embarrassment to Agrippina, while in the *Octavia* Silanus is regarded as innocent and referred to as *criminis ficti reus*.³⁸

Regarding the influence of the emperor's wives in general, while there must undoubtedly have been some foundation for this as for the other traditions connected with this reign, several arguments indicate that their influence was considerably exaggerated. Modern ideas of Claudius tend to picture him as a figure of amazing industry and scrupulous concern in all that pertained to his office. That he could be cajoled into permitting the deaths of innocent men seems unlikely in view of his fixed policy of reconciliation; that he could be hoodwinked by his wives appears equally improbable in one so interested in every sphere of administrative activity, especially that of a judicial nature.³⁹ Two important cases, those of Valerius Asiaticus and T. Statilius Taurus, where the instigators were Messalina and Agrippina respectively, both covetous of the gardens of the accused, have been considered by Scramuzza and are good examples of the weakness of tradition.⁴⁰ In the case of Appius Silanus, executed in 42, the sources may be similarly doubted. It is hard to believe that Claudius, at this early stage, when the outstanding feature of his policy was extreme caution and clemency, would have permitted the death of a prominent senator against whom "no true or credible charge"⁴¹ was possible; the suggestion that his death was due to his refusal to lie with

³⁸ *Octavia*, 149. Sen., *Apocol.*, 8; Miss Marti, *A. J. P.*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 24-36, revives the view that Seneca wrote the *Octavia*.

³⁹ Sen., *Apocol.*, 7; Plin., *Ep.*, I, 13, 3.

⁴⁰ Scramuzza, pp. 93-8. The suggestion that Asiaticus was actually guilty of conspiracy was already made by Cahuzac, *Décadence du sénat romain* (Diss. Poitiers, 1846), p. 72.

⁴¹ Dio, LX, 14, 4.

Messalina,⁴² then aged about twenty,⁴³ and involved Narcissus, who was later the cause of her condemnation,⁴⁴ in a scheme which might have cost him his life, seems less likely than that Silanus, a member of a family whose record, as will be seen, was one of constant conflict with the emperors, was condemned not on the evidence of dreams,⁴⁵ but of actual conspiracy. The charge of *maiestas* had actually been laid against him in 32.⁴⁶

Claudius had been independent enough to divorce his first two wives and permitted the death of Messalina, his third.⁴⁷ He had rejected the title "Augusta" offered to Messalina by the senate.⁴⁸ Agrippina could not save from condemnation by a servile senate her agent Tarquitius Priscus.⁴⁹ In the case of the freedmen, who are not concerned independently in the prosecution of senators, "the fact that Claudius was the organiser of this ministry is proof enough that his personality dominated it."⁵⁰ This view is confirmed by his condemnation of five freedmen of sufficient importance to have their names recorded by Seneca.⁵¹

A most significant fact is that in the *Apocolocyntosis* Claudius is held fully accountable for his "attack on the senate."⁵² There is no suggestion that any senator fell victim to either the freedmen or the emperor's wives, though it is only in the case of Agrippina that such silence might be expected; Narcissus is mentioned as having ordered the execution of Silius and his collaborators, but they are introduced to accuse Claudius, against whom they had formed a genuine plot. The peculiarities of the emperor⁵³ are not regarded by Seneca as incompatible with the guilt of condemning so many. Mention of the responsibility

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14, 3.

⁴³ Scramuzza, p. 90.

⁴⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 29-37; Dio, LX, 31, 4-5 (Epit.); Juv., 14, 330-1.

⁴⁵ Dio, LX, 14, 4.

⁴⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 9.

⁴⁷ Suet., *Claud.*, 26, 2; Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 37-8.

⁴⁸ Dio, LX, 12, 5.

⁴⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 46; C. A. H., X, p. 698.

⁵⁰ Momigliano, *Claudius the Emperor and his Achievement*, p. 43; Sherwin-White, *P. B. S. R.*, 1939, p. 14, also suggests that the influence of the freedmen is overestimated; Scramuzza, p. 87.

⁵¹ Sen., *Apocol.*, 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 8; 10.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1; 4; 5; 6.

of the senate, which participated in most of the condemnations, is diplomatically avoided by him;⁵⁴ this omission may be a symptom of the senatorial guilt complex that is to be found in later tradition, in the form of exaggerated denunciations of the emperors, their households and their regimes, relating much of doubtful authenticity, and obscuring what was discordant with the spirit of *illustrum virorum* history, namely the part played by the senate in condemnations, and the acts which led to the condemnation of individual senators.

If one accepts the premiss that the casualties of the reign of Claudius were, to a less extent than the sources would have us believe, due to the emperor's wives and freedmen, then the statement of Suetonius⁵⁵ becomes correspondingly more intelligible, and a less conflicting picture of the emperor emerges. In harmony with this is the hypothesis that Claudius was forced by the inherited aspirations or grudges and consequent active or passive resistance of certain groups within the senate, to secure his survival by extreme measures opposed to the policy which had been his ideal. It remains, therefore, to examine the background and history of some of these families.

Two main characteristics appear, relationship to the imperial house, and that of *paternum in principes odium*. That the former may have been as much a cause for imperial suspicion as for aspirations to the throne on the part of those who could claim it seems, superficially at least, quite likely. But the general attitude of Claudius, his many concessions to those who were later condemned, and the individual circumstances in many cases, suggest that the emperor had sometimes no choice but to take action.

The history of the Iunii Silani was one of frequent conflict with the emperors, and of such continuity that it would be difficult to show the responsibility for it to have been entirely

⁵⁴ Despite the insinuation of Nero's speech (Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 4, 2) there is little evidence of trials held *intra cubiculum principis* except in the case of Valerius Asiaticus (*Ann.*, XI, 2) and possibly that of Appius Silanus (Dio, LX, 14, 3; Suet., *Claud.*, 37). Nero maintained also, at a time when he would not have contradicted common knowledge, that Claudius did not order the accusations initiated by Suillius (Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 43, 4). The allegations of Suillius to clear himself at the time of his trial may have been significant in forming later tradition.

⁵⁵ See above, n. 31.

on the side of the emperors. In 22 C. Iunius Silanus was relegated to an island on charges of extortion and *maiestas* after having been proconsul in Asia.⁵⁶ D. Silanus, probably a brother of the foregoing⁵⁷ was required by Tiberius not to seek office on his return from exile as a result of adultery with Julia. M. Silanus (cos. 15), his brother, was driven to suicide by Caligula, who had married his daughter.⁵⁸ Dio regarded his suicide as performed voluntarily to escape the insults of the emperor.⁵⁹ Suetonius says that he was driven to it for a specific reason.⁶⁰ Probably a son of M. Silanus (cos. 15), and therefore brother-in-law of Caligula, was the earlier-mentioned C. Appius Silanus⁶¹ who was executed in 42 by Claudius.⁶² He was the husband of Domitia Lepida, the aunt of Nero, who suffered, in 54, the same fate as her daughter by one marriage, her son by another, her husband in a third, and probably her sister.⁶³ Iunia Silana who was exiled in 55, was most likely a sister of Appius Silanus.⁶⁴

Just as in the case of M. Silanus, who was denied by the emperor the privilege of voting first among the ex-consuls,⁶⁵ so the prestige of another M. Silanus (cos. 19) prompted imperial action in the transference of the legion in Africa during his proconsulship to the command of a legate.⁶⁶ The nobility of this branch of the family was enhanced by his marriage to Aemilia Lepida, a great-granddaughter of Augustus,⁶⁷ whose father had been condemned for conspiracy against Augustus⁶⁸ and whose mother had died in exile.⁶⁹ Their children were

⁵⁶ *P. I. R.*, I 545.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I 546.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I 551.

⁵⁹ Dio, LIX, 8, 4.

⁶⁰ Suet., *Calig.*, 23, 3.

⁶¹ *P. I. R.*, I 541.

⁶² See n. 54.

⁶³ *P. I. R.*², D 180.

⁶⁴ *P. I. R.*, I 577; Dessau, *P. I. R.*, s. v., suggests that their father was M. Silanus (cos. 15) = *P. I. R.*, I 551.

⁶⁵ Dio, LIX, 8, 6.

⁶⁶ *P. I. R.*, I 552; Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 48.

⁶⁷ *P. I. R.*², A 419.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, A 391.

⁶⁹ *P. I. R.*, I 421. She had once been betrothed to Claudius who repudiated her because of her parents (Suet., *Claud.*, 26, 1). Her first cousin

Marcus, born in the same year as his great-great-grandfather, Augustus, died,⁷⁰ Decimus, and Lucius Silanus.⁷¹ The son of the Cn. Cornelius Gaetulicus who had revolted unsuccessfully under Caligula was probably related to them by adoption.⁷² A partner of Gaetulicus in his conspiracy had been M. Aemilius Lepidus, most likely a cousin of their mother, by whose death it is presumed that the long-famous Aemilia gens became extinct,⁷³ and their glories passed to increase the proud heritage and hopes of the Silani. Decimus and the son of Marcus took the "cognomen" of Torquatus, in reference to an adoption in their early history, and it was most likely one of this family who, under Caligula, was forbidden to use as his emblem the *torques*.⁷⁴ Claudius, in a manner consonant with his whole policy at this time, attempted to gain the favour of this noble family by betrothing Lucius Silanus to his daughter Octavia and granting him many privileges.⁷⁵ The confused nature of the evidence regarding his condemnation has already been mentioned. Three causes are recorded, the intention of Agrippina to obtain Octavia as a wife for her son Nero, the charge of incest, and that of plotting against the emperor.⁷⁶ Regarding the first it must be remembered that Silanus was not yet married to Octavia, so a less perilous course of action must have been open to Agrippina than that of wrecking the plans of

of the same name had committed suicide in 36 (*P. I. R.*², A 421), while a third Aemilia Lepida (*ibid.*, 420), less closely related, and her husband (*ibid.*, 404) had each been accused under Tiberius on charges of adultery and *maiestas*; the former was banished, the latter anticipated his condemnation by committing suicide.

⁷⁰ *P. I. R.*, I 553.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I 558, 559; Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, p. 495.

⁷² *P. I. R.*, I 556 and Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.*, p. 201; it is probable that the wife of C. Calvisius Sabinus, who committed suicide in 39 with her husband, was his aunt (see *P. I. R.*², C 354 and 1479). Sabinus in turn was connected with Marcellus Aeserninus (*ibid.*, C 928) who, as J. H. Oliver has shown (*A. J. P.*, LXVIII [1947], pp. 150-8), was probably condemned by Tiberius.

⁷³ *P. I. R.*², A 371; Syme, p. 494.

⁷⁴ Cicero, *De Fin.*, I, 7, 23-4; Suet., *Calig.*, 35; it could also have been one of the gens Manlia or Nonia (Asprenas).

⁷⁵ Dio, LX, 5, 7; 21, 5; 23, 1; see Suet., *Claud.*, 24, 3; Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 3.

⁷⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 4, 8, 9; Sen. *Apocol.*, 8; Dio, LX, 31, 8.

Claudius who was not yet her husband;⁷⁷ the incest charge may have been justified, but since Claudius was also about to contract an incestuous marriage with his niece, it would not be unnatural to suppose in view of the background of the accused that the charge of plotting mentioned by Dio was also necessary to warrant his condemnation.⁷⁸ His sister was merely banished.⁷⁹ In 54, Marcus, the eldest brother,⁸⁰ was proconsul of Asia, where great excitement had been caused in 31 A.D. by an alleged son of M. Silanus, posing as Drusus.⁸¹ He was poisoned there.⁸² If as is likely enough, Agrippina, now at the height of her power, was responsible for this, it was still an indication that she regarded him as a potential threat to her son's position.

In 64 occurred the accusation and death of the third brother, Decimus,⁸³ whose prodigality, in the account of Dio,⁸⁴ was the cause of his downfall, but was only one of the charges which the accusers were ordered to make, according to Tacitus.⁸⁵ The distorted version of Dio omits mention of the family pride of the accused, and the fact that his prodigality was obnoxious to a spendthrift emperor only because it was spent on bribes and in patterning his household on that of Nero himself.⁸⁶ Silanus committed suicide before judgment could be passed,⁸⁷ a premature anticipation of the verdict for one who was innocent, especially since not one senator had been condemned to death by the senate till then.

Iunia Lepida⁸⁸ was a sister of the three Silani, and wife of Cassius Longinus, the celebrated *iuris consultus*.⁸⁹ Her nephew (son of the poisoned governor of Asia), together with her hus-

⁷⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 8, 1.

⁷⁸ Tacitus (*Ann.*, XII, 8) regards his suicide, it would seem, as an anticipation of condemnation; Suetonius and Dio treat it as tantamount to execution.

⁷⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 8, 1.

⁸⁰ *P. I. R.*, I 553.

⁸¹ Tac., *Ann.*, V, 10 (VI, 5).

⁸² *Ibid.*, XIII, 1, 33.

⁸³ *P. I. R.*, I 558.

⁸⁴ Dio, LX, 27, 2 = Exc. Val. 249 (p. 690).

⁸⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 35.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *P. I. R.*, I 575.

⁸⁹ *P. I. R.*², C 503.

band, was accused in 65 of intentions similar to those of Decimus, his uncle, and in the view of Tacitus equally false.⁹⁰ Yet the same writer attributed the rejection by Calpurnius Piso of a certain course of action involving Nero's assassination as due to his fear of Silanus as a rival.⁹¹ Silanus, and Cassius, who had already been imprisoned under Gaius, were exiled, and the former subsequently was killed by a centurion.⁹² Iunia Lepida was at the same time accused of incest and the senate asked Nero to decide in her case.⁹³ The result is unknown, but her name does not recur in the history of the period. It was later proposed in the senate that the name of the month of June be changed in view of the recent history of the families which bore this name.⁹⁴

C. Silius,⁹⁵ a patrician like the Silani, had been married to Iunia Silana before his affair with Messalina which led to his execution while still consul designate.⁹⁶ It would seem that in his case, as in that of L. Silanus, family grievances and his own nobility prompted him to reject the favour he had found with Claudius and to seek to take his place. His father had been accused of extortion by Seianus and had anticipated his imminent condemnation by committing suicide in circumstances which, according to Tacitus, savoured of a *maiestas* trial. Velleius saw fit to comment on the ingratitude towards Tiberius of the elder Silius and of Piso (see *infra*) *quorum alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit alterius*.⁹⁷ Sosia, the wife of Silius, had been exiled soon afterwards.⁹⁸

Even in the cases of those of the Julio-Claudian line who perished in these reigns the common motive of the emperors—to consolidate their position by getting rid of those with rival claims to relationship with Augustus—seems in certain cases to be accompanied by some measure of justification. The deaths

⁹⁰ *P. I. R.*, I 560; Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 8, 9.

⁹¹ Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 52, 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, XVI, 9; Suet., *Nero*, 37, 1 and Dio, LXII, 27, 1 imply wrongly that Cassius was also executed.

⁹³ Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 8, 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, 12, 3.

⁹⁵ *P. I. R.*, S 505.

⁹⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 30-8; Sen., *Apocol.*, 13.

⁹⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 18-19; Vell., II, 130.

⁹⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 20, 2.

of the two Julias, nieces of Claudius, were attributed (except by Seneca) to charges concocted by Messalina.⁹⁹ In the case of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, the details of her accusation by Suillius are not known. She had lost her father, her mother, and her first husband as a result of political intrigue or condemnations.¹⁰⁰ The daughter of Germanicus, Julia Livilla,¹⁰¹ like her sister, Agrippina, seems to have had much in common with her grandmother, the daughter of Augustus. After being restored by Claudius from exile, to which she had been condemned on a charge of adultery, she was again banished to an island as a result of further accusations, including that of adultery. Seneca was involved, and he suffered *relegatio*.¹⁰² It is noteworthy that whereas his life was spared on this occasion, as he tells us himself, through the intervention of the emperor,¹⁰³ he later attributes the death of Julia in exile to the same emperor.¹⁰⁴ The husband of Julia Livilla, M. Vinicius, who had aspired to the throne at the death of Gaius, was poisoned by Messalina, it is alleged, in 46, a year after his consulship.¹⁰⁵

Rubellius Plautus¹⁰⁶ was the son of the elder Julia, daughter of Drusus. He was as closely related to Augustus as Nero was, and a potential rival, as was shown by one of the charges laid against Agrippina when her power was waning.¹⁰⁷ He was asked by Nero to leave Rome in 60 for political reasons and was killed by order of that emperor in 62.¹⁰⁸ At the same time the death was ordered of F. Cornelius Sulla Felix, who had been considered worthy to replace Nero in charges laid against Pallas and Burrus in 55, and who had been exiled in 58 to Massilia, on political charges.¹⁰⁹ In his case too, connection with the royal house and privileges received had brought about his downfall, for, in addition to his own nobility, he had received in marriage

⁹⁹ Dio, LX, 8, 5; 18, 4; Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 32, 5; Sen., *Apocol.*, 10.

¹⁰⁰ *P. I. R.*, I 422 (see n. 54).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I 444.

¹⁰² Dio, LXI, 10, 1.

¹⁰³ Sen., *Ad Polyb.*, 13, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Sen., *Apocol.*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ *P. I. R.*, V 445.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, R 85.

¹⁰⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 19, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 59.

¹⁰⁹ *P. I. R.*², C 1404.

the daughter of Claudius, Antonia, and was also a son of Domitia Lepida,¹¹⁰ the aunt of Nero. It is not unreasonable to assume that there was some suspicion of conspiracy on their part. They were the first political murders of this reign, except for the alleged poisoning of Silanus and Britannicus seven years earlier,¹¹¹ and there had been no death sentences in Rome for *maiestas*. The possibility of Gaul and Asia supporting such noble pretenders, and of Corbulo in Syria supporting Plautus, may have been less remote than Tacitus implies.¹¹² This is precisely the impression we get from the *Octavia*, where, for once, Nero is permitted a word in his own defence. He says:

Exilia non fregere summotos procul
Plautum atque Sullam, pertinax quorum furor
armat ministros sceleris in caedem meam; ¹¹³

After their deaths the senate itself proposed that their names be erased from the list of senators.¹¹⁴ Three years later the widow of Rubellius Plautus and her father were accused in the senate and anticipated their condemnation, which was none the less decreed, by committing suicide.¹¹⁵

Another group of families, whose history is a continuous pattern of pride and resentment followed by aspirations and mutual retaliation, was descended from Pompey. L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus ¹¹⁶ (cos. 32) was the adoptive son of L. Arruntius, who had been mentioned by Augustus, it was alleged by some, as worthy and prepared to be his successor, and who was condemned under Tiberius and committed suicide.¹¹⁷ Scribonianus revolted in 42, and though supported by many senators was deserted by his soldiers.¹¹⁸ His wife, Vibia, suffered *relegatio* ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, D 180.

¹¹¹ Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 1, 15-17.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XIV, 57, 2; 58, 1. The governor of Asia at this time was probably Barea Soranus (*P. I. R.*², B 55), and his friendship with Plautus was one of the accusations laid against him in his trial (*Ann.*, XVI, 30, 1).

¹¹³ *Octavia*, 464-6.

¹¹⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 59, 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 10-11.

¹¹⁶ *P. I. R.*², A 1140.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, A 1130.

¹¹⁸ Dio, LX, 15, 2-3.

¹¹⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 52, 1.

and in 52 his son,¹²⁰ who had been spared by Claudius with typical generosity, was exiled on a charge of magic practices directed against the emperor.¹²¹

The son of Scribonianus was a direct descendant of Pompey the Great,¹²² most likely through his grandmother, the wife of M. Furius Camillus.¹²³ Related to the Scriboniani, probably through her, and certainly through their common ancestor, Pompey, were the Scribonii Libones, who had added to their nobility a connection with the Caesars by the marriage of Scribonia to Augustus.¹²⁴ One of this family had been shown guilty of plotting twice against Tiberius and had committed suicide; his sister Scribonia named one of her sons after her famous ancestor.¹²⁵ This was Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whose paternal grandfather was the renowned L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 15 B. C.), a close friend of Augustus and Tiberius.¹²⁶ Gaius forbade him to use the cognomen "Magnus"; his object in so doing was probably to restrain the manifestation of family pride which was implied in the use of this name.¹²⁷ Claudius restored to Pompeius the right to use it,¹²⁸ granted him the same privileges as L. Silanus, and gave him his daughter Antonia in marriage.¹²⁹ But for some reason not mentioned by the sources, he was killed, we are told, by Claudius, before the year 47,¹³⁰ and, like the next husband of Antonia,¹³¹ without a trial. The very fact that no motive is given seems almost certain proof that Messalina was not linked by tradition with the affair. That it was of a political nature is most likely, in view of the family background of Magnus and the fact that both his parents also lost their lives before 47, presumably at the same time.¹³² His father, M.

¹²⁰ *P. I. R.*², A 1147.

¹²¹ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 52, 1.

¹²² *P. I. R.*, *ibid.*

¹²³ *P. I. R.*², F 576.

¹²⁴ *Stemmia*, *P. I. R.*, S 214.

¹²⁵ *P. I. R.*, S 214, 221.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, P 477; *P. I. R.*², C 289.

¹²⁷ Suet., *Calig.*, 35, 1.

¹²⁸ Sen., *Apocol.*, 11.

¹²⁹ Dio, LX, 5, 8; 21, 5; 23, 1.

¹³⁰ Sen., *Apocol.*, 11; Dio, LX, 31, 7.

¹³¹ *P. I. R.*², C 1464.

¹³² Sen., *Apocol.*, 11.

Licinius Crassus Frugi,¹³³ is referred to by Seneca as *tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset*,¹³⁴ which, though a reference to a well-known proverb¹³⁵ and to Claudius, may at the same time in its context imply that such hopes were entertained by him. He had twice received the *ornamenta triumphalia*,¹³⁶ a notable achievement which might show that the foundation for the witticism of Seneca was more his ambition to rule than his stupidity. Another son of Crassus, consul in 64, was accused and condemned between 66 and 68; the Scribonianus Camerinus, who was impersonated by a slave in 69, was probably his son, and had doubtless been killed or banished before that year.¹³⁷ His two younger brothers, Crassus Scribonianus¹³⁸ and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus,¹³⁹ survived the two reigns. The former was said to have been asked to seek the Imperial throne in 70, but to have declined.¹⁴⁰ He was later killed.¹⁴¹ Licinianus, the youngest son, who had been aged nine at the most when his parents were executed, spent a large part of his life in poverty,¹⁴² and probably never became a senator. His nobility, none the less, was partly responsible for his adoption by Galba, who gave him the coveted name of "Caesar."¹⁴³ Among his friends had been Rubellius Plautus, intimacy with whom had been thought worthy of its place in the accusations against Barea Soranus.¹⁴⁴ He was executed with Galba by Otho.¹⁴⁵ Licinia Magna¹⁴⁶ was the only known female member of this family. She married L. Piso¹⁴⁷—probably a son of the Piso who had been consul with her father in 27¹⁴⁸—who was killed in 70, being suspected

¹³³ *P. I. R.*, L 130.

¹³⁴ Sen., *Apocol.*, 11.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹³⁶ Suet., *Claud.*, 17, 3.

¹³⁷ *P. I. R.*, L 131, S 205.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, L 132.

¹³⁹ *P. I. R.*², C 300.

¹⁴⁰ Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 39.

¹⁴¹ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 48.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *P. I. R.*², C 300.

¹⁴⁴ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 14; see n. 112.

¹⁴⁵ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 41 and 43.

¹⁴⁶ *P. I. R.*, L 185.

¹⁴⁷ *P. I. R.*², C 294, s. v.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, C 293.

of plotting against the emperor from his province. A similar charge had led to the death of his grandfather,¹⁴⁹ under Tiberius. His cousin Calpurnius Galerianus,¹⁵⁰ son of the conspirator of 65,¹⁵¹ had been killed in the previous year by Mucianus.¹⁵²

It seems to have been the case that families such as these were a danger to all emperors, not only the Julio-Claudians, since where active ambitions did not exist, there were always some who would attempt to create them in the belief that the association of a great name with a movement would increase its chances of success; since in addition to this consideration some senators were from an imperial point of view incorrigibly disloyal, the emperors were often put in a difficult position. Q. Pomponius Secundus was said to have been driven to civil war by the accusations of Suillius.¹⁵³ But that Tacitus' account is incomplete is suggested by the facts that he had as consul opposed Claudius after the death of Gaius,¹⁵⁴ that he owed his life to the intervention of Claudius,¹⁵⁵ and that the accusations of Suillius needed some foundation to drive the accused to civil war in the early years of Claudius' reign, a period of reconciliation.¹⁵⁶ Further, the brother of Pomponius had been virtually imprisoned for seven years by Tiberius, and was freed by Gaius.¹⁵⁷

The case of Annius Vinicianus was somewhat similar. He and his father,¹⁵⁸ members of a noble and successful family, had been accused together with Appius Silanus of *maiestas* in 32 but were freed.¹⁵⁹ He next participated in the murder of Caligula.¹⁶⁰ He attempted to have the *imperium* given to M. Vinicius, the

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, C 287.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, C 301.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, C 284.

¹⁵² Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 11.

¹⁵³ *P. I. R.*, P 564; Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 43, 3.

¹⁵⁴ Josephus, *B. J.*, II, 205.

¹⁵⁵ Josephus, *A. J.*, XIX, 263.

¹⁵⁶ The suggestion that Pomponius was involved in the revolt of Scribonianus (*P. I. R.*², A 1140, Groag) seems less likely when we consider that Dio mentions "many senators including a praetor" (LX, 15, 4) but makes no reference to Pomponius, consul in the previous year.

¹⁵⁷ *P. I. R.*, P 563.

¹⁵⁸ *P. I. R.*², A 677, 701.

¹⁵⁹ Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 9, 6-7.

¹⁶⁰ Josephus, *A. J.*, XIX, 18-20.

husband of Julia Livilla,¹⁶¹ who was related to him through his mother or grandmother, a member of the gens Vinicia.¹⁶² Having survived the accession of Claudius, he impelled Scribonianus to revolt, and committed suicide when the revolt failed.¹⁶³ Annius Pollio, most likely his son, was exiled in 65 for his alleged part in the Pisonian conspiracy.¹⁶⁴ Pollio was the son-in-law of Barea Soranus who was accused of having favoured the cause of Rubellius Plautus.¹⁶⁵ Barea and his daughter were compelled to commit suicide in the following year, the charges in her case involving bribery and magic practices.¹⁶⁶ About the same time there occurred at Beneventum another conspiracy, called "Viniciana" by Suetonius.¹⁶⁷ This was probably originated by the other son of Vinicianus who was a son-in-law of Corbulo;¹⁶⁸ and since Corbulo's death was ordered suddenly in 67¹⁶⁹ it would not be unreasonable to see some connection between the two events.

If the sources were more enlightening regarding family relationships many other accusations and condemnations of the period would appear to have arisen from more complex causes than those given. Statilius Taurus¹⁷⁰ committed suicide in 53 before a verdict was reached on charges of extortion and magic practices inspired, it is said, by Agrippina's envy of his gardens. Apart from the arguments of Scramuzza to show the incomplete nature of the sources,¹⁷¹ it must be noted that Taurus as well as being a descendant of T. Statilius Taurus¹⁷² (who had held almost all available honours under Julius Caesar and Augustus), and a grandson of the famous orator, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,¹⁷³ was a brother of Taurus Statilius Corvinus

¹⁶¹ *P. I. R.*, V 445.

¹⁶² See *P. I. R.*², A 677, Groag.

¹⁶³ Dio, LX, 15, 1, 2, and 5.

¹⁶⁴ *P. I. R.*², A 678; Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 56, 4; 71, 6.

¹⁶⁵ *P. I. R.*², B 55; Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 30, 1; see n. 112.

¹⁶⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 21, 23, 30-33; schol. Juv. *ad* 6, 552.

¹⁶⁷ Suet., *Nero*, 36, 1.

¹⁶⁸ *P. I. R.*², A 700.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, D 142.

¹⁷⁰ *P. I. R.*, S 618.

¹⁷¹ Scramuzza, pp. 97-8.

¹⁷² *P. I. R.*, S 615.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, V 90.

who had conspired against Claudius in 46.¹⁷⁴ The two main sources of opposition—nobility and family grievances—were present in his case. The partner of Corvinus in the affair of 46 was Asinius Gallus, a grandson of Pollio who, along with Valerius Messalla, had been the greatest orator of the age, and a son of Asinius Gallus, who had allegedly been eager to rule after Augustus.¹⁷⁵ He was also a grandson of Agrippa, and a half-brother of the younger Drusus.¹⁷⁶ His father, a literary antagonist of Claudius,¹⁷⁷ had been condemned as a result of his support of Seianus.¹⁷⁸ Gallus revolted, we are told, with a few slaves, relying solely on his family background, and without the aid of soldiers.¹⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that his brother Ser. Asinius Celer was killed by Claudius before 47,¹⁸⁰ probably not because of his complicity in a movement of which the leader, his brother, had been merely exiled.¹⁸¹

At the end of the century, and even under emperors looked on favourably by senatorial tradition, the results of family pride and resentment can still be traced. Nero had put to death the patrician Sex. Cornelius Salvidienus Orfitus.¹⁸² About the year 93, another Salvidienus Orfitus, probably his son, was exiled and later executed for treason.¹⁸³ We find in 97, involved in a plot against Nerva, one C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus.¹⁸⁴ The same person was exiled for conspiracy by Trajan¹⁸⁵ and executed under Hadrian.¹⁸⁶ But by this time the face of the senate was completely changed. New families and provin-

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, S 595; Suet., *Claud.*, 13, 2.

¹⁷⁵ *P. I. R.*², A 1241, 1229; Asconius Pedianus (*ibid.*, A 1206) was reported to have been told by the latter that Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, dedicated to his father, Pollio, had been written in honour of his birth (Serv. *ad Verg.*, *Ecl.* 4, 11). For the history of the Asinii see the article of J. H. Oliver mentioned in note 72.

¹⁷⁶ Dio, LX, 27, 5; *P. I. R.*, I 144.

¹⁷⁷ Suet., *Claud.*, 41, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Dio, LVIII, 3, 1-4; 23, 6; Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 23, 1-3; 25, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Dio, LX, 27, 5; Suet., *Claud.*, 13, 2.

¹⁸⁰ Sen., *Apocol.*, 13.

¹⁸¹ Dio, LX, 27, 5.

¹⁸² Suet., *Nero*, 37, 1.

¹⁸³ *P. I. R.*², C 1445.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, C 259; Dio (Xiph.), LXVIII, 3, 2.

¹⁸⁵ Dio (Xiph.), LXVIII, 16, 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Vita Hadr.*, 5, 5, 6.

cials had replaced the old ruling classes, changing the senate into a body of individuals favourable to the system which had placed them there, wherein ability and loyalty rather than nobility earned promotion and privileges.

The history of the senate under the Julio-Claudians is mainly the history of its adaptation to a new political order, the implications of which were so well concealed by Augustus that the nobility did not become aware of its nature and possibilities till some time after his death. The crisis and turning point in senatorial resentment probably occurred in the period which has been considered here, precipitated by the hereditary succession of unworthy candidates. The acquiescence to the principate which then ensued was due in no small part to the disappearance of those who had constituted the opposition of that epoch, namely those who regarded republican nobility as the most important condition for pretenders to the greatest empire ever before ruled by one man, and those few who cherished outmoded ideas regarding the senate's functions or objected to the monopoly of power in the hands of emperors and the administrative centralisation then taking place. A new phase in the history of the senate was already beginning when a senator from Gaul based his appeal for support against Nero on the plea that the latter was abusing the sacred titles of "Caesar," "Imperator," and "Augustus."¹⁸⁷

The object of this study has been to suggest that in the accounts and traditions of the imperial persecution at this period there is much in favour of the view that provocation on the part of the opposition not only occurred, but was often such as to make the emperors' position very difficult. Though to defend imperial policy in many cases would be to err in the opposite direction, it does seem that a more even distribution of responsibility existed. The emperors could not be held accountable for the position in which they found themselves and can only be judged by their actions in excess of what was necessary for their own survival and the adequate performance of their duties.

What is interesting about these few decades of conflict and persecution is that there were seldom any irreconcilable ideological issues involved.¹⁸⁸ A restoration was never really expected

¹⁸⁷ Dio (Xiph.), LXIII, 22, 5.

¹⁸⁸ For several reasons, it is doubtful whether philosophy at this time

and most of the casualties were aspirants to the throne or their supporters.¹⁸⁹ The study of personalities is therefore of greater importance than in those epochs when persecution was or is inevitable by reason of different concepts of fundamentals.

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can be regarded as a revolutionary force. The idea of monarchy was acceptable to some at least; their opposition was "pas tout à fait politique dans son principe, mais plutôt morale" (Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, "Dictators and Philosophers in the First Century A.D.," *G. & R.*, 1944, pp. 46-7 citing Boissier, etc.). Hence its prominence under Nero, as opposed to the previous reign. There was no unity among philosophers to permit an alliance with the active opposition among the nobility. Seneca taught Nero while Musonius taught Rubellius Plautus, probably with a similar end in view (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 59). Egnatius Celer, a Stoic, procured the condemnation of his pupil, Barea Soranus, who had been involved with Rubellius Plautus (Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 32); in 69 Celer was accused by Musonius, another Stoic, and defended by the Cynic Demetrius (Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 10, 40). That the same Demetrius is to be identified with the *causidicus* and informer under Nero (schol. Juv., I, 33) is not impossible; M. Palfurius Sura, who was expelled from the senate by Vespasian, became a prominent Stoic and an infamous *delator* under Domitian (schol. Juv., 4, 53).

Even in the case of philosophers the human element cannot be overlooked. Opposition was most bitter where personal grievances were added to moral indignation. Thræsea Paetus and Barea Soranus, the two "arch-martyrs" (Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, p. 49), of the Stoic martyrology, had, as has been seen, good reason for hostility to the emperors apart from their philosophy. Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thræsea, turned Cynic, presenting us with the familiar picture of an embittered young man "gone left" (Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, p. 56). The "paternum odium" of Paeonius Agrippinus, his friend, has also been mentioned. Like most of the other philosophers, he died a natural death (D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism*, p. 128).

¹⁸⁹ *Ut imperium evertant libertatem praeferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur*—Cossutianus Capito (Tac., *Ann.*, XVI, 22, 8).

THE DATE OF THE *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS* OF SOPHOCLES.

There is almost no external evidence:¹ until and unless an inscription or a papyrus fragment is unearthed which will confirm one (or none) of the dates which have been proposed, we have nothing to work from but the text of the play itself.

Internal evidence, then, and the arguments from metrical and stylistic chronology are not decisive.² Such arguments will, at best, serve as a secondary support or a minor objection to dates arrived at by other means. These means are, in the main, allusions in the text to historical circumstances, and all of the attempts to date the play, beginning with Karl Friedrich Hermann's *Disputatio* (1834), rest on this type of foundation.

Many features of the plot and passages in the text have been interpreted as historical allusions,³ but the most impressive is the plague which afflicts Thebes at the opening of the play. At the present time this dramatic plague seems to be recognized as the most important element which may reflect a historical event with enough strength and clarity to be used for dating. It is seriously discussed by all writers on the subject whether they deny a connection between the dramatic and historical plagues,⁴ or feel that such a connection exists.⁵ The present

¹ All that we have is contained in the second hypothesis: ἡττηθέντα ὑπὸ Φιλοκλέους, ὡς φησι Δικαίπαρχος (cf. Aristides, II, p. 334, Dindorf). Philocles was a nephew of Aeschylus; he wrote a trilogy, the *Pandionis*, and also an *Oedipus* (cf. Nauck, *T. G. F.*, s. v. "Philocles").

² Cf. H. D. F. Kitto, "Sophocles, Statistics, and the *Trachiniae*" *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), pp. 178-93.

³ Especially, of course, the "tyrannos" stasimon (vv. 863-910), which Bruhn (p. 36) connects with the events of 457, Jebb and others with the events of 415, and Earle (*The Oedipus Tyrannus* [1901], p. 240, note on v. 885) with the "scandal about Phidias and the statue of Athena Parthenos." For a negative attitude to the passage as evidence for dating cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXXIV, p. 59 (cited by Bruhn, p. 37).

⁴ E. g. Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, I, 2, p. 361, n. 3; Maurice Croiset, *L'Oedipe-Roi de Sophocle* (1931), pp. 30 f.; J. T. (now Sir John) Sheppard, *The Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge, 1920), note on v. 25, p. 100.

⁵ E. g. Pohlenz, *Die gr. Tragödie*² (1954), p. 220 (also Erläuterungen, p. 93); Cedric H. Whitman, *Sophocles*, pp. 49 ff.

paper attempts to offer new evidence for such a connection, and suggests a date for the play which differs from that proposed by other upholders of the connection between the plague in Athens and the plague in Thebes.

Our evidence (admittedly incomplete) goes to show that the plague is not a traditional feature of the Oedipus story. Homer makes no mention of a plague. "Presently the gods made these things [i. e. the real identity of Oedipus] known to men," he says, but he does not tell us how.⁶ Pindar does not mention the plague,⁷ and the summary of the Aeschylean *Oedipus* given in the final stasimon of *The Seven against Thebes* does not mention it either. "But when he came to knowledge of his fateful marriage . . ." runs the relevant passage (778-80). It does not explain how. From what little we know and can surmise about the lost epic, the *Oedipodea*, the plague seems to play no part in that version.⁸ Moreover, there is no reference to the plague in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, although in several passages, as is the manner of the later Euripidean tragedies, the legend as a whole is recapitulated.⁹ There is no trace of the plague in later authorities. The Attic historian Androtion, whose account is quoted at some length in the scholium on *Odyssey*, XI, 271, does not mention it. "Later," he says, "Jocasta, realizing that she had had intercourse with her own son, hanged herself." And there is no mention of the plague in the much later accounts of Apollodorus¹⁰ and Diodorus.¹¹

All these, it must be admitted, are arguments *ex silentio*; yet it should be noticed that Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Androtion all mention the discovery of the truth, the point at which they would be expected to refer to the plague if it had been a traditional feature of the Oedipus story. The plague

⁶ *Odyssey*, XI, 274 ff.

⁷ *Olymp.* 2, 42 ff.

⁸ See Pausanias, IX, 5, 10-11.

⁹ Cf. the very full exposition of the legend in the prologue of the play. The discovery of the truth is described in the same terms as those used by pre-Sophoclean writers: *μαθὼν δὲ τὰ μὰ λέκτρα*, etc. (59); there is no mention of plague. Tiresias' phrase *ροσεῖ γὰρ ἦδε γῆ πάλαι, Κρέον* (867) is clearly metaphorical; he continues *ἐξ οὗ 'τεκνώθη Λαῖος βία θεῶν*.

¹⁰ *Bibliotheca*, III, 9: *φανέντων δὲ ὕστερον τῶν λανθανόντων*. . . .

¹¹ IV, 65: *τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσεβημάτων γνωσθέντων*. . . .

in Thebes seems to be a Sophoclean invention;¹² to the extent that this is accepted, the connection between the Theban and the Attic plagues becomes more probable.

But is the Sophoclean plague comparable to the plague in Athens? There are of course some verbal resemblances between the Sophoclean and the Thucydidean descriptions,¹³ but many of them can be discounted as phrases which are almost inevitable in any description of a plague. And in any case, it has been argued,¹⁴ the Sophoclean plague has the marks of a literary and religious, rather than a historical phenomenon; it is the traditional threefold blight (often the effect of a curse), not a real epidemic like that which struck the Athenians in 430 B. C. The plague in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is not only a disease which attacks the population (168), it includes also a blight on the crops (25, 171), the death of the cattle (26), and the abortive birth-pangs of the women (26-7, 173-4). These last three features are common in descriptions of supernatural afflictions, and are also a regular formula of curses. "When the Pelasgians had killed their children," says Herodotus (VI, 139), "the earth refused to bring forth its crops for them, their wives bore fewer children, and their herds increased more slowly than before. . . ." "Do this," says Cambyses to the Persians (Herodotus, III, 65), "and then may your land bring forth crops abundantly, and your wives bear children and your herds increase . . . but if you do not . . . then my curse be on you, and may the opposite of all these things happen to you." These same three features are found also in the blessings of the Eumenides in Aeschylus (naturally in negative form),¹⁵ in the text of the "Amphictyonic curse" given by Aeschines,¹⁶ and in Philostratus' account of

¹² Bruhn (p. 11) points to the full exposition given to the subject of the plague in the opening scenes as a sign of its novelty to the audience. Cf. also Robert, *Oedipus*, p. 69.

¹³ Most of them will be found in Sheppard's commentary. They do not, of course, imply that Sophocles had read Thucydides; both of them may be expressing independent personal observation. For that matter it is possible that Thucydides is echoing Sophocles.

¹⁴ This argument is most thoroughly presented by Sheppard.

¹⁵ Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 939-49.

¹⁶ In *Otes.*, 111. For parallels in inscriptions cf. Louis Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 313 ff. It seems strange that Bruhn did not cite the Aeschines passage to strengthen his case for dating the play around the time of the Athenian interference in Delphic affairs.

the blight which attacked the Ethiopians after they killed Ganges their king;¹⁷ two of them are found as part of a curse in a papyrus fragment of Eupolis' *Demoi*.¹⁸

It is clear enough that Sophocles is drawing on a literary and religious tradition which goes back far beyond the Athenian plague; the plague in Thebes has three features which are closely associated with supernatural forces and appear in religious contexts. This fact has been used to suggest that there is no connection between the plague in Thebes and the plague in Athens. Surely it suggests exactly the opposite. The blight which affects Thebes has indeed the three traditional features, failure of crops, cattle, and human births, but it also has something else which is not part of the traditional blight at all—the plague. In none of the passages which describe the traditional blight is there a reference to a disease (*νόσος*, *λοιμός*, are the terms used by Sophocles—and Thucydides) which attacks the whole population: the traditional blight is confined to crops, cattle, and pregnant women. What Sophocles has done is to take the traditional threefold blight and add to it the plague. "We have thus, as it were," runs Mortimer Lampson Earle's brilliant note, "*λοιμός* and *λοιμός* combined."¹⁹

This surely requires an explanation. Sophocles had a dramatic problem—to find an imperative factor which would set in motion the process of discovery; he could not say "and suddenly they realized the truth," for the plot of his play consists of that discovery. He needed something that would impel Oedipus to search for the murderer of Laius. But surely the threefold blight would have been enough. It would have served the purpose admirably; the supernatural associations of such a blight were precisely what the dramatic situation demanded. But he added to the blight the plague. There can surely be only one reason why he did so: the plague at Athens.

¹⁷ *Vita Apollodori*, III, 20.

¹⁸ *P. Oxy.*, VI (1908), no. 862 (p. 172). Cf. also Hdt., IX, 39 (Apollonia, cattle and crops only) and Paus., VI, 11, 7 (Thasos, crops only).

¹⁹ P. 144. The preceding sentences run: "The addition of the plague to blight and the subsequent raising to exclusive importance of the plague (v. 167 sqq.) suggests the possibility that in an earlier version of the story of Oedipus (that of Aeschylus?) there may have been a blight but no plague and that Sophocles added this feature with reference to the plague at Athens. . . ."

If the plague which is added to the traditional blight is a reference to a contemporary situation, why, it may be asked, did Sophocles bother with the blight at all? Why not just the plague? Part of the answer to that question is that the three features of the religious blight did actually correspond to conditions in plague stricken Attica; Sophocles introduced a contemporary detail, the plague, and was able to suggest contemporary applications for the traditional religious details as well.

"The whole host of my city is sick," the chorus sings, "and the products of our famous soil do not increase" (169-71). There was, so far as we know, no failure of the crops in Attica in the early plague years (though, as we shall see, there was later), but these words of the chorus are a good description of what was happening to the Attic farms. Year after year the Peloponnesian armies cut down olive and fruit trees, burned crops, and trampled down vines; "men dying inside and the land devastated outside" is Thucydides' laconic description of the condition of Athens and Attica during the early years of the war (II, 54). The land might well be described as "blighted in the crop-laden blossoms of the soil"—the phrase used by the priest to picture the effects of the plague in Thebes.

What happened to the Athenian cattle during the invasions and the plague? According to Thucydides, they were removed to Euboea and the neighboring islands at the beginning of the war (II, 14); but it seems unlikely that such a policy can have been fully enforced over so large an area against the passive resistance which farmers, in all ages and places, have exerted against attempts to part them from their livestock. There is a fragment of Andocides, in fact, which gives a vivid picture of the refugees coming into Athens bringing their cattle with them. "May we never see again the charcoal-burners and their sheep and cattle and wagons coming from the hills. . . ." ²⁰ What cattle there were in Athens must have suffered, whether from plague or neglect,²¹ and Thucydides, when he wants to describe the miserable end of the men who were left untended, says that they died "like sheep" (*ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα*, II, 25).

²⁰ Cf. Suidas, s. v. *σκάνδιξ*.

²¹ Thucydides (II, 50) mentions the infection of carnivorous birds and animals.

Or do these words mean "like the sheep,"—the sheep brought into the city by the farmers?

As for the abortive births, it is very possible that in the inferno described by Thucydides they were unusually numerous, if not a product of the plague itself.²² Certainly any that occurred would be interpreted as another sign that the plague was a manifestation of divine anger or a curse. There must have been many in Athens who so regarded it; even Pericles, in his last speech, refers to it in these terms: "the visitations of heaven (τὰ δαιμόνια) we must bear with resignation" (II, 64). And Thucydides tells us that many Athenians connected the plague with the hostile and menacing pronouncement of the Delphic oracle, made just before hostilities began;²³ they saw the plague as something sent by the god, and would so naturally see in it features of the traditional religious blight on the land.

The fact that the plague is an addition to the legendary material and to the threefold blight may be said to establish a strong probability that Sophocles had the Athenian plague in mind. There is a puzzling phrase in the text of the play which makes sense only in terms of such a reference, and which goes far towards turning the probability into a certainty. In the third strophe of the first stasimon the chorus prays for the defeat of "raging Ares" ("Ἀρεά τε τὸν μαλερόν, 190). This is an extraordinary prayer. For one thing it completely ignores the fictive dramatic situation; this chorus cannot in these lines be thought of as a chorus of Theban elders. Ares, whom they go on to call "the god without honor among the gods" (τὸν ἀπότιμον ἐν θεοῖς θεόν, 215) is perhaps the most important patron deity of Thebes, associated with the city in myth and cult. In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* the chorus of Theban women calls on Ares in its hour of danger, begging him not to abandon his own city. "Ares, guard the city of Cadmus . . . show your care for it manifestly" (135-6); "Golden-helmeted divinity, look down, look down on this city which you once made your best-beloved" (106-7); "Will you betray, Ares, your own

²² One of the features of a mysterious epidemic at Thasos described in Hippocrates, *Epid.* I, 13-26 was "difficult childbirth" (ἐδύστοκεον δὲ πλείσται, 16). "All who chanced to fall ill while pregnant, that I know of, aborted" (*ibid.*: διέφθειραν πάσαι ἅς ἐγὼ οἶδα).

²³ Thuc., II, 54.

city?" (104-5). But the Theban chorus of the Sophoclean play speaks of Ares not as a protector, but as a hostile invader, and they speak of him (not *to* him) with fear and hatred. They actually conclude the strophe with a prayer to Zeus to destroy Ares with his thunderbolt (202). The Theban origin of the chorus has clearly been forgotten; the only possible explanation of so dramatically inappropriate a prayer is that Sophocles was thinking, not of Thebes, but of Athens.

And in any case, what is Ares doing here at all? His invocation by the Aeschylean chorus is fully appropriate, for Thebes is under armed attack, but the Thebes of Oedipus is not at war. Ares in this passage is identified with the plague; "he burns me" (φλέγει με, 192), sings the chorus, and "the flame of plague" (φλόγα πῆματος, 166) is one of the many phrases in the ode which refer to the plague in terms of fire. This identification of Ares with the plague is unprecedented and found no imitators; the labor and ingenuity of generations of commentators has been unable to find even the ghost of a parallel to it.²⁴

But the phrase cries aloud for explanation. And a simple explanation lies ready to hand in the conditions in Athens during the early years of the war, the combination of plague and armed invasion which was year after year a feature of the spring season. To the stricken Athenians the plague seemed to be simply an aspect of the war, Ares. They were assailed by plague within the walls and the Peloponnesian armies without. "The plague attacked them and the war too," as Thucydides puts it (II, 59).²⁵ The imagery which Sophocles employs to evoke the onslaught of the plague is such as to suggest the movement of an invading army, which attacks and burns, with shouts of battle (φλέγει με περιβόατος ἀντιάζων, 191). The prayer for the defeat of the plague maintains the metaphor; "may he turn his back and run from the land of our fathers" (δράμημα νοτίσαι, 193). Surely the words of this strophe cannot be considered

²⁴ The Homeric Hymn to Ares, which contains sixteen epithets of Ares in the first five lines, has nothing which even vaguely hints at plague. The closest approximation to this striking identification is to be found in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus. In two passages (659-66 and 678-85) the chorus couples plague and Ares; λοιμός . . . Ἄρης in the first case, and Ἄρη . . . νούσων in the second. But, though associated, they are here clearly separate things.

²⁵ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο καὶ ὁ πόλεμος. Cf. also III, 3.

appropriate to anything in the play, nor even to anything outside it, except after 430 B. C., the first outbreak of the plague in an Athens beleaguered by invading armies. In fact, except in this situation, the words of this strophe are hardly intelligible.

This argument, if accepted, gives us a *terminus post quem* of 430. But this same first stasimon contains a number of phrases which, like the description of Ares, seem to demand explanation in contemporary terms, and which suggest a more definite, and later, date.

The first stasimon, which in its dramatic place and time is a prayer of the people of Oedipean Thebes for relief from the plague, is full of expressions, emphases, and references which suggest an Athenian rather than a Theban atmosphere. It begins with a dramatically appropriate address to the oracular message which the chorus is waiting for, and proceeds by a natural transition to Apollo. But it calls him "Delian Healer" (Δάλιε Παιάν, 154). This title, though it is not inappropriate for a Theban chorus (as Jebb points out), is yet significant for an Athenian audience; the Athenian connotations of the word "Delian" need no emphasis. And since Jebb's time a papyrus fragment of Pindar has presented us with an almost identical refrain—*ἰήμι Δάλι' Ἀπολλων*—in what seems to be part of a paean composed for the Athenians.²⁶ In the antistrophe the prayer proper begins: "First I call upon you, daughter of Zeus, immortal Athena" (158-9). This address to the Athenian goddess is repeated later (185): "send rescue, golden daughter of Zeus," an epithet²⁷ which would surely recall to the audience Phidias' magnificent statue and the gold-plate on it which was not only a symbol of Athenian wealth, but also the war-reserve of the Athenian state. The next deity invoked is Artemis, and the words of the invocation, though their exact meaning is disputed, contain Athenian as well as Theban references. "Artemis who sits in her circular seat in [or, consisting of] the market place, the goddess of Fair Fame" (161-2).²⁸ There was a temple

²⁶ Bowra, frag. 39.

²⁷ This is the only example of the application of this epithet to Athena in Sophocles. It is also rarely found elsewhere (cf. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, p. 16).

²⁸ For the Theban reference of this passage see Jebb *ad loc.*

of Fair Fame (Εὐκλεία) at Athens, built, Pausanias tells us, from the spoils taken at Marathon (I, 14, 5); Pindar refers to the Athenian market place as "fair-famed" (εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν, frag. 63, Bowra); and a part of the Athenian market place was known as "the circle" (κύκλος).²⁹ Clearly the effect of these details is to suggest a parallel between the situation in Thebes and that in Athens, a parallel which is, for that matter, maintained throughout the play.³⁰

Athena, Artemis, and Apollo are called upon to appear; "if ever against former ruin attacking the city you drove the flame of pain beyond our borders, come now also" (προτέρας ἄτας ὕπερ, 164). The "flame of pain" is the plague, which is described in terms of fire throughout. Why should the Theban chorus talk like this? There had been no "former" visitation of the plague in Thebes. Bruhn (one of the few who notices the problem raised by this phrase) attempts to side-step the difficulty by explaining "former ruin" as the depredations of the Sphinx;³¹ but this does not fit the expression "flame of pain," which refers to the plague, and in any case the Sphinx was dealt with not by Athena, Artemis, and Apollo, but by Oedipus, whether with the help of some un-named god (as the priest suggests) or by his own unaided intelligence (as Oedipus claims). There is no explanation possible in terms of the myth or the dramatic situation. The phrase must refer to Athens, and it suggests a state of affairs in which the plague has appeared for a second time.

Thucydides' account of the plague presents us with exactly such a situation. "In the following winter," he says (i.e. the winter of 427-6), "the plague, which had never entirely disappeared, although abating for a time, again attacked the Athenians. It continued on this second occasion not less than a year, having previously (τὸ δὲ πρότερον) lasted for two years" (III, 87). Although the plague never entirely disappeared during the whole period, there was yet enough of a relief from the epidemic for Thucydides to call the outbreak in the winter of 427-6 a "second occasion"—"it attacked again" he says. This

²⁹ Cf. Schol. Ar. *Equ.*, 137; Eur., *Or.*, 919; Thuc., III, 74.

³⁰ For the general parallel cf. "Why is Oedipus called *Tyrannos*?" *C. J.*, Dec. 1954, pp. 1 ff.

³¹ Note on v. 165 (p. 72).

second outbreak, or a time near enough to it for the emotions of the occasion to be vividly remembered, is a situation in which the lines under consideration are fully apposite as a description of conditions in Athens. "Appear to me, you triple defenders against death, if ever against former ruin attacking the city you drove beyond our borders the flame of pain, come now too."

This second outbreak of the plague began in the late autumn of 427 and ended in the winter of 426-5. Our new *terminus post quem* is autumn 427, and the first date possible for the production of the play is Spring, 426 (if, that is, it was produced at the Dionysia).

There is some evidence to suggest an even later date. In this same first stasimon there is another phrase which demands explanation. "Ares the raging, who now unbronzed with shields burns me . . . (ὅς νῦν ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων, 190-1). This Ares is the plague, which to the Athenians seems to be simply another form of the war; but what is meant by "who *now* unbronzed with shields"? The plague is an Ares who attacks without military panoply, but the word "now" suggests that on a previous occasion he *had* been "bronzed with shields." That is to say, the present occasion seems to be an attack by plague alone as distinguished from a previous attack, or attacks, by plague and war combined. Such an occasion, plague alone, is to be found in the summer of 426, when, with the plague raging anew in Athens, the Peloponnesian armies turned back before crossing the Attic frontier.³²

There are some additional indications that this stasimon refers to the summer of 426. Thucydides gives us no details about the second outbreak of the plague, but in Diodorus there is a full and fascinating account of it.³³ "The Athenians," he says, "after a certain period of relief from the pestilential disease, were again subjected to the same misfortunes. . . . In the previous winter there had been very heavy rains, and consequently the soil was soaked; many hollows received a large

³² Earle (p. 53 and note on v. 190) was, as far as I can tell, the first to see the implication of the word νῦν; for him it is evidence for the correctness of the "traditional" date, 429.

³³ Diodorus, XII, 58. Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 36, refers Diodorus' description to 430 (an error which is still uncorrected in the fifth edition, the latest I have been able to consult).

quantity of water and turned into swamps—they held stagnant water exactly like permanent marshes. . . . In addition to the disease there was the bad condition of the crops which came up. For the crops this year were completely watery and corrupted in their essence (*διεφθαρμένην ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν*). A third cause of the disease was the failure of the Etesian winds, which normally in the hot season reduce the heat to a large extent. As the temperature rose, the air became fiery . . ." (*τοῦ ἀέρος ἐμπύρου γενομένου . . .*).

This description of the condition of Attica in the summer of 426 has many features which illuminate the Sophoclean plague. There was disease in the city, the crops were a failure (and in the conditions Diodorus describes it is hardly likely that the cattle remained healthy), and Diodorus' description of the unprecedented heat suggests an added appropriateness for the Sophoclean reference to the plague as fire and its action as burning.

If the Sophoclean plague is conceived in terms of the second outbreak in Athens, and particularly of the terrible summer of 426, the earliest possible date for the production of the play is Spring 425. The first stasimon supplies one more piece of evidence, which tends to confirm that date. "Delian Healer," sings the chorus, "I stand in awe of you—what thing will you accomplish (or, exact), something new, or something repeated in the revolutions of the seasons?" (*τί μοι ἢ νέον ἢ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις πάλιν ἐξανύσεις χρέος*; 155-7). "What expiation"—so runs Jebb's paraphrase—"wilt thou prescribe as the price of deliverance from the plague? Will it be an expiation of a new kind? Of will some ancient mode of atonement be called into use once more?"

What is this all about? It does not seem to refer to anything specifically Theban, or any known detail of the myth, and yet it is too precise and emphatic a formula to be dismissed as a mere piece of tragic or religious atmosphere. But if the play was produced in the Spring of 425, the passage makes very good sense. For in the winter of 426-5 the Athenians had in fact tried to obtain relief from the plague by expiation made to Delian Apollo.

"The Athenians," says Diodorus' account, "because of the excessive ravages of the disease, referred the origins of the dis-

aster to the divine. For this reason, and in accordance with a certain oracle (κατά τινα χρησμόν), they purified the island of Delos." Thucydides, in his account of the purification of Delos, also mentions "some oracle" (κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα, III, 104), though he does not specifically connect the purification of the island with the plague.

An act of expiation, then, had been demanded from the Athenians by oracular authority, and this act was the purification of the island of Delos. But it was not a new form of expiation for the Athenians. Pisistratus the *tyrannos*, as Thucydides tells us, had already purified the island, though incompletely (III, 104). And he did it, according to Herodotus, as a result of prophecies (ἐκ τῶν λογίων, I, 64). The expiation corresponds closely to the terms of the Sophoclean chorus; it is connected with Delian Apollo, and it is not "new" but something done "again in the revolution of the seasons."

If the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was produced at the Greater Dionysia in 425, or even in the next year, all these puzzling expressions are explained; not only that, they can be seen as adding to the effect of the play when it was first produced a whole dimension of immediate reference which must have heightened the effectiveness of the performance enormously. It is possible, however, to choose between these two dates. There is some evidence to show that the date of the play's performance was 425, not 424.

In the opening months of 424, at the Lenaea, Aristophanes produced his comedy *The Knights*. And in this comedy it is possible to point out (as one would expect if the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was produced the year before), some parodic references to and echoes of the Sophoclean masterpiece.³⁴

³⁴ A few of the parallels of phrase and situation between the *anagnorisis* in *The Knights* and that of the Sophoclean play have been noticed by Valerio Milio in his article "Per la cronologia dell' Edipo Re," *Boll. Fil. Class.*, XXXV (1928-9), pp. 203-5. On this basis he too suggests a *terminus ante quem* of 424 for the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Of the resemblances discussed below he mentions *Equ.*, 1240—*O. T.*, 738 and *Equ.*, 1244—*O. T.*, 834-5, and points out some minor verbal coincidences (e. g. πῶς εἶπας, *Equ.*, 1237—πῶς εἶπας, *O. T.*, 942, 1018) which do not carry much weight. His general statement on the resemblances puts the case well: "si tratta non della parodia di una frase ma della imitazione di tutta una situazione tragica" (p. 205).

The central factor of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is a prophecy—a prophecy made by the Delphian Apollo, apparently false; and finally triumphantly vindicated. And in *The Knights* also the core of the plot is a Delphic prophecy, a prophecy about the fate of Cleon which he fears and conceals but which is in the end fulfilled. Demosthenes steals and reads the prophecy at the beginning of the play. "Damned Paphlagonian" he says "so this is what you have been keeping secret and guarding against for so long. . . . It's all in here, how he is to be destroyed" (125-7). Demosthenes tells the sausage-seller who is to replace Cleon—"you are to become, this oracle says here, the greatest man" (ἀνὴρ μέγιστος, 177-8). Oedipus, explaining his past to Jocasta, describes himself in the same phrase—"I was thought to be the greatest man of the citizens there" (ἀνὴρ ἀστῶν μέγιστος, 775-6). In the figure of the Paphlagonian there seems to be more than a touch of the Oedipus who raged against Tiresias and Creon as conspirators. "By the twelve gods," he shouts, "you will not get away with it—you are conspirators against the people from of old" (οὐ τοι . . . χαίρησεν, 235). "But you will not get away with it" (ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων, 313) says Oedipus to Tiresias. Oedipus' angry dismissal of Creon—"Get out" (οὐκ αὖ μ' ἔασεις; 676) is repeated by Cleon in his quarrel with the sausage-seller—"Get out" (οὐκοῦν μ' ἔασεις; 338) and Cleon flings at his opponent the word Oedipus uses against both Creon and Tiresias—"Fool" (μῶρος, *Kn.* 350, *O. T.* 540, 433).

These verbal resemblances are of course easily explicable as coincidence; the expressions used are also found, and frequently, elsewhere. But they begin to appear as something more than a coincidence when Cleon and the sausage-seller get to work on each other's parentage. "I say," says Cleon, "that you belong to the family of those accursed by the goddess" (445-6), that is, the Alcmaeonidae, the family of Pericles—a highly ridiculous charge considering the insight we have been given into the sausage-seller's birth and education. The sausage-seller, unabashed, brings a counter-charge. "And I say that your grandfather was one of the body-guard of. . . ." "Of whom, say," Cleon interrupts (ποίων, φράσον, 448). This sounds very like a reminiscence of the Sophoclean play. "I seem a fool to you," says Tiresias, "but I seemed sane to the parents who begot you." "What parents? Wait," Oedipus replies (ποίοισι,

μῆινον, 437). And there is another passage in which Oedipus asks an anxious question about his parents. Told that his name derives from his swollen feet, he asks: "In the gods' name who did it? My mother or my father? Say" (πρὸς μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς, φράσον, 1037). Cleon's agitated ποίῳν, φράσον sounds like an echo of both these questions of Oedipus.

Later in the comedy, pleading with Demos, Cleon urges him not to be influenced by whoever happens to be speaking (μὴ τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθι, 860); this is exactly Jocasta's phrase to describe Oedipus in his confusion (ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, 917). Cleon's collapse comes when he recognizes, like Oedipus, that the oracle has been fulfilled. And in this passage, the climax of the play, the language is deliberately parodic of a tragic *anagnorisis*.³⁵ When Cleon is told by Demos and his adversary the sausage-seller to put down his crown, he replies: "No. I have a Pythian oracle which describes the only man by whom I can be defeated" (1229-30). He questions the sausage-seller about his antecedents, and finds that the answers one after another correspond to the oracle's specifications. The questions he puts are very like those which Oedipus asks the herdsman at the beginning of the climactic scene of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. "What trade did you pursue as you came to manhood?" asks Cleon (1241). "What work were you employed in, what way of life?" Oedipus asks the herdsman (1124). The answers are, of course, different, but the next question is essentially the same in both cases. "Did you sell your sausages right in the market place, or at the gates?" (1245-6). "What places chiefly did you range with your flocks?" (1126). "Cithaeron and the neighboring country," replies the shepherd (1127), and the sausage-seller answers, "At the gates, where the salt fish is sold" (1247). The questions and answers in *The Knights* present an urban parodic version of the pastoral scenes conjured up by the questions and answers in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

Cleon's reactions to the sausage-seller's replies are in high tragic style. "O Phoebus, Lycian Apollo, what will you do to me?" (ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλὼν Λύκιε, τί ποτε μ' ἐργάσει; 1240). A parody of a line in the *Bellerophon* of Euripides, says the

³⁵ "Sequitur ἀναγνώρισις vere tragica numeris et verbis insignis," says Van Leeuwen.

scholiast, but it sounds also like an echo of the tragic cry of Oedipus when he hears Jocasta's account of the death of Laius: "O Zeus, what have you planned to do to me?" (ὦ Ζεῦ τί μου δρᾶσαι βεβουλεύσαι πέρι; 738).³⁶ After the discovery of the sausage-seller's trade Cleon is convinced that he is lost (1243). But he recovers. He has one hope, one question more. "There is a slim hope on which we ride at anchor. Tell me just this much" (λεπτὴ τις ἐλπίς ἐστ' ἐφ' ἧς ὀχούμεθα· καί μοι τοσοῦτον εἰπέ 1244-5). So Oedipus, after the revelations of Jocasta, has one remaining hope, one question to put to the herdsman, the answer to which will ruin or save him. "I have in fact just this much hope" (καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ μοι τῆς ἐλπίδος, 836). The answer to Cleon's question convinces him that the oracle has been fulfilled. "Alas, the god's prophecy has been carried out" (1248). So Oedipus recognizes the truth: "Oh, it all comes out clear and true" (1182).

Each one of these Aristophanic resemblances to the language and situations of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is slight enough in itself, but taken all together they seem suggestive. If they can be considered convincing, they fix the date January 424 as the *terminus ante quem*, and the first performance of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* must then have taken place in 425. If not, the date of the performance must still be close enough to the summer of 426 for the allusions to the second outbreak of the plague and the purification of Delos to be timely, and the best date for those requirements is still 425.

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³⁶ The Sophoclean line is clearly parodied in the later *Peace*. Cf. 62, ὦ Ζεῦ τί δρασείεις ποθ' ἡμῶν τὸν λεόν; and 106, ὃ τι ποιεῖν βουλεύεται [*sc. Ζεύς*] Ἑλλήνων πέρι. The parody here is surely clear enough to rule out any date for the *Oedipus Tyrannus* later than 422.

HORACE, THE UNWILLING WARRIOR: *SATIRE* I, 9.

In his monumental study of the influence of Lucilius upon Horace, G. C. Fiske brought the question as close to a definite answer as the fragmentary nature of Lucilius would permit. Considering these few remnants and the well-known scruples of Horace against extended verbal imitation, one must admit that Fiske emerged with an impressive list of similar motifs and expressions between the two satirists.¹ To be sure, similarities in detail are not always an exact indication of the individual method of treatment,² and the latitude, which a poet might require, was never denied Horace.³ When he came to consider *S.*, I, 9, Fiske inherited a theory first advanced by Iltgen,⁴ but ignored by subsequent scholars,⁵ that the *Satire* was largely influenced by an earlier work of Lucilius. Careful study of Horace and an imaginative reconstruction of the fragments of Book VI of Lucilius convinced Fiske that Horace was indebted, not merely for lines, but for the general plan of his poem. "We may conclude, therefore, that the sixth book of Lucilius contained a satire upon the bore, which was the direct model for Horace's ninth satire of the first book."⁶

Of approximately fifteen lines in Lucilius which confirmed Fiske in his opinion, perhaps those which are most generally accepted as influencing Horace's poem are 231-2 (Marx):

¹ G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace: a Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation* (Madison, 1920).

² Vergil offers the best example of controlled imitation. In his important book, V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (Wiesbaden, 1950), studies Vergil's use of Homeric similes and reaches striking conclusions about the former's methods of imitation.

³ E. g., Fiske, pp. 46, 134.

⁴ J. J. Iltgen, *De Horatio Lucilii Aemulo* (Montbaurer, 1872), pp. 18 and 19.

⁵ None of the following editions regard the influence of Lucilius upon *S.*, I, 9 as significant beyond lines 1 and 78: L. Mueller (Wien, 1891); J. Orellius, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1892); J. H. Kirkland (Boston, 1894); P. Lejay (Paris, 1911); E. P. Morris (New York, 1909); Kiessling-Heinze, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1921).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

(nil) ut discrepat ac 'τὸν δὲ ἐξήρπασεν Ἀπόλλων'
fiat.⁷

The Greek phrase resembles so closely Horace, I, 9, 78: *sic me servavit Apollo*, that, even without the authority of Porphyrio,⁸ a connection between the two passages would ultimately have been observed. The question next arises: In what sense and why is Horace imitating Lucilius? The answers proposed fall into three main groups:

1. Horace, like Lucilius, is referring to the ultimate source of the allusion, Homer. He thus, like Lucilius, acquires the advantages of epic parody and ends his description on a humorous note appropriate to the ironic character that he here most successfully achieves.

2. Horace is implicitly criticizing Lucilius for citing the original Greek.⁹ He therefore carefully translates the Greek, places the line in a significant position, and still has the advantages of parody.

3. Horace is implicitly criticizing Lucilius' uneconomic use of the parody and demonstrating his own technical superiority. It appears that Lucilius inserted the Greek phrase, as was frequently his custom, to serve as a witty contrast, as a neat, exaggerated reference to an incident entirely alien to his context.¹⁰ On the other hand, when Horace adopts this phrase as his conclusion, he cleverly makes it relevant to his dramatic development. Here, the focus of economy is *Apollo*. As the god who watches over poets and concerns himself with principles of justice, Apollo can be regarded, on the supernatural level, as the agent effecting Horace's release from the *garrulus*. In human terms, the bore's legal opponent appeared when Horace was desperate, dragged the fool off to justice, and thus left Horace

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 335: "The closing line of the Horatian satire was directly modelled on that of Lucilius, as is proved by Porphyrio's quotation of line 231."

⁸ Porphyry: "Hoc de illo sensu Homericò sumpsit, quem et Lucilius in sexto Satirarum representavit sic dicens. . . ."

⁹ Cf. Horace's attacks on Lucilius' use of Greek words in *S.*, I, 10, 23 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. the reconstruction of Lucilius' argument by Fiske, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 ff.

a free man. It is, however, the genius of Horace to transform this experience into an amusing drama, to picture Apollo as a *deus ex machina*, and to give the scene a finished form by recalling the opening reference to his poetic concerns (line 2).

It is evident that none of these explanations of 9, 78 is exclusively correct; in fact, the most adequate interpretation would—as Lejay did¹¹—synthesize these apparent alternatives into a coherent whole. Accordingly, the understanding of Horace's conclusion generally agrees with the words of Ritter: "clam se inde discessisse poetice significavit,"¹² where "poetice" is applied to the wealth of allusion which Lucilius' successor ingeniously develops from a line used by Lucilius in his typically witty and extravagant manner.

Synthesis of these three interpretations does not necessarily exhaust the potential allusions in Horace's line. Since economy is characteristic of Horace, it is tempting to speculate on other applications of his words, which would extend the scope of his poetic parody. Recently, E. T. Salmon, without denying the validity of the literary explanations hitherto advanced, has proposed an additional reference for *Apollo*.¹³ He believes that the Satire has consistent topographical allusions indicating various stages in Horace's progress towards Caesar's Gardens, the destination announced in 18. As we are told in the first line, Horace was walking along the Via Sacra when he was accosted by the *garrulus*. Later, he mentions arriving at the Temple of Vesta (line 35). Apart from these two specific references to sites in the Forum, Horace gives no further direct indication of the scene of action. Salmon, assuming quite plausibly that there are indirect indications, has suggested an attractive solution to the difficulty usually sensed in *tricesima sabbata* (l. 69)¹⁴ by interpreting the phrase as a subtle allusion to the Jewish Quarter

¹¹ *Op. cit.* in his excellent notes on line 78.

¹² F. Ritter, in his edition of the *Satires* (Leipzig, 1857), note on line 78.

¹³ E. T. Salmon, "Horace's Ninth Satire in its Setting," *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 184-93.

¹⁴ Cf. the efforts of interpretation in Orellius, *op. cit.*, and Lejay, *op. cit.* Because of the difficulty and the absence of any definite indications as to the significance of the phrase, Kiessling-Heinze, *op. cit.*, regard the words as devoid of factual application.

near the Forum Boarium. Horace, in this view, has moved out of the Forum Romanum, down the Vicus Tuscus, and into the Jewish residential area. Further, it was near here that the *garrulus* unexpectedly met his legal opponent. In the ensuing confusion, Horace escaped, to take refuge in the sanctuary of the patron of poets, as Salmon infers from the conclusion. *Apollo*, who signifies the god of justice and poetry, can also be considered topographically relevant, as applying to the Temple of Apollo Medicus, newly re-built by Sosius in the late Thirties B. C.¹⁵ In this type of interpretation, there is an opportunity to check the theory against facts. For this reason, Salmon has been challenged by the Roman topographer F. Castagnoli, who denies the allusions suggested and attempts to return to the limited interpretations listed above. *Apollo*, in fact, he restricts to its Homeric relevance, while he seems to regard the Lucilian parallel as coincidental. Accordingly, he states: "L'acceno ad Apollo non ha bisogno di un riferimento topografico, ma, come commenta Porfirione, e semplicemente una reminiscenza omerica (*Il. XX*, 443) citata anche de Lucilio."¹⁶ The present writer takes no position in this controversy; yet it is significant that the disagreement springs from the relevance or irrelevance of an admittedly allusive line.

Castagnoli's phrase "reminiscenza omerica" suggests still another method of interpreting *sic me servavit Apollo* and of defining the limits of Lucilius' influence upon this poem. In the first place, Horace translates Homer freely, whereas Lucilius cited him verbatim. When, then, Lucilius used the phrase, he was obliged to attach the Greek line to a Latin context; he was, we may say, aiming at the conflict between the Greek and Latin, between the epic and the satiric, the supernatural and the real. As if to mark the opposition clearly, Lucilius connected the Homeric words to his context in the form of a negative simile

¹⁵ There is a potential difficulty in dating the Satire as late as the building of Sosius' Temple, since the date of construction is often assigned to the year of Sosius' consulship. Salmon argues plausibly that the temple was erected in 33 B. C., as Shipley had already suggested. If so, there is no necessary conflict, since Book II of the *Satires* was written in the years 33-30 B. C.

¹⁶ F. Castagnoli, "Note di Topografia Romana," *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.*, LXXIV (1952), p. 53.

(*nil ut discrepat ac*).¹⁷ The effect is to imply the inapplicability of the Homeric context to Lucilius' story, and, in my opinion, Fiske rightly concludes that the satirist was humorously referring to a frivolous situation, quite possibly the unwelcome presence of a bore.¹⁸ Such an inference would be consistent with what is known of Lucilius' treatment of Greek: his tendency to extravagance, but also his achievement of witty statements.¹⁹ By contrast, Horace assimilates the line of Homer to his context, makes himself the object instead of the non-personal *τὸν*, and alters *ἐξήπαξεν* to the more emotional *servavit*. These changes enable Horace to use *Apollo* more fully. In particular, the rejection of the simile as a method of using the reminiscence frees Horace from the necessity of a mechanical citation of Homer merely for purposes of witty contrast, permits him instead to adapt Homer with subtlety to his dramatic account.

The indirect method of citation, I suggest, makes Homer more relevant to Horace than to Lucilius. It is, therefore, necessary secondly to return to the context in Homer upon which Horace's phrase is based, to see what possible bearing it can have upon Horace's hypothetical experience with the bore.²⁰ At this point in Book XX of the *Iliad*, the epic poet describes the brief encounter between Hector and Achilles. Hector's efforts to wound Achilles are checked by Athena. As Achilles is rushing in for the kill, Apollo intervenes and carries the Trojan off in a cloud to safety. These details fit the traditional interpretation of Horace previously mentioned, namely, that the intervention of

¹⁷ The negative *nil*, not in Porphyrio, is added by Marx. Subsequent editors, however, have accepted the emendation: so Warmington and Terzaghi; and Fiske reads *nil*.

¹⁸ Fiske, *op. cit.*, p. 335 rejects Marx's interpretation of the line. Marx imagined a situation in which somebody is badly beaten up and prays that he may be saved in the miraculous manner of Hector: "ita enim pugnis et fustibus erat male mulcatus." I doubt that Lucilius' use of Greek words was that subtle.

¹⁹ On the use of Hellenisms in Lucilius, cf. W. C. Korfmaier, "Grecizing in Lucilian Satire," *C. J.*, XXX (1935), pp. 453-62; also, M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos: zur Geschichte einer Gattung der hellenistisch-römische Poesie* (Frankfurt, 1949), pp. 13 ff.

²⁰ I agree with the majority of scholars, who regard this Satire as based on an imaginary experience.

Apollo in the *Iliad* is humorously appropriate to his imagined rescue of the poet Horace. One factor, however, has been ignored: the original context is a battle scene. Apollo saves his favorite, who is a warrior, not a poet. On the surface, the basic martial context seems to have no bearing upon the drama here enacted, which plainly presents anything but warfare. But Horace has employed throughout *S.*, I, 9 a number of similar expressions, epic and martial, which can be related to the Homeric battle; when related, they assume form as a new level of meaning based on the significance of battle in this Satire, of Horace as a warrior. Further developed, this new pattern explains more specifically certain portions of the drama which have been viewed simply as humorous exaggerations. It can be shown, I believe, that Horace has treated the dramatic situation in a different manner from Lucilius, so as to utilize extensively the martial overtones of his Homeric original.

As Heinze noted, the first obvious statement of a military word occurs in 42-3, where Horace visualizes the bore as a conqueror (*victore*). If, however, this passage is patent, reinforced as it is by *contendere*, it is also anticipated at several earlier points, as Horace intimates his attitude towards his companion in terms applicable also to war. When the bore rushes up and seizes his hand, Horace implies that the act is an affront to him. The man does not sense the unfriendliness in Horace's overpolite reply to his own effusive greeting; he persists. Horace, therefore, determines to end the conversation immediately and bluntly says goodbye (6). The word suggesting bluntness, *occupo*, is more commonly employed in other senses. In its root meaning, it is a word of war: to seize, take possession of, and, by derivation, to begin the attack.²¹ By itself, the word might be simply humorous. Supported in the context by *arrep̄ta*, which regularly has violent associations,²² it hints at a battle

²¹ For *occupare* with a personal object in a martial context, cf. *Aen.*, X, 699: *Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis / occupat os faciemque adversam*. Horace uses this word in *Epist.*, I, 7, 66 to signify abrupt address, though without any suggestion of the military theme.

²² There are four usages of *arripere* in Horace, all of them indicating violent activity. Three of them suggest the ferocity of animals. Cf. *A. P.*, 475, where *arripuit* is associated by simile with *ursus*. In *S.*, II, 1, 69 and 3, 224, the verb is characteristic of the satirist's invective.

theme which will gradually become clearer. In this sense, the opening lines could be visualized as the first stages of a personal combat between Horace and the bore. The man's attitude is aggressive (*arrepta*) and offensive to Horace, so, in desperation, Horace determines to fight (*occupo*). It is a strange type of battle. Longing only to escape, Horace tries every device he can invent to frighten or discourage the *garrulus*. No matter what he does or says, he is beaten; while, the *garrulus*, merely by forcing his company on the unfortunate poet, is regarded as an enemy in pursuit. In each passage of arms—an intolerable effusion from the *garrulus* followed by a desperate, though polite, reply from Horace—the bore emerges victorious, because he is completely obtuse to Horace's feelings and irresistibly persistent in his own crude designs. This nightmare battle,²³ perceived in the conflict of personalities, is fought by words. As the drama proceeds, it becomes more and more evident that the satirist treats the situation as a real combat between himself and his objectionable companion.

Part of the irony of the Satire depends upon the fact that the bore does not realize how offensive he is. When he praises himself as *doctus* (7), it is a painful wound (*misere*, 8) to a real poet. No longer willing to fight bravely face-to-face, Horace tries to break off the battle (*discedere*, 8).²⁴ The engagement becomes a running conflict, in which Horace periodically makes a futile gesture of resistance and attempts to discourage his pur-

Only *Epist.*, I, 7, 89 does not fit the metaphor. As for the phrase *arrepta manu*, it is quite possible that Horace is thinking of a line in Plautus and its violent associations: cf. *Curc.*, 597: *manum arripuit mordicus*. That the line is well-known is indicated by the fact that it is imitated by Turpilius (*Com.*, 108) and by Apuleius (*Met.*, VIII, 23). In short, the first view we have of the *garrulus* is carefully influenced by *arrepta*, so as to suggest his aggressiveness.

²³ I should like to have found support for my first impression, that the whole scene resembles Achilles' pursuit around the walls of Ilium in *Il.*, XXII; I do not now believe, however, that Horace justifies the connection.

²⁴ Horace uses *discedere* three times in this same military sense. Cf. *Epist.*, I, 7, 17: *victor violens discessit ab hoste*; also, *Epist.*, II, 2, 99, where he is describing the rivalry of critics, and *S.*, I, 7, 17, where he comments on the famous meeting of Glaucus and Diomedes in the *Iliad*. For the military meaning in general, cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § C. It appears in Caesar, e. g., *B. C.*, III, 112, 7, and Livy, e. g., IX, 44, 8.

suer. First, he tries to outdistance the man (*ire ocius*, 9); then, he stops to fight, makes a stand (*consistere*).²⁵ The martial sense of *consistere* and the normally poetic connotations of *ocius* are then combined with the context implied by *sudor* (10). On the dramatic level, Horace's sweating is an amusing exaggeration; an unpleasant conversation does make one perspire, but one is hardly bathed in sweat. In the *Iliad*, however, men sweat (*ἰδρῶς*) under the strain of combat when they are defeated and flee in terror, as Lycaon (XXI, 51); when they have been wounded;²⁶ and when they fight well, but against greater numbers.²⁷ The passage concerning Ajax and his battlesweat (XVI, 109) is a prototype for the description of Turnus, when he is hard-pressed within the encampment of the Trojans; and *ἰδρῶς* is the basis of *sudor* in Vergil.²⁸ After this, other intolerable remarks from the *garrulus* provoke the unspoken thought in Horace: *o te, Bolane, cerebri / felicem* (11-12). Horace wishes that he were choleric, that his temper frightened company; his exaggerated emotion, however, continues the overtone of epic warfare. Frequently, the epic hero cries out in a moment of crisis, envying the fortune of another, particularly his happy death in battle.²⁹ Similarly, Horace envies Bolanus, because a bad temper has always permitted the latter to escape from such predicaments as that which the poet faces.

Even the obtuse bore eventually perceives that Horace is trying to get away (14). Rather than permit this, he blatantly insists on accompanying his victim. As he puts it, Horace is helpless (*nihil agis*, 15); he, the bore, will hold on to his man (*usque tenebo*); he will continue his pursuit (*persequar*, 16) wherever Horace goes. The militant overtone of *persequar* is unmistakable, and it tinges the other verbs. Confident of capturing Horace, the bore boasts that he will pursue him indefinitely. Still, Horace tries some strategy. He invents a friend

²⁵ Cf. *Aen.*, IX, 789: *agmine denso / consistunt*. For the military meaning in general, cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § 12b. The word appears in Caesar, e. g., *B. G.*, II, 21, 6, and Livy, e. g., I, 27, 5.

²⁶ Cf. *Il.*, V, 796; XI, 811.

²⁷ Cf. *Il.*, XIII, 711; XVI, 109.

²⁸ *Aen.*, IX, 812.

²⁹ Cf. *Aen.*, XI, 159: *felix morte tua*. It is in a similar context that Aeneas voices his emotions: *o terque quaterque beati . . .* (I, 94).

far across the Tiber, a sick friend, whom he must visit (17-18). This ruse makes not the slightest impression on the dull wit of the fool. Instead of being discouraged by the prospective walk, he boasts of his energy and repeats his threat of constant pursuit: *non sum piger: usque sequar te* (19). The choice of *piger* is designed, for to be *piger* is to be unheroic.³⁰ When, however, the bore denies that he is *piger*, Horace is making him reveal his basic fault. A definite relation exists between his energetic eagerness and his offensiveness, to the extent that, concentrated on his own antipathetic purposes, the *garrulus* is blind to the reactions of others. With ill-concealed distaste, Horace resigns himself to the pursuit: he compares himself to an overburdened ass (20-1).³¹ Then, his companion sets out to ingratiate himself with the poet. Naturally, he chooses the most offensive approach, comparing himself to Hermogenes, the most obnoxious of poetasters in Horace's opinion (22-5). The stage directions are suggestive: *incipit ille* (21). As a verb of speech, *incipere* is generally associated with epic.³² Moreover, when the verb precedes its subject, the form resembles the emphatic technique of formal poetry. Implicitly, then, 22 ff. is introduced as an epic speech. At the end of 22, where it will receive stress, Horace has placed *amicum*, a word which is markedly ironic as applied to this person who antagonizes Horace with every word he speaks. Rather, the boasts uttered by this man render him *inimicum*, *hostem*. To me, there is a suggestion here of another aspect of battle. About to come to blows at last, our epic heroes praise themselves and threaten the enemy with reports of their fearsomeness. Horace interrupts the offensive chatter of the *garrulus* with his rejoinder (26-7). It is intended to use the sick friend as a threat. As it is put, though, the satirist seems to be reminding the bore of his fond relatives, warning him of the

³⁰ Cf. *Epist.*, II, 1, 124: *militiae quamquam piger et malus*. In fact, *piger* regularly denotes him who is unfit for military exploits. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.*, VII, 17, 1; Livy, XXI, 25, 6; Juvenal, 8, 248. By contrast, *impiger* connotes the zeal and energy necessary for war. Cf. *Carm.*, IV, 14, 22: *impiger hostium / vexare turmas*.

³¹ Tempting though it may be, the simile should not be taken as analogous to the epic simile in *Il.*, XI, 558 ff., describing Ajax in terms of an ass.

³² Cf. *Aen.*, VI, 103: *ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt, / incipit Aeneas heros*.

folly of attacking so mightily a hero as himself.³³ Thus, *salvo* (27) connotes not merely preservation from sickness, but safety in war.³⁴

Unfortunately, the bore frustrates Horace's fearsome threat. He has buried all his family, and there are no relatives to worry about his health. Horace can only envy the dead as *felices* (28), people who have died and fortunately escaped the fate he is undergoing (cf. 12). Now at last the hero realizes that he is doomed. Fatalistically he enters combat, requesting a quick finish (*confice*, 29).³⁵ Then begins the oracle which, as others have noted, is an epic parody.³⁶ To describe a passage as epic parody, however, does not reach the heart of the question, as this paper is attempting to demonstrate; while implying the humorous effect, it does not explain the function of the parody in its context. From acquaintance with Horatian economy, it would be reasonable to assume that the poet has used epic parody here because it is thematically functional, not merely for its witty impression. It is accordingly necessary to determine the epic context specifically relevant to this Satire. We have seen that the satirist regards his unwelcome companion, to a certain extent, as an enemy and therefore pictures himself as a warrior fighting a losing battle with him. Now, a situation suggests itself in which the satirist describes himself as the hero who suddenly remembers the prophecy of his death in battle at the moment of fulfilment. There are analogues in Homer. Ritter pointed to the oracle which Polyphemus recalled after being blinded.³⁷ On the whole, the context is not so appropriate as the more common use of oracles in

³³ Cf. the speech of Achilles to Aeneas in *Il.*, XX, 196.

³⁴ In two other cases, Horace uses *salvus* to apply to circumstances of war: cf. *Epist.*, I, 2, 10 and 16, 27.

³⁵ It will be noticed that Horace is practicing ellipsis regularly and has here omitted the direct object of *confice*. The conventional object would probably have been something like *negotium*, as it is interpreted in *T. L. L.*, s. v. § I A 2b. However, the ellipsis permits a personal subject, specifically *me*. To fit such a construction, there is a sense of *conficere* related to killing: cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § III E 1. Cf. Livy, VI, 13, 5: *iusta caede conficere hostem posset*.

³⁶ Cf. Orellius, Kirkland, Lejay, Morris, Fiske, Kiessling-Heinze, and others.

³⁷ *Od.*, IX, 507 ff.

the battle scenes of the *Iliad*. The phrase of introduction seems conclusive; yet, to my knowledge, no commentator has observed that the words *instat fatum me triste* (29) are a good translation of *Il.*, XXII, 303: *νῦν αὐτὲ με μοῖρα κιχάνει*. The Greek acts as one of the formulaic phrases of Homer, in which any personal pronoun can be substituted, providing it is metrically equivalent.³⁸ Its context is always the death of a warrior. In the single instance where the personal pronoun is *με* and the parallel with the Latin is exact, Hector is the speaker. The hero realizes that he has been overcome by the gods and his own weakness; after speaking, he turns to face Achilles and meet the inevitable death. On the other hand, Hector does not mention a prophecy in his moment of realization; he is, so to speak, his own prophet. We must look to other portions of the *Iliad*, where the death of a warrior is foretold, but the formulaic phrase not used. For example, Polydus foresaw the death of his own son;³⁹ Achilles hears his doom prophesied;⁴⁰ Aeneas is threatened with death by the supreme prophet, Apollo;⁴¹ and Achilles acts the prophet.⁴² Because of the negative manner of prophecy here exhibited and not illustrated in Homer, a different ancient analogue has been suggested.⁴³ Diogenes Laertius reports an epigram recited about Zeno the Stoic which has a similarly negative form.⁴⁴ Although the context of the epigram involves neither battle nor death, it is not impossible that Horace parodies the epigram as well as the epic. Curiously enough, Shakespeare provides the closest parallel of all in *Macbeth*. Deceived up to the last moment by the speciously convincing oracles, Macbeth sees one after the other fulfilled; finally, he meets Macduff and hears the nature of his enemy's birth. It is at this moment (Act V, Scene VII, line 59) that, certain of his death, he faces Macduff with those famous words: "Lay on, Macduff . . ." (cf. *confice*). Whatever may have been the exact source of

³⁸ Cf. *Il.*, XVII, 478 and 672; XXII, 436.

³⁹ *Il.*, XIII, 666.

⁴⁰ *Il.*, XIX, 409.

⁴¹ *Il.*, XX, 332.

⁴² *Il.*, XXI, 110.

⁴³ The credit for suggesting this new analogue, as Lejay notes, goes to Kiessling.

⁴⁴ *Lives*, VII, 27. The epigram is fully cited in Orellius, Kirkland, and Lejay.

Horace's passage—if there is a single source—epic gives the tone to the language. The circumstances in which the oracle was uttered (*cecinit*, 30) suggest epic grandeur. Moreover, the first line (31), containing the poetic *dira* and the archaic *hosticus* and concerned with the type of destiny associated with epic or tragedy, fits the mood of an oracle or formal, grand poetry. It is the irony of the prophecy to descend from tragic deaths, which it denies our hero, through more prosaic fates to the most ridiculous of all ends. Horace must perish ignobly at the hands of a *garrulus* (33). Still, suffering the fool's aggressiveness, while an ignominious fate, is significantly placed in the same context of hostility as a death in real battle would be. In fact, the anticlimactic end of the prophecy, with its mock-epic *tmesis quando . . . cumque* (33), reveals the weapon which, above all others, is deadly to Horace: meaningless verbosity. Accordingly, he criticizes Lucilius for talkativeness in *S.*, I, 4 and 10; he attacks Hermogenes for his lack of literary discipline in I, 2 and 3; and he sets up as his own great artistic ideal *brevitas*.⁴⁵ There is, then, no alternative: Horace is irrevocably doomed.

In terms of epic battle, the remainder of the Satire determines the fate of the doomed poet. Conquered now, he is granted his life and made a helpless prisoner. Possibilities of escape occur, are hopefully grasped, but as quickly forestalled by captor or fate. The first chance arises as a result of the lawsuit impending against the bore (33 ff.). On the basis of their mutual friendship, the fool asks Horace to stop a moment and give him support. Since this "friendship" (38) is viewed by the poet as enmity, he swears that he cannot and will not stop (*inteream*, 38). Villeneuve found problems in the traditional interpretation of the phrase *valeo stare* (39).⁴⁶ He rejected construing *stare* as equivalent to *adstare*⁴⁷ and, pointing to a common theory about Horace's delicate health, treated *stare* as a properly simple verb. According to this interpretation, Horace has not the strength to stand; there is no other implication. Limitations on the relevance of Horace's language, as 78 and the systematic connotations present in this Satire imply, generally result in the error which comes from eliminating important meanings.

⁴⁵ Cf. *S.*, I, 10, 9: *est brevitate opus*.

⁴⁶ F. Villeneuve, *Horace: Satires* (Paris, 1932), *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ One might assume *adstare* on the basis of *ades* (36).

Quite probably, Horace has used the simple verb as a simple verb *and* for its compound.⁴⁸ Such usage would be consistent with economy, since the simple verb, not specifying the preposition in the compound, allows a moderate freedom of application. For instance, the legal context here suggests the prepositions *ad-* or *prae-*; but Horace's unhappy condition might well support *con-* or *prae-*, with their thematic relevance. The military metaphor, that is, cannot be totally disregarded. At any rate, Horace has no fight left; he certainly can no longer fight the presence of the bore. For a hopeful moment, the man hesitates as to whether to face his lost cause in court or retain Horace captive. The latter alternative seems preferable and, captor that he is, he leads off his victim (*praecedere*, 40). The poet cannot resist (*contendere*); he resigns himself and meekly follows the triumphant *garrulus* (*victore*, 41).

For the next fifteen lines, the dreadful predicament of the captive seems to be ignored. The two men converse about Maecenas, and the bore expresses his desire to be admitted into his select circle. If, however, the military theme is applied, it is not out of place. As Horace looks back upon this period, he compares it to supreme torture; he has been under the knife, he says (*sub cultro*, 74). With the poet in hand, the *garrulus* is considering a more valuable conquest, that of the great Maecenas himself. As an instrument of his campaign, he will employ Horace. Therefore, he keeps threatening the poet, in order to make him pliable to his designs. When the man reveals his plot upon Maecenas, he also discloses an aspect of his character which has so far only been implicit: he is not only antagonistic because of his chatter; he is also highly aggressive, in fact unscrupulous in the pursuit of his ambitions. These two qualities are complementary in his personality, to be sure, but aggressiveness does not necessarily follow from talkativeness. Impelled as he is by ambition, the fool makes the egregious error of

⁴⁸ The exact implication conveyed when a simple word is used for its compound varies according to the context. Frequently, abbreviation of this type has informal connotations and is congenial to satire. Cf. E. Wölfflin, "Bemerkungen über das Vulgärlatein," *Philol.*, XXXIV (1876), pp. 149 ff.; F. Ruckdeschel, *Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz* (Diss. Munich, 1910), pp. 25 ff.; A. Engel, *De Q. Horatii Flacci Sermones Metro Accomodato* (Diss. Breslau, 1914), pp. 68 ff.

attributing the same aggressive traits to Horace, and, under this illusion, he appeals to the poet by the crude motives influencing his own manner. Since Horace is a good friend of Maecenas, he assumes that Horace has consciously seized opportunities (*fortuna*, 45)⁴⁹ to pretend the sort of friendship which makes use of a powerful political figure. So begins Horace's torture. Fortune governs the military sphere as well as the political, at least when one is crudely ambitious. In as much, then, as the poet already has the advantages of Fortune, the *garrulus* devises a campaign which will depend on Horace's Fortune and will have as its object the capture of similar Fortune. To begin with, he speaks of himself as a potential *adiutor* (46) of Horace's ambition. The metaphor in *adiutor*, ambiguous in its clause, quickly acquires a precise meaning as a result of the definite stage metaphor in *ferre secundas*. Since, however, it precedes the specific dramatic image, it might also possess momentarily a valid military significance. If so, the *garrulus* first proposes himself as Horace's aide-de-camp,⁵⁰ then requests a supporting role in the play where Horace takes the lead. The plan of operations is simple: the poet will introduce the *garrulus* to Maecenas.⁵¹ The word used for "introduce," *tradere* (47), is the equivalent of *commendare*.⁵² It is not unlikely, however, that the word betrays the aggressive nature of the speaker by suggesting also a military overtone. By this interpretation, a scene could be imagined where, introduced into the fortified city, the enemy overcomes all resistance (*summosses*, 48)⁵³ and treacherously seizes power from within. At this point, thoroughly antagonized by such shameless effrontery, Horace protests at the schemer's misconceptions. There is no truth in the belief that Maecenas' circle has political importance; rather,

⁴⁹ I interpret the ellipsis, with most editors, as implying *te*, not *illo*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Livy, X, 26, 2: *adiutorem belli sociumque imperii darent*.

⁵¹ Though it would be convenient for the image to have *hunc hominem* refer to Maecenas, one must interpret the phrase, following Porphyrio, as a familiar expression probably accompanied by a gesture, as the *garrulus* points to himself.

⁵² Cf. *Epist.*, I, 18, 76-8, where Horace uses *commendare* and *tradere* in the same sense.

⁵³ Cf. Caesar, *B. G.*, I, 25: *victis ac summotis resisterent*; also, *B. G.*, VIII, 10.

it is opposed to unscrupulous climbing: *his aliena malis* (50).⁵⁴ Just as the fool's ways arouse the antagonism of Horace, so his ambition only earns the hostility of the artistic circle to which the poet belongs.

Horace's protests only fire the man's desire to win the favor of Maecenas. When the fool applies to himself the metaphor *accendis* (53), Horace immediately construes it in its military sense and completes the ellipsis mentally to read: "you fire my courage." Carrying on in the same vein, the satirist now openly uses the military metaphor as proper to his companion's manner. As he ironically puts it, nothing could withstand the persistence of such a person; the man will take Maecenas by storm (*expugnabis*, 55) in an easy victory (*vinci*). In this metaphorical context, *virtus* (54) also reverts to its original meaning of manliness, fitness for war. Once again, by its striking incongruity, the image stresses the moral significance of the Satire. The bore is aggressive and offensive: that constitutes his *virtus*. Because, however, his aggressiveness springs from crude personal ambition, devoid of any trace of honor, his *virtus* must fall far short of the epic ideal. Therefore, too, the military theme will always be an ironic suggestion of the schemer's ignobility. With this implication, Horace continues: there are strategic approaches (*aditus*, 56), he says, to Maecenas' city, but difficult and well-guarded. Completely missing Horace's irony and taking his cue from the military metaphor, the schemer openly parades his methods and his scale of values: he will use bribery on the guards (*corrumpam*, 57). If the gates are shut on him and, like a lover, he is ignored (*exclusus*, 58), he will remain true to his character: he will not give up. Awaiting his opportunity, he will attack his man in the street (*occurram*, 59),⁵⁵ force a meeting. He will impose himself on Maecenas as an escort; he will, in other words, lead Maecenas captive just as he is now leading Horace (*deducam*).⁵⁶ Then, as if to summarize his

⁵⁴ Lejay glosses *aliena*: "hostile, contraire." For the meaning "hostile," cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § II A 2.

⁵⁵ For the use of *occurrere* in a military sense, cf. Lucretius, III, 524: *falsae rationi vera videtur / res occurrere et effugium praecludere*; also, Lucretius, VI, 32. In Caesar, cf. *B. C.*, I, 40 and III, 92: *ipsi immisis telis occurrissent*. Cf. also *Aen.*, X, 734.

⁵⁶ Prof. H. T. Rowell has pointed out to me a second Horatian usage

energetic character, he recites the noble truism, which he has perverted to his own purposes:

nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus. (59-60)

As Heinze noted, the saying originated in the dignified Greek oracular proverb:

οὐδὲν ἄνευ καμάτων πέλει ἀνδράσιν εὐπετὲς ἔργον.

It is perhaps significant that the unscrupulous *garrulus* has perverted the neat hexameter unit as well as the moral basis of the original.

The greater offensive of the schemer has now been exposed; Horace remains in his predicament. At this juncture, Fuscus Aristius comes up—as Horace hopefully believes—to the attack (*occurrit*, 61; cf. 59). The warriors, prepared for battle, make a stand (*consistimus*, 62; cf. 9). By every means in his power, Horace tries to show his longing for rescue (*eriperet*, 65), gesticulating, nudging, going through a series of facial contortions. Aristius pretends obtuseness. Furious yet helpless, Horace describes his desperation in physical terms: *meum iecur urere bilis* (66). Though by no means an exact parallel, there is a possible reminiscence here, I suggest, of Homeric phrases used to denote deep feeling, such as *χόλον θυμαλγέα*.⁵⁷ When subtle methods bring no result, Horace is obliged to speak out. He reminds Aristius of an important message which requires privacy (67-8). It is amusing to tease, and Aristius refuses to co-operate, alleging a flimsy excuse (68-71). With a cry of frustration, the intensity of which suggests epic emotionality, the poor satirist curses his evil day: *solem / tam nigrum* (72-3). After Aristius has fled from battle with the bore (*fugit*, 73), he is doomed. The phrase *sub cultro*, according to Porphyrio, is a well-known proverb. Unfortunately, this proverb is used once in extant Latin literature, in this passage.⁵⁸ Most commentators

of *deducere* in this meaning of leading in triumph: *Carm.*, I, 37, 31: *scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho*. For the general military sense, cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § I A 2f. With this significance, it is used in Caesar, e. g., *B. G.*, III, 38, and Livy, e. g., XXVIII, 32, 7.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Il.*, IX, 260.

⁵⁸ Cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 100; also, the article on *cultus* in *T. L. L.*

gloss the phrase: "as a sacrificial victim." It seems likely that this interpretation should be accepted, for the *culter* was most commonly used as a sacrificial knife and victims were put under the knife.⁵⁹ In Ovid's time, though, the *culter* could be spoken of as a weapon also; and by 50 A. D. the short sword of the gladiator was sometimes called *culter*. There is, then, considerable justification for interpreting the victim under the knife as human and accepting Heinze's ingenious gloss: "wie ein wehrloses *Schlachtopfer*, bereit, den Todesstoss zu empfangen."⁶⁰ At this point, Horace's predicament seems desperate indeed.

Suddenly, another warrior (*adversarius*, 75) arrives on the scene, to contest the way (*obvius*, 74). As he recognizes his enemy, the newcomer hails the *garrulus* with a curse, takes the willing Horace as witness, and drags his man violently off to trial. In this final scene, the description is very allusive, and the poet uses his economic device of ellipsis to advantage (77-8). Although specifically he is depicting the uproar occasioned by the cursing *adversarius*, the resisting *garrulus*, and the crowd of spectators, he also succeeds in suggesting a scene of battle. Possibly, one might think of an episode such as that in the *Iliad*, when the Greeks and Trojans fight over the body of Patroclus. Wherever the battle is hottest, the most men are involved, and reinforcements are continually pouring in. The *garrulus*, by nature antagonistic, must be the center of battle, and when he is dragged off, his victim Horace, a naturally peaceful individual, is left in tranquillity. The uproar (*clamor utrimque*, 77) is similar to the thunder of battle in the *Iliad* (ὄρνυγδος). When the curious onlookers run up (*concursum*, 78),⁶¹ there is a general confusion like that of a violent engagement. Rescued from battle at last, free of the intolerable aggressiveness of the

⁵⁹ Cf. *Aen.*, VI, 248: *supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem / suscipiunt pateris*; also *Georg.*, III, 492.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Trist.*, V, 7, 19: *dextera non segnis fixo dare vulnera cultro*. Seneca mentions the use of the *culter* by gladiators in *Epist.*, 87, 9. In his note on the passage, Heinze associates the phrase with the obvious military metaphor of 43, *victore*.

⁶¹ For the military application of *concursum*, cf. *T. L. L.*, s. v., § 12. There is a curious parallel to *clamor utrimque*, / *undique concursus* in Cicero, *Tusc.*, II, 37: *quid? exercitatio legionum, quid? ille cursus, concursus, clamor, quanti laboris est?* Cf. also Livy, XXII, 19, 12: *pertinaci certamine et concursu*.

garrulus, Horace thinks of Apollo as his protector. Apollo has saved him, indeed, from a struggle as ominous for him as the hopeless conflict between Achilles and Hector. Unlike Hector, the satirist is not snatched away (*ἐξήρπαξεν* = *eriperet*, 65); instead, his enemy is carried off (*rapit*), and he himself remains safe.

None of this elaboration of the battle and war symbolism in I, 9 negates the validity of the factual interpretations or the perceptive comments made by previous scholars in regard to this poem. At most, it questions what should always be questioned in the criticism of poetry: dogmatic, absolute assertions of a single specific interpretation, limiting Horace at points where he appears to have been deliberately unspecific and suggestive. On the positive side, it serves to explain some of the intricacy of Horace's technique. The observation has long since been made, for instance, that the satirist frequently uses military metaphors.⁶² In *S.*, I, 9, this practice can be explained as systematic and economic development of the moral insight of the poet. In an ordinary situation, a meeting between a typically contented, unambitious, sensitively artistic writer and an unwelcome, pushing poetaster, the satirist perceives, through his controlled irony, the elements of epic battle. The point of contact between the described event and the imagined overtones of war is the personality of the *garrulus*, which, being thoroughly objectionable, motivates the action of the drama. The man is *aggressive*; he make himself *offensive*; he arouses *antagonism* in Horace. These metaphorical terms epitomize the relation between drama and battle, the relation which Horace is subtly stressing in his account. At no time does it appear that the action is sacrificed to the symbol. Where the symbol pushes forward, as in the exaggerated descriptions of Horace's feelings (10, 12, 28, 66, 72), the oracle (29-34), or the unambiguous metaphors (42, 55, 73), it is always nicely blended in the attractive irony of the satirist. But humor in Horace is not usually uneconomical or un-moral. It is his genius to suggest much without asserting and without ever distorting his dramatic setting. In *S.*, I, 9, accordingly, he has expressed his insight into

⁶² F. Bäker, *Die Metaphern in den Satiren des Horaz* (Stralsund, 1883), p. 20.

the character of a typical man by ironically identifying an aggressive personality with the heroic standards of epic. The incongruity is subtly controlled, maintained throughout the poem. To fit it neatly to his drama, the satirist depicts himself as the unfortunate warrior, fatally inferior to the aggressor, whose doom, long since prophesied, is now at last brought almost to fulfilment before our eyes. Only the providential intervention of Apollo saves him. It is perhaps doubtful that *Apollo* can be identified with a specific Roman monument of Apollo. It does, however, appear certain that Horace is speaking of the Apollo of mythology and literature, the god of poetry and justice, the character in Lucilius' clever, but limited, parody, and the deity whom Homer originally described as intervening to save Hector. Only Horace could devise a poem in which he subtly condemned Lucilius' use of Greek words and uneconomic parody by taking a specific line borrowed by his predecessor from Homer and using it more dexterously. The martial context of the *Iliad*, admirably adapted to the ordinary incident here dramatized, extends the significance of the Satire and reveals the maturity of Horace at this relatively early stage in his poetic career.

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DEMONAX, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΩΝ.

About forty years ago there was published a papyrus fragment of Heracleides Lembos, *Epitome of Hermippus*, Περὶ νομοθετῶν,¹ which contained a short passage on the famous Mantineian lawgiver, Demonax. It seemed to reveal nothing more about Demonax than had already been known from the existing fragmentary sources except that it had a puzzling reference to the lawgiver as βασιλεύς. This term, I believe, has not only been misinterpreted by the scholars who have dealt with it, but as a result some have unjustly charged Heracleides with carelessness and have impugned his authority to a considerable degree; by their misinterpretation they have been forced to argue that this detail is not in agreement with the other sources and so must be due to Heracleides' error. The interpretation I propose here may not merely obviate such difficulties but also clarify the other sources particularly in regard to the significance of Demonax' legislation at Cyrene.

Twice in the papyrus fragment Demonax is called βασιλεύς, once at the beginning of the brief passage concerning his career: Δημω|ναξ ο βασι[λε]υς Μαντι|νεων (lines 19 ff.), and again several lines below: [Μαντιν]εων [βα]σιλευς | [ο Δημω]ναξ (lines 27 f.). In all the other sources the lawgiver is not known by such a title. Our earliest source, Herodotus (IV, 161), discussing the monarchy at Cyrene, relates that in order to settle a stasis in the reign of Battus III (the Lamé) the Delphic oracle advised the Cyrenaeans to ask Mantinea for a mediator (καταρτιστήρ) and in response to the request the Mantineians sent Demonax, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀσπῶν δοκιμώτατον. A similar account is given by Diodorus (VIII, 30, 2): ὅτι τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων στάσεως διαιτητῆς ἐγένετο Δημόναξ Μαντινεύς, συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη δοκῶν διαφέρειν. A third reference to Demonax is to be found in a passage of Athenaeus (IV, 154d), who mentions as his source the same work of Hermippus (= frag. 1 in *F. H. G.*, III, 36) that Heracleides epitomized: "Ερμιππος δ' ἐν α' περὶ νομοθετῶν τῶν μονομαχούντων εὔρετ' ἀποφαίνει Μαντινεῖς Δημόνακτος ἐνδὸς τῶν

¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XI (London, 1915), 1367, usually cited as *P. Oxy.*, 1367.

πολιτῶν συμβουλευσάντος καὶ ζηλωτὰς τούτων γενέσθαι Κυρηναίους. The only other reference to Demonax is to be found in a fragment of Ephorus quoted by Athenaeus (IV, 154d-e = frag. 97 in *F. H. G.*, I, 261 = frag. 54 in *F. Gr. H.*, II A 70) immediately following the remarks drawn from Hermippus. Although Demonax is here called Demeas, there can be little doubt that the two names refer to the same person.² In any case this passage does not have any reference to the status of the famous Mantineaean and so it may be disregarded for our purposes.

In publishing the papyrus fragment of Heracleides Lembos, Grenfell and Hunt (*op. cit.*, p. 115) have commented: "Hermippus disagreed with Herodotus, who is cited in l. 36, and later authorities in describing Demonax as king of Mantinea." And again (p. 118): "According to all these passages [i. e., Herodotus, Diodorus, and Athenaeus using Hermippus] Demonax was a private citizen, and it is strange that he should here be given the title of king." Suffice it at this point to remark that in the former comment it is assumed that Heracleides represented his source faithfully; thus Hermippus is considered to be at variance with Herodotus, Diodorus, and Athenaeus; and perhaps the same assumption is made in the latter comment although Grenfell and Hunt may rather be questioning the reliability of Heracleides by implication. Likewise, W. M. Edwards,³ in discussing this papyrus fragment, reveals his per-

² See Jacoby's commentary *ad loc.* (*F. Gr. H.*, II C, p. 53) and Stähelin's article in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Damonax," Suppl. III, col. 325. Stähelin fails to mention the papyrus fragment although his article was not published until 1918, after the publication of the papyrus fragment; perhaps the conditions of World War I prevented his consulting the papyrus publication of Grenfell and Hunt. Also, no reference to the papyrus fragment is made either by Daebritz in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Heracleides Lembos," cols. 488-91, or by Heibges, *ibid.*, s. v. "Hermippus, der Kallimacheer," cols. 845-52, since their articles appeared in 1912, before the publication of the papyrus. In regard to the correct (i. e., the Doric) form of the lawgiver's name see G. Fougères, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale* (*Bibl. Éc. Franc.*, fasc. LXXXVIII [Paris, 1898]), p. 333, n. 3 and p. 334, n. 5, and E. S. G. Robinson, *BMC Cyrenaica* (London, 1927), pp. liv, 26, and 34, where the name is noted on fourth-century coins; also *S. E. G.*, IX, 1, no. 50, lines 46, 147, and 231. Of course, the Doric dialect is best confirmed by Mantineaean inscriptions; e. g. see *I. G.*, V, 2, 261: δαμοργό[ν] (line 9) and δᾶμον (line 11).

³ "Διάλογος, Διατριβή, Μελέτη," in J. U. Powell and A. E. Barber

plexity at the apparent inconsistency of the evidence about "Demonax, the law-giver of the Cyrenaeans, who is styled 'King of the Mantineans,' instead of merely *ἀνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον*, as Herodotus calls him (iv. 161)."

Even stronger and more pointed are the observations this new evidence has evoked from Maria Calderini Mondini:⁴ "Si può però con sicurezza affermare che o Ermippo stesso o il suo epitomatore si sono ingannati," and again: "E che questo sia un errore, anzi un errore che risale semplicemente all' epitomatore, e chiaramente dimostrato anche da un frammento del primo libro di Ermippo, riportato da Ateneo (IV, p. 154) che riguarda appunto Demonatte." Similarly A. Körte⁵ argues: "Auch Herodot, den Herakleides Z. 36 zitiert, und Diod. VIII: 30, 2 nennen ihn nicht König; es muss also eine Flüchtigkeit des Herakleides vorliegen." Most recently they have been followed by H. Bloch⁶ who states quite confidently: "The carelessness of Herakleides is obvious everywhere: . . . he is definitely wrong in twice calling the lawgiver Demonax 'king of Mantinea' (lines 20 and 27), because according to Hermippos himself F 1 (*F. H. G.*, III. 36 = *Ath.* IV. 154d) and according to Herodotus IV. 161 (whom Herakleides himself cites in line 36, following Hermippos), Demonax was a private citizen of Mantinea." Thus Herakleides is held responsible for misrepresenting Hermippus.

The one, and apparently not very obvious, point that has been overlooked in this question is that *βασιλεύς* need not be interpreted 'king' or 'monarch.' In all the above arguments it was assumed without question that this was the only interpretation; hence the conclusions that either Herakleides or Hermippus was in error. It is well attested, however, that the term *βασιλεύς* was retained as the title of a political official not only in Athens but in many other Greek states, where the re-

(edd.), *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Second Series (Oxford, 1929), p. 100.

⁴ "Intorno al P. Oxy. 1367," *R. Accademia Scientifico-letteraria in Milan: Studi della Scuola Papirologica*, III (1920), p. 113.

⁵ "Referate: Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der Christlichen," *Arch. Pap.*, VII (1924), p. 232.

⁶ "Herakleides Lembos and his *Epitome* of Aristotle's *Politeiai*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXI (1940), p. 36.

ligious functions had originally been in the hands of an hereditary monarch.⁷ Aristotle (*Pol.*, 1289 b 9 ff.) has clearly pointed up the trichotomy in the functions of the early Greek kings, one of the functions being the administration of religious matters: κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαὶ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον, and similarly (1285 b 23 f.): στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος. In states where the powers of the sovereign monarch were diminished, the sacral functions were usually left in the hands of the monarch. This seems to be the origin of the office of βασιλεὺς: with the abolition of sovereignty and monarchical prerogative the kingship was transformed into an office, and often life-tenure also ended with the hereditary monarchy which gave way to an elective office with limited tenure.⁸ There was such an official called βασιλεὺς in charge of the sacral functions at Chios, Siphnos, Ios, Naxos, Miletos and her colony, Olbia, as well as at Athens; sometimes the official with this title was important enough to be eponymous as at Argos, Megara, her two colonies at Chalcedon and Chersonesos, and Samothrace.⁹

⁷ See Arist., *Pol.*, 1322 b 29: "Among religious offices is one devoted to the administration of the public festivals not assigned specifically to the priests; such officials are called Archons by some, Basileis by others, and Prytaneis by others" (καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις). It is also interesting to note the only entry in Hesychius, s. v. βασιλεὺς· ἀρχων τις Ἀθήνησιν, μυστηρίων προνοῶν.

⁸ The office of the Athenian archon hardly needs comment; convenient summaries of the evidence on it are given by von Schoeffer in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Basileus," cols. 71 f., and G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*³ (Müller Hdb., IV, 1 [München, 1920-1926]), II, pp. 791 ff., 976, 1019 f., 1070 ff., 1089 ff., and 1183 ff. A convenient account of his functions is given by Pollux, VIII, 90. Fustel de Coulange in Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. "regnum (βασίλεια)," col. 827, remarks on the similarity in the development of the office of *rex sacrorum* at Rome: "Les Romains, pas plus que les Grecs, ne crurent pouvoir abolir cet antique pouvoir sacerdotal que l'on appelait la royauté. Les Grecs eurent toujours un βασιλεὺς, les Romains eurent un *rex*, même dans le régime républicain. Seulement, ce roi n'eut plus que les attributions religieuses, et on l'appela *rex sacrorum* ou *sacrificulus*." Another parallel drawn is that the wife of the *rex sacrorum* was called *regina* just as the Athenian archon's wife was called βασιλισσα.

⁹ See Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*³, I, p. 348, and also von Schoeffer in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Basileus," col. 71. Arkesine (on Amorgos) and Samothrace are believed to have borrowed the institution from Athens.

Of these states Argos calls for special attention because of the influence she may have had on Mantinea and her institutions. In tradition Argos is credited with the synoecism of Mantinea, but it is difficult to establish with certainty that the synoecism precedes the floruit of Demonax (ca. 550 B. C.).¹⁰

¹⁰ The floruit of Demonax can be dated only from the reign of Battus III which falls roughly in the middle of the sixth century. No exact dating is possible even for the reign of Battus III. See esp. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Bibl. Éc. Franc., fasc. CLXXVII [Paris, 1953]), pp. 138 ff. and esp. p. 151, n. 2, and p. 210; cf. also Stähelin in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Demonax," Suppl. III, col. 325, and K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*² (Strassburg, Leipzig, and Berlin, 1912-1927), I, 2, p. 215. In regard to the synoecism of Mantinea, Bölte in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Mantinea," col. 1319 seems to favor the larger number who date it in the fifth century, mostly between 464 and 459 (the Helot secession to Ithome): E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.*² (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1907), II, pp. 516 and 588 f.; Fougères, *Mantinée*, pp. 372 ff.; F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *I. G.*, V, 2, 47; Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*³, II, p. 1396, although Busolt alone in his *Gr. Gesch.*² (Gotha, 1893-1904), III, 1, pp. 118 f., had preferred a date just after the battle of Plataea; B. Keil in *Gött. Nachr.*, 1895, pp. 358 f., suggests ca. 450 (Spartan-Argive alliance) as the *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*² (London, 1888), II, pp. 355 f., and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*², I, 1, p. 335, date the synoecism at the beginning of the sixth century and before the Mantineians entered the Peloponnesian League. The only evidence for the event is to be found in Strabo (VIII, 337) who points out only that Mantinea was synoecized from five *demoi* by the Argives, whereas there is a great deal more on the fourth-century dioecism (see Xen., *H. G.*, V, 2, 7; Harpocration, s. v. *Μαντινέων διοικισμός* = Ephorus, frag. 138 in *F. H. G.*, I, 272 = frag. 79 in *F. Gr. H.*, II A 70; Isocr., *Paneg.*, 126 and *Pax*, 100). Both Grote and Beloch consider the synoecism of Mantinea a countermove by Argos to offset the synoecism of Tegea by Sparta (Paus., VIII, 45, 1; Strab., VIII, 337). The fact that Argos had a part in the synoecism would make it more likely that it occurred before rather than after the Persian Wars because Mantinea was on the best of terms with Sparta during the Arcadian revolt (ca. 470) and Third Messenian War (Hdt., IX, 35; Xen., *H. G.*, V, 2, 3). The same point may perhaps be confirmed by the fact that Mantineaian coinage began as early as ca. 500 B. C.; see B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford, 1911), p. 449, and also P. Gardner, *Hist. of Anc. Coinage* (Oxford, 1918), p. 378, where Peloponnesian cities are noted to have been generally slow in striking coinage. Still the evidence is somewhat insufficient to date the synoecism with certainty in the first half of the sixth century. The question also arises whether such an office as the *βασιλεύς* would necessarily precede rather than follow the synoecism of a polis; but in the case of Mantinea it seems that the influence of Argos cannot be disregarded.

The evidence would admit both an early sixth-century and a mid-fifth-century date. Yet it is hard to imagine that Mantinea escaped the influence of her neighbor, Argos, who headed a powerful Amphictyony in the sixth century and earlier.¹¹ Also, the Argives are known to have restricted the power of the monarchy from very early times so that their kings, though holding office for life, had approximately the same functions as the βασιλεύς in charge of the religious administration of other Greek states.¹²

In the light of these facts it is highly probable that there was such an official at Mantinea. This probability may be further confirmed by the reassurance that Demonax' title of βασιλεύς, as now interpreted, need not present any disagreement or inconsistency with what Herodotus, Diodorus, or Athenaeus have to say about the Mantineian. In Herodotus *ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον* simply points to the fact that Demonax was a Mantineian with a great reputation and therefore considered a suitable choice by the Mantineians to restore order at Cyrene. Similarly in Diodorus Demonax is described as *Μαντινεύς, συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη δοκῶν διαφέρειν*: his appointment as arbitrator

¹¹ Paus., IV, 5, 2 and Hdt., VI, 92. See further Cauet in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Amphiktyonia," col. 1905.

¹² Paus., II, 19, 2: "Since the Argives have loved political equality and self-government (*ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον*) from very early times, they reduced the power of their kings to a minimum, so that Medon, the son of Keisos, and his descendants were left a kingship in name only." In the same passage Pausanias notes that all the kings of Argos were descended from the Heraclid Temenos (cf. Plut., *De Alex. fort.*, 340 c) and that the last of the line was Melas. That the constitutional monarchy lasted well into the fifth century is clear from Hdt., VII, 149, where the question of military leadership is also involved. A fifth-century inscription shows the βασιλεύς, called Melantas, was an eponymous official. See W. Vollgraff, *Le décret d'Argos relatif à un pacte entre Knossos et Tylissos* (*Verhandeling Akad. Wetensch.*, LI, 2 [Amsterdam, 1948]), pp. 84-6, who considers the name, Melas, a corrupt reading for Melantas in the original text of Pausanias and so dates the end of the Argive Heraclids between 450 and 431 B. C., when dating by the priestess of Hera came into vogue (Thuc., II, 2). Thus the position of βασιλεύς at Argos must have been an hereditary office, but so far as is known it never developed into an annual magistracy. Of course, the career of the Heraclid Pheidon is generally recognized as a reaction against the limitations suffered by the Argive monarchy and a short-lived attempt to restore it to its former power.

(διατηρήσ) at Cyrene is justified by his preeminent reputation for sagacity and fairness. The Cyrenaeans would thus have reason to expect a settlement which would not only be impartial but would also have the necessary qualities to secure a lasting harmony so desirable in the state.

Turning lastly to Athenaeus, we should notice particularly that, although he mentions Hermippus as his source, he is most certainly not quoting Hermippus directly. What he gives us of Hermippus could at best be an indirect quotation as is shown by the syntax with the verb ἀποφαίνει. This distinction would perhaps be more vivid and unmistakable if a comparison were made with the syntax of the next sentence in Athenaeus, where he quotes Ephorus directly as is shown by the syntax with the verb φησί. Moreover, if this so-called fragment of Hermippus is examined more closely, it becomes quite apparent that Athenaeus has not quoted Hermippus even indirectly, but has rather epitomized him. And it is from their failure to discern this that the above-mentioned critics (especially Calderini Mondini and Bloch) have fallen into the error of assuming that Heracleides' epitome could be compared with the actual words of Hermippus.

Now at Mantinea the reputation of Demonax must have rested to some extent on his service to the state in advising the Mantineians to take up duelling. By simply adding that the Cyrenaeans emulated the Mantineians in this practice, Athenaeus, it must be inferred, has omitted the necessary connection between these two otherwise isolated facts, i. e., that Demonax instituted the same practice at Cyrene. Nor is this the only omission, for Athenaeus, in compressing the data in Hermippus, has also omitted the fact that the Delphic oracle had advised the Cyrenaeans to ask Mantinea for a legislator. That this reference to Delphi was in the lost original of Hermippus can be confirmed from the papyrus fragment of Heracleides,¹³ and certainly this point is needed to make the connection between Demonax and Cyrene. With such a lacuna in Athenaeus it follows that he too epitomized Hermippus.

This reconstruction, to be sure, assumes Hermippus' original

¹³ This is shown by line 23: [ε]ς Δελφους, and esp. by lines 34-9:
με|[μ]νηται και του Δ[η]μω|[να]κτος και Ηροδο[το]ς|[ω]ς υ|πο Μαν[τ]ινε-
μ[ο]
[ων] >| [δο]θειη Κυ[ρη]να[ιοι]ς εκ| [θε]οπροπιου νοθ[ε]της.

followed a chronological order in the account of Demonax' career. But if objections to this assumption may be anticipated, let us consider that Hermippus did not mention Demonax' service to Mantinea until he mentioned that the Cyrenaeans emulated the Mantineians in duelling; it would still be necessary to link up the two (apparently isolated) ideas presented by Athenaeus, i. e., (1) that the Mantineians at Demonax' advice originated the practice of duelling, and (2) that the Cyrenaeans emulated them in this. The necessary link is the rôle Demonax played in instituting the practice among the Cyrenaeans. Again it must be concluded that there is a lacuna in Athenaeus, and the lacuna must be due to the fact that Hermippus has been epitomized rather than quoted by Athenaeus. Yet even if this were not true, it would certainly be inaccurate to conclude, as Bloch has done, that this passage in Athenaeus contradicts the papyrus fragment of Heracleides merely because the former calls Demonax one of the citizens of Mantinea (ἐνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν) while the latter calls him βασιλεὺς Μαντινέων; for surely the former term may only be generic, the latter specific. Let us carry the point further. Is it not probable that Heracleides the epitomator was more specific than Athenaeus as epitomator?

Still another argument may be offered in support of the interpretation proposed for βασιλεὺς Μαντινέων. This may best be presented by an examination of the only legislation known to have been enacted by Demonax. Herodotus (IV, 161), our only source on his legislation, relates that in addition to enrolling the people of Cyrene in three phylai,¹⁴ Demonax τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττω τεμένεια ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱερωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχεν οἱ βασιλῆες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε. The interpretations of τεμένεια have not been altogether in agreement,¹⁵ but from the context

¹⁴ The number being the same as that of the Dorian phylai suggests that we have here another detail illustrating the influence of homeland institutions on Demonax' legislation.

¹⁵ Cf. J. P. Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium* (Hafniae, 1828), p. 150, who interprets the term as "agrorum sacrorum reditus"; K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier* (Breslau, 1844), III, 9, p. 13: "die Einkünfte von priesterlichen Funktionen und ihren Gütern"; Fougères, *Mantinee*, p. 334: "les revenus de certaines propriétés sacrées et l'exercice de quelques sacerdoces"; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, III, p. 460: "all the domains, doubtless large, which had belonged to the Battiad princes." The disagreement seems to centre on whether Herodotus is referring to the secular

it seems quite clear that the Cyrenaean monarch was limited to the religious functions of the state and that Demonax was attempting to institute a constitutional monarchy.¹⁶ This part of Demonax' legislation must have been a compromise in response to democratic pressure, a compromise which in many other Greek states, e. g., at Argos, had been carried through by the citizens themselves, relegating their monarch to the supervision of religious matters. Apparently, then, the change Demonax made in the monarchy at Cyrene reflects the influence of a political institution with which he had personal experience.

Of course, we cannot be certain that the office held by Demonax at Mantinea was an elective one with limited tenure rather than an hereditary one with life-tenure. The former may be the more likely since Herodotus, Diodorus, and Athenaeus refer to him as merely a citizen; that is to say, he may have held the office for a limited time and then returned to the status of a private citizen. On the other hand, the certainty with which Heracleides twice calls him βασιλεὺς Μαντινέων may stand out a little more vigorously than the generic term ἀσπός or πολίτης and suggest that he held the office for life. But even so, we should hesitate to say that the office was hereditary since there is no evidence of a monarchy at Mantinea. For the same reason it seems more likely that the office was rather elective and of limited tenure.

Also, it seems reasonable to infer, as Fougères (*Mantinee*, p. 334) does, that the government of Mantinea in the sixth century was "une démocratie sagement établie" as reflected in the reputation of the city and in the activity of Demonax at

as well as the religious τέμενος; the secular is supported by Homeric usage, but the religious alone seems more reasonable from the context.

¹⁶ Cf. Hdt., IV, 162: Pheretima, the widow of Battus III, and her son, Arcesilaus III, reacted vigorously against Demonax' limitations on the royal powers (περὶ τῶν τιμῶν) and tried to recover their lost prerogatives (τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα). Also, if G. Glotz, *The Greek City*, transl. by N. Mallinson (London, 1929), p. 42, is correct in considering the secular τέμενος did not form part of the royal patrimony, there is all the more reason for accepting the interpretation preferred in note 15 above. See also von Schoeffer in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Basileus," col. 58, who draws a sharp distinction between the king's τέμενος (zur Bestreitung der Ausgaben des Kultus . . . ein ausgewähltes Stück Land) and the ἀγρός (Privatgut). In any case, there can be no doubt of the direction Demonax' legislation took.

Cyrene,¹⁷ although the absence of further supporting evidence precludes any certainty on this point. If, however, it be true, we should have another detail reflecting the possible influence of Argos on Mantinea, for Argos ranks among the earliest strongholds of democracy in Greece. On the other hand it would be fallacious to argue—as Calderini Mondini (*loc. cit.*) has done, citing the above point made by Fougères—that either Hermippus himself or his epitomator, Heracleides Lembos, was mistaken in referring to Demonax as βασιλεὺς Μαντινέων because “il governo di Mantinea presenta fin dai tempi antichissimi di Demonatte il carattere di una democrazia rurale.”

Furthermore, in interpreting the advice given by the Delphic oracle to the people of Cyrene it is difficult to agree with Wade-Gery (in *C. A. H.*, III, p. 532) when he claims that “Delphi chose her [i. e., Mantinea] rather for her political innocence.” This seems to be a rather simplified view of an important political decision which Delphi had to make, in that the city finally chosen by the oracle could have determined to a great extent the nature of the reforms that would be made and also could have revealed a general preference by the oracle for certain reforms to which it practically lent its religious sanction in advance.¹⁸

However this may be, the interpretation offered here should, I believe, vindicate the authority of Heracleides Lembos in *P. Oxy.*, 1367, since it would not be refuted by Athenaeus or any of the previously known sources on Demonax. But what is more, with this interpretation our understanding of these previously known sources, especially Herodotus, can be considerably enhanced.

A. A. I. WAISGLASS.

¹⁷ It should be noted that all the evidence by Fougères, *Mantinee*, pp. 331 ff., to show Mantinea was a democracy from very early times is hardly cogent. All the evidence (drawn from Aristotle, Polybius, *et al.*) may just as well apply to the fifth century alone, when, by the more definite testimony of Thucydides, Mantinea was unquestionably a democracy.

¹⁸ An inscription from Elis records that two Mantineians had served as arbitrators at Skillus; this is dated by Blass (*G. D. I.*, no. 1151) prior to 570, when Skillus was destroyed. For other dates see Causer-Schwyzler, *D. G. E.*, no. 418; but the date proposed by Blass seems to be the most acceptable. Thus there would be even more reason to consider the oracle's choice a shrewd one since Mantinea could have had some reputation in arbitrating settlements by Demonax' time (ca. 550 B. C.).

THE TWO BOAR-SACRIFICES IN THE IGUVINE TABLES.

The following passages in the Umbrian tablets of Iguvium call for the sacrifice of a victim the name of which is cognate with L. *aper* and is customarily rendered *aprum*, *apros* in the Latin translations:

I b 24 *Funtlere trif apruf rufu* = VII a 3-4 *Fondlire abrof trif fetu*
ute peiu feitu Qerfe Marti. *heriei rofu heriei peiu. Serfe Martie*
feitu popluper totar Iiounar tota-
per / Iiovina.

I b 33-4 *Pune purtingus kařetu* = VII a 42-3 *Ape / purdinřiust car-*
pufe apruf / fakurent pufe erus situ pufe abrons facurent pufe
teřa. *erus dera.*

II a 11 *Ahtu Marti abrunu perakne fetu.*

In VII a 43 Aufrecht and Kirchhoff emended to read *abrof*, Huschke to read *abrono*. In II a 11 Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, followed by Bréal, emended to read *abrum*. All subsequent editors maintain the original text in all the forms in question and all translate by *aprum* in II a 11 and by *apros* in the remaining passages. Devoto in his Italian translation¹ renders by *cinghiale* in II a 11, elsewhere by *cinghiali*. For a better understanding of the passages Buck's translation of VII a 3-4, 42-3 is given below:

3-4 *In Fontulis apros tris facito vel rufos vel piceos. Cerro Martio facito pro populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.*

42-3 *Ubi porrexerit, vocato, quo loco apros fecerint, ut magmentum det.*

I b 24 is so nearly identical with the first part of VII a 3-4, and I b 33-4 with VII a 42-3, as to make translation unnecessary. II a 11 will be discussed below.

The purpose of this article is to show that *aprunu* in II a 11 differs in sense from *apruf*, *abrof*, *abrons* in the other passages. It is clear that it represents a different stem-formation, as if a Latin *n*-stem **apro*, *-onis* existed beside *aper*, *apri*. All the instances in I b and VII a are clearly second-declension forms

¹ G. Devoto, *Le Tavole di Gubbio* (Florence, 1948).

with the possible exception of the anomalous acc. pl. *abrons* in VII a 43. This last form is commonly taken as nom. pl. *abron(e)s* used in place of the accusative, but its sense cannot be different from that of *apruf*, *abrof*, since *pufe abrons facurent* merely refers in an indirect manner to Fontuli, where the three boars were offered in VII a 3-4 = I b 24, and the victims in the first four passages are all unmistakably the same. With II a 11, however, the circumstances are altogether different. The sacrifice at Fontuli, to which the first four passages refer, was a part of the ceremonies of the lustration of the people, but II a 1-14 is devoted to a series of instructions for sacrifices to be offered in case of unfavorable auspices; the victim this time is a single one, not a triad, and the deity honored is the obscure Ahtus Martius, apparently a deification of the oracular utterance of Mars.² The most important difference between II a 11 and the other passages, however, is in certain details connected with the slaughter of the victim itself. VII a 4 (= I b 25) contains among other matters the instruction *uatuo ferine fetu*, the sense of which is uncertain, but which is elsewhere used only of oxen (I a 4, 13, 22, VI a 57, b 1, 19) or of bull-calves (I b 3, 5-6, VI b 43-4, 45).³ The sacrifices to Ahtus Jupiter and Ahtus Mars in II a 10-14 on the other hand contain an instruction *peŕae(m) fetu* which is known from several other passages in the Iguvine Tables but which is never found in the same sacrifices as *uatuo ferine fetu* and is never used in connection with victims of precisely the same type. It occurs in VI a 58 of pregnant sows, VI b 3 of sucking pigs, I b 28 = VII a 7 of sows, I b 32 = VII a 41 of heifer-calves, I b 44 = VII a 54 of heifers, and in III 32 of a sheep.⁴ II a 21-2 contains the sentence *esunu / peŕae futu* 'sacrificium *humi stratum* esto' used with reference to a dog.

² Cf. *Ahtu Iuvip(atre)* in line 10. *ahtu* is dat. sg. of **ah-tu*-, probably from **ag-tu*- with root of *L. aio*, *prod-ig-ium*, etc. Cf. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae*, pp. 311, 314.

³ For an attempt at a new interpretation whereby *uatuo* is equivalent to *L. latera* with the sense 'ribs,' see Bottiglioni, *Manuale dei dialetti italiani* (Bologna, 1954), p. 260, n. 5; also the present author, *A. J. P.*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 77-9.

⁴ I a 7-10 and 14-16, corresponding respectively to VI a 58-9 and b 3-5, lack the instruction *peŕae fetu* but contain *supa sumtu* in its place. A discussion of the relation between the two expressions is not necessary for the argument of this paper.

The etymological connection with *persi* 'pede, foot,' *perso* 'trench' (or 'mound'), *πέδον*, is almost certain, and Bücheler, p. 64, was doubtless correct in his belief that where the instruction *peṛae fetu* occurs the victim is to be slaughtered stretched on the ground, but the important point is the distribution of the two expressions *uatuo ferine fetu* and *peṛae(m) fetu* in relation to the types of victims, the former being used only of oxen and bull-calves, and of the three boars in the sacrifice at Fontuli, the latter predominantly, though not exclusively, of smaller victims. *peṛae fetu* occurs in the descriptions of all sacrifices *suilli generis* in the Iguvine Tables with the exception of the boar-sacrifice at Fontuli and the sacrifice of a pig and a goat in II b. It is very probable then that the *n*-stem *abrunu* in II a 11 is not a mere synonym of *apruf*, *abrof*, *abrons* in the description of the sacrifice at Fontuli, but designates a different victim sacrificed in a different manner, probably a young boar.

Unfortunately the support for *-ōn-* as a suffix used to make names for the young of animals is negligible. The Italic dialects are too poorly recorded to provide other examples. French *chaton* 'kitten' is too recent to give evidence of such a principle of word-formation in Latin.⁵ Leumann-Hofmann, p. 239, cite several correspondences of the type of *catus*: *Cato*, but they do not show the semantic variation for which we are searching; in fact the only animal names in the list are *capus*: *capo* 'capon,' which are mere synonyms. In Italian the suffix *-one* has an augmentative rather than a diminutive value. It appears, however, that the original function of the suffix *-ōn-* was to single out an individual as possessing a certain character, or certain associations, to an exceptional degree. The tone was often familiar, affectionate, or derogatory, and it was possible, under varying circumstances, for the formation to be specialized either with diminutive or augmentative value. The interpretation here proposed for *aprunu* as 'young boar' admittedly rests on very weak support on morphological grounds, but the arguments outlined above, based on difference of ritual, appear much stronger.

There remains the problem of *abrons* in VI a 43. There are no acc. pl. forms in *-s* in Umbrian; all end either in *-f* (<*-ns*)

⁵ Turning from Italic to Greek and from animal names to personal names we may cite the patronymic *Πηλείων* beside *Πηλεΐς* as an example of the use of *-ōn* to contrast the offspring with the parent.

or a vowel.⁶ *abrons* is therefore sometimes taken as nom. pl. from **aprones* erroneously written in place of the acc.⁷ Since there are no sure examples of the acc. pl. of masc. or fem. *n*-stems in Umbrian, we cannot be sure what the correct form would be, but it is better, if possible, not to assume an *n*-stem in VII a 43 at all, because of the close relationship of the passage to VII a 3-4, I b 24, 33-4, which have second-declension forms. Von Planta, I, pp. 510-11, favored the view that *abrons* is a unique example of a sandhi-doublet which could have continued to exist beside *abrof* under special conditions.⁸ In favor of this view it should be emphasized that in Oscan the acc. pl. of vowel-stems regularly ends in -ss or -s, never in -f, and similarly in Paelignian, though Marrucian has *iafc* with *f* before the enclitic -c. This distribution suggests that the change of final -ns to -f in the acc. pl. spread over Umbrian and Marrucian territory at a relatively recent date, after Oscan-Umbrian unity had been largely broken up. It would therefore not be surprising if an isolated Umbrian form should occur with the -ns preserved. It would be difficult to say precisely what phonetic environment favored this doublet. In the present instance the phonetic environment of *abrons* and *apruf* is identical in the earlier and later texts. But sometimes the later tables appear to show evidence of a much earlier archetype.⁹

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⁶ *struhçlas fiklas sufafias* II a 41 are taken by nearly all editors as gen. sg.

⁷ So Danielsson, *Altitalische Studien*, III, p. 146; Buck, § 181 b; Vetter, *Hdb. d. it. Dial.* (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 270; Pisani, *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953), p. 183, admits error as one possible explanation, the other being a phonetic development -*ōn-ns* > -*ōn-ens* > *ōn-es* > *ons*, the second *n* having suffered dissimilatory loss too early for the change -*ns* > -*f* to take place.

⁸ The view of Bücheler, p. 112, is substantially the same. Devoto, p. 96, by implication, takes *abrons* as from the same stem with *abrof*, since he lists them among examples of the variation *ns/f*.

⁹ Cf. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae*, p. 55.

GOODWIN OR GILDERSLEEVE?

A perusal of W. Kendrick Pritchett, "The Conditional Sentence in Attic Greek," *A. J. P.*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 1-17, leaves at least one reader partly but not wholly convinced. The problem with which Pritchett is primarily concerned is that of "the suitable grammatical nomenclature for the conditional sentence in Attic Greek—a nomenclature which will reflect ancient usage" (p. 15). It is with this problem that the present paper is concerned.

Pritchett argues that Gildersleeve's terminology is preferable to that employed by Goodwin and used generally in the United States. The classifications are as follows, arranged according to Pritchett (p. 5), except that the order under Goodwin has been changed so that the same Roman numerals shall apply to the same constructions.

GILDERSLEEVE

- I Logical
- II Anticipatory or legal
- III Ideal
- IV Unreal

GOODWIN

- I Present or past conditions with nothing implied
- II Future conditions, more vivid form
- III Future conditions, less vivid form
- IV Present and past conditions with supposition contrary to fact

I

According to Pritchett (p. 6), "all that the logical condition asserts is the inexorable connection of the two members of the sentence."

There are two arguments against the choice of "logical" to designate conditions of Type I. In the first place, this type is no more logical than Type IV. Cf. (I) "If the weather is favorable, an atom bomb test is being held in Bikini today," and (IV) "If the weather had been favorable, an atom bomb test

would have been held yesterday." Pritchett himself states (p. 8) that these two types of condition are akin.

In the second place, instances occur of "present and past conditions with nothing implied," to which the term "logical" is inapplicable. There is no place for such conditions in Gildersleeve's scheme. Cf. Eurip., *I. T.*, 1288:

τί δ' ἔστιν, εἰ χρὴ μὴ κελευσθεῖσαν λέγειν;

There is no "inexorable connection" between the condition and the asking of the question. Cf. also Eurip., *El.*, 1086-7:

εἰ δ' ὥς λέγεις σὴν θυγατέρ' ἔκτεινεν πατήρ,
ἐγὼ τί σ' ἠδίκησ' ἐμός τε σύγγονος;¹

For the condition of Type I Goodwin's terminology seems to me superior to Gildersleeve's.

II-III

In Attic Greek there are two principal kinds of future conditions. In one *ἐάν* (or *ἥν*) with the subjunctive normally occurs in the protasis, the future indicative in the apodosis. In the other kind *εἰ* with the optative occurs in the protasis, the optative with *ἄν* in the apodosis. Goodwin thinks that the difference between the two types is one of vividness. Pritchett, on the other hand, contends (p. 4) that "the optative form of the condition is as 'vivid' as . . . the subjunctive, but the 'vividness' is the 'vividness' not of prophecy nor of calculation, but of fancy."

This contention is supported by the following passage:

Homer, *Il.*, XII, 322-8:

ᾧ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγῆρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρῶτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν.
νῦν δ' ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεισῶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαί, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν, ἥε τῷ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν, ἥε τις ἡμῖν.

For Attic Greek compare, though the parallel is not exact:

¹ All of my illustrations are taken from Euripides, most of whose plays I have skimmed for the purposes of this study.

Eurip., *Herc. Fur.*, 1114-15:

Her. πράσσω δ' ἐγὼ τί λυπρόν, οὗ δακρυρροεῖς;
Am. ἂ καὶν θεῶν τις, εἰ πάθοι, καταστένοι.

Pritchett refers to the lines from Homer (p. 4, n. 13) and comments: "Here the hypothetical ideal condition requires the optative. This ideal condition is then opposed to νῦν δέ (line 326), which is frequently used in the sequel of the unreal, less often after the ideal conditional. I have encountered no example of it after the anticipatory form."

The passage from Homer is an argument in favor of Gildersleeve—Pritchett. There is no objective evidence, so far as I know, in favor of Goodwin's "more or less vividness." For that matter, it is hard to see how, even if Goodwin were right, there could be objective evidence for his theory. The present writer agrees with Gildersleeve and Pritchett, principally because her *Sprachgefühl* agrees with theirs.²

Yet is the name "ideal" entirely satisfactory?

It has the advantage of harmonizing with the terminology of German scholars, for example of J. M. Stahl in *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1907), p. 269, 3. Yet in English it has a connotation which might easily mislead the young student; for "ideal" includes the meanings of the two German terms, *ideell* and *ideal*. Might not a better English word be found to indicate how this optative feels? Would not "imaginative" be preferable to "ideal"?

² At one point Pritchett has overstated his case. After quoting three passages in which an ideal condition is followed by a wish that the condition may not be fulfilled, he comments (p. 5):

"In no one of these examples do I believe that the use of the optative involves 'less vividness.' Nor would the *ἐάν conditional* be a suitable substitute. The condition of the optative, as the ideal condition, conjures up images of desire and dread, and the optative form is thus the favorite whenever there is a wish for or against, as in the above examples" (*italics mine*).

But compare the two following passages, the former of which is one of Pritchett's examples:

Eurip., fr. 529 N: *εἰ δ' εἰς γάμους ἔλθοιμ' ὃ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ, | τῶν ἐν δόμοισιν ἡμερευουσῶν δὲ | βελτίον' ἂν τέκοιμι δώμασιν τέκνα.* Eurip., *Phoen.*, 571-2: *φέρ', ἣν ἔλθῃ γῆν τήνδ', ὃ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ, | πρὸς θεῶν, τρόπαια πῶς ἀναστήσεις Δαί;*

Goodwin's "more vivid future condition" (II) is named "anticipatory" or "legal" by Gildersleeve. "Anticipatory" is open to the objection that the term applies equally well to III, which like II refers to future time.³ Is Gildersleeve's alternative name, "legal," better? As Pritchett points out (p. 7), Type II is the prevalent form of condition in legal documents. However, it is used also in contexts which have nothing of the rigor of law. Cf. Eurip., *I. A.*, 1271-2:

ἀλλ' Ἑλλάς, ἧ δέῃ, κἂν θέλω κἂν μὴ θέλω,
θῦσαι σε.

If we call Type III "imaginative," might we not designate II as "matter of fact?" We should then say, "Future condition, matter of fact type," and "Future condition, imaginative type."

IV

For the fourth type of condition, Gildersleeve's term has the advantage of agreement with European usage (cf., e. g., Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 281, 2; P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, II: *Syntaxe* [Paris, 1953], § 415). Further, "unreal" is more brief than "contrary to fact." Yet it seems to me that the greater perspicuity of the term "contrary to fact" outweighs those advantages.

The terminology which the present writer would favor for the four main types of conditions in classical Greek would be as follows:

- I Present and past conditions with nothing implied
- II Future conditions, matter of fact type
- III Future conditions, imaginative type
- IV Conditions contrary to fact

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³ As Pritchett states, p. 6, n. 19, "anticipation is not synonymous with expectation, nor is there any element of probability."

REVIEWS.

GILBERT BAGNANI. *Arbiter of Elegance, A Study of the Life and Works of C. Petronius*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1954. Pp. xi + 91. \$2.75. (*The Phoenix, Supplementary Volume II.*)

Here is a book that is a delight to read. Professor Bagnani has managed to combine scholarship with common sense, learning with imagination, and the pedestrian fact with the flash of illuminating wit. What is more, he has achieved this rare feat with apparent ease and conspicuous good taste. The scholar who has read widely in the vast field of literature that has accumulated around the *Satyricon* will find that there is still something fresh to be said about this unique masterpiece of the ancient world, whether or not he agrees with some of the conclusions. The novice will soon realize that he is in the hands of an expert guide. Both will be grateful not only for what the author has to say but for his way of saying it. For the book has style.

"The present state of the 'Petronius Question' can only be described as unsatisfactory." These are the words with which the author begins his first chapter, "The Date and Authorship of the *Satyricon*" (pp. 3-26). This, to put it mildly, is an understatement. Since E. V. Marmorale published his book *La Questione Petroniana* in 1948 in which he argues for a date of composition in the reign of Commodus or later, scholars have been compelled to review the evidence and to reaffirm their points of view. Maiuri with his incomparable knowledge of Campanian antiquities was not slow to spring to the defense of the more traditional attribution of the *Satyricon* to the time of Nero (*Parola del Passato*, 1948, pp. 101 ff.). His review-article should be read in conjunction with the admirable introduction to his edition of the *Cena* (Napoli, 1945). Most of the other reviewers were equally unconvinced by Marmorale's arguments. But several perceived with Whatmough (*C. P.*, XLIV [1949], p. 247), whom Bagnani cites, that the evidence in its present state leads to assumptions that are not capable of proof, attractive or reasonable as they may be.

Bagnani is fully aware of this fact and illustrates it by giving examples of the way in which one short passage of the text (58, 10) has been interpreted by several scholars as reflecting quite different periods of time. His own position is this: since there is no direct evidence that connects the Petronius who was the author of the *Satyricon* with the Petronius of Tacitus (*Ann.*, XVI, 17-19), the dating of the work itself is the only way by which its author can be identified; furthermore, if it can be proved that the work was written between 55 and 66 A. D., there can be no reasonable doubt that the work was written by the Petronius of Tacitus.

Few scholars, I believe, would quarrel with this reasoning. Although the composition of the *Satyricon* has usually been assigned to the time of Nero because of the assumption that it was written

by the Petronius of Tacitus, the very reasons that led to this assumption become conclusive, if it can be shown that the work was composed while Petronius was mature and alive. These reasons are familiar to every student of the *Satyricon* and have been neatly summarized by Paratore (*Il Satyricon di Petronio*, I, pp. 3 f.). They need not be repeated here.

Bagnani gradually reduces the period of time during which the *Satyricon* might have been written. Since a passage in the text (57, 4) could hardly have been written after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, he arrives at 212 A. D. as a *terminus ante quem*. His *terminus post quem* is furnished by the parody of Lucan (119 ff.). Bagnani believes that the author of the *Satyricon* may have known that Lucan was writing his epic as early as 58 A. D. Consequently, we have a first period extending from 58 to 212 A. D.

A shrewd observation on an aspect of the *mores* portrayed in the *Satyricon* next allows Bagnani to assume that it was composed before the reign of Hadrian. The rank irreligiosity which is manifest in so many parts of the work—which, in fact, pervades it,—“is hardly conceivable at any period after the accession of Hadrian, when even scepticism, as in Lucian, becomes militant and doctrinaire” (p. 12). The point is well made. In the *Satyricon* we are indeed far removed from the religious climate of the Hadrianic age (most recently outlined by W. den Boer, *Mnemosyne*, VIII [1955], pp. 123 ff.) and Apuleius’ story of redemption and regeneration. Moreover, Paratore (*op. cit.*, p. 22) points out something which Bagnani might well have mentioned in this connection: the lack in the *Satyricon* of the autobiographical element which is conspicuous in many literary works of the second century of the Empire militates against the likelihood that it was written at that time. But even if we move the *terminus ante* down to the accession of Hadrian, we are left with some sixty years.

Bagnani narrows down this period considerably by calling attention to certain implications in some remarks of Echion in the *Cena* (45, 7-8). They concern the fate which awaits the steward of a certain Glyco. The miserable fellow was caught in a compromising situation with his mistress, Glyco’s wife, and Glyco condemned him to be pitted against wild beasts in the arena (*dispensatorem ad bestias dedit*). Echion is indignant. Glyco is a no-account and his wife’s promiscuity is notorious. *Quid servus peccavit qui coactus est facere?* An indelible stigma will be attached to Glyco—yes, Glyco.

Now it is perfectly clear, as Bagnani points out, that Glyco acted *suo arbitrio* in handing over his steward-slave *ad bestias*. But this procedure was expressly forbidden by a *lex Petronia* and *Senatus consulta* pertaining thereto. The law is cited by Modestinus in the *Digest* (XLVIII, 8, 11): *Servo sine iudice ad bestias dato, non solum qui vendidit poena, verum et qui comparavit, tenebitur. Post legem Petroniam et senatus consulta ad eam legem pertinentia, dominis potestas ablata est ad bestias depugnandas suo arbitrio servos tradere: oblato tamen iudici servo, si iusta sit domini querella, sic poenae tradetur*. Consequently, either Glyco violated the law or the law had not yet been passed when the chapter was written. Bagnani states (p. 16) that “the whole point of the story would be missed if its readers were used to the conditions created

by that statute" (the *lex Petronia*). I should add that in view of Echion's indignation and the fact that the town was divided into two camps over the affair, the *zelotypi* and the *amasiunculi*, it is not credible that Echion would not have mentioned that Glyco was acting illegally, if that had been the case.

So far, so good. But, unfortunately we do not know when the *lex Petronia* was passed. Bagnani is right, I believe, in holding that it was not connected with the *lex Junia Petronia* of 19 A.D. (Westermann should be added to the list of those who identify the two laws; *R.-E.*, Suppl. VI, col. 1042) or with the other *leges Petroniae* known to us. It is reasonably certain that the law was in force at the time when Aulus Gellius wrote up the story of Androcles and the Lion (V, 14) which he had found in Apion. For the sentence (*dominus*) *me statim rei capitalis damnandum dandumque ad bestias curavit* (27) very probably reflects the legal phraseology of the law (so also Westermann, *ibid.*). But the notice in Gellius leaves us in the second part of the second century.

To date this law more precisely, only one way is left and that is to attempt to establish its place in the current of "humane" legislation designed to restrict the absolute right of masters over the persons of their slaves. This approach is followed by Bagnani. He begins his survey with the well-known enactments of Claudius (Suet., *Claud.*, 25; *Digest*, XL, 8, 2) that sick slaves who had been cast out to die by their masters would not come into their possession again if they recovered; furthermore, that if a master preferred killing his slave to casting him out, he could be charged with murder.

Bagnani notices that there was a way by which the obvious intent of his legislation could be circumvented. If a master was restrained from putting an unwanted slave to death or from casting him out without the risk of losing him for good, he still might get rid of him by condemning him *ad bestias suo arbitrio*. The *lex Petronia* closed this gap effectively. Such flaws in legislation are usually discovered through experience within a reasonably short period of time and we can assume that the *lex Petronia*, if it served as a remedial measure, was passed not too long after the original enactments which it was designed to strengthen.

Yet, I am inclined to think that there is more in the passage of Modestinus than Bagnani apparently perceived. The jurist mentions a *lex Petronia* and *senatus consulta ad eam legem pertinentia*. It would appear, then, that an original law was reinforced by several subsequent *senatus consulta*. D'Orgeval (*L'Empereur Hadrien*, p. 67) suggests that the original law forbade a master to sell his slave to be thrown to the beasts. To circumvent this law, a master could sell his unwelcome slave to a *lanista* "*ad bestias depugnandas*." Hadrian would then have put a stop to this through the aforementioned *senatus consulta*.

D'Orgeval seems to be on the right track, but his hypothesis lends itself to a reasonable modification. Let us note that Modestinus states that both buyer and seller of a slave destined *ad bestias* are subject to punishment. We find an interesting parallel to this provision in an edict of Hadrian on castration preserved by Ulpian (*Digest*, XLVIII, 8, 4). Castration of a free man or slave, with or without consent, is absolutely forbidden. Moreover, not only is the person who consented to castration subject to capital punish-

ment, but the doctor also who performed the emasculation. In this way Hadrian extended the guilt to both parties and put additional teeth in the legislation against castration which had begun with Domitian (Suet., *Domit.*, 7; cf. *Digest*, XLVIII, 8, 6). Let us also note that Hadrian forbade the selling of slaves to *lenones* and *lanistae* without due cause (*S. H. A.*, *Hadrian*, 18, 8).

In view of the letter and spirit of this legislation of Hadrian, it may be reasonable to assume that the provision making both the buyer and seller of a slave guilty for violation of the *lex Petronia* was contained in a *senatus consultum* of the time of Hadrian. The original law, then, would have done no more than annul the power of masters to hand over (*tradere*) their slaves, presumably to the givers of games, *ad bestias depugnandas suo arbitrio*. There would have been no question of sale; only of getting rid of an unwanted slave in an abominable manner. But the *lex Petronia* which forbade this to be done *sine iudice*, could be circumvented as d'Orgeval perceived, by a legitimate sale of a slave to a giver of games who would run the risk of forcing a slave into the arena without the authority of a magistrate. This second master would, of course, be guilty of violating the *lex Petronia*. But under the later legislation his guilt would be shared with the original owner and the latter would be deterred from conniving to get rid of a slave in this way. Again Hadrian would have been strengthening an earlier law for the protection of a slave's person.

Finally, Bagnani points out that we have no evidence for comitial legislation under the Flavians and that its revival under Nerva is doubtful. This strengthens the probability that the *lex Petronia*, if it was a *lex rogata*, falls within the reign of Nero. Moreover, we know of only one Petronius who was consul between the end of Nero's reign and the reign of Pius: M. Petronius Umbrinus, suffect in 81.

During the reign of Nero four Petronii were consuls. The *lex Petronia* in which we are interested is usually attributed to P. Petronius Turpilianus who was consul in 61. He was the author of another *lex rogata*, the *lex Petronia de adulterii indicio*. On the other hand Bagnani (p. 22) calls attention to an historical incident which might have created an atmosphere favorable to the drafting and passage of our law. It occurred in 61, when the urban prefect, Pedanius Secundus, was murdered by one of his slaves and the entire *familia*, four hundred in number, were condemned to death (Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIV, 42-5). The indignation of the common people at the execution of so many innocent human beings caused serious disorders and the sentiments of the senators themselves were divided. Nevertheless, the mass execution was decreed on the motion of Cassius and carried out with the help of soldiers who were ordered out to restrain the threatening populace. After an act of such ruthlessness, there is often a tendency to make amends in some way or other, and there can be no doubt that any law designed to give the person of slaves some additional protection would have been passed enthusiastically at the time.

If our *lex Petronia* was passed after 61, T. Petronius Niger and Petronius Arbiter alone remain as candidates for its authorship. In view of the Arbiter's friendship with Nero, Bagnani suggests either 60 or 61 as a plausible date for his consulship. This was a

period when Seneca was falling out of favor and the influence of Tigellinus was not yet overwhelming. Also the Arbiter would have been an excellent choice to preside over the celebration of the *Neronia* as consul. But here we are on very uncertain ground both as to the date of the Arbiter's consulship and the author of the *lex Petronia*. Bagnani is well aware of this, for he writes (p. 24) "I hope I have proved without reference to the *Satiricon* that the *lex Petronia de servis* was enacted under Nero, probably by Petronius Turpilianus in A. D. 61, possibly by Petronius Arbiter or by T. Petronius Niger between A. D. 60 and the end of the reign."

I have devoted by far the greater part of this review to this first chapter of Bagnani's book because it seemed to me that it contains the most cogent reasoning and persuasive conclusions in regard to a very important point of literary history: the date of the *Satyricon*. Of all indications of date within the work itself, Bagnani has put his finger on the strongest and has worked out its implications in a masterly fashion. There will be some, of course, who will not be convinced. But any future discussion of the subject will have to begin with acceptance or refutation of Bagnani's arguments; and in my opinion, these arguments will not be easily refuted.

The second chapter is entitled "The Date, Purpose and Authorship of the *Ludus De Morte Claudii*" (pp. 27-46). With regard to the date, Bagnani argues that a political pamphlet such as the *Ludus* must by its very purpose and nature be immediately topical; consequently the *Ludus* itself must have been written and circulated very soon after the death of Claudius in October, 54. In assuming this date, he agrees with Momigliano (*C. Q.*, XXXVIII [1944], pp. 96 ff.) against Miss Toynbee (*C. Q.*, XXXVI [1942], pp. 83 ff.) who would connect the composition of the *Ludus* with the celebration of the *Neronia* in 60.

Is it likely then, he asks, that Seneca to whom the work is attributed in our manuscripts should have written it at that time? A review of the philosopher's political position at the beginning of Nero's reign leads to a strongly negative answer. The same answer had already been made by Miss Toynbee (*op. cit.*). But what shall we do then with the express testimony of Dio (LX, 35) that Seneca wrote an *Apocolocyntosis* which has generally been identified with the *Ludus*? Surely this piece of concrete information should outweigh such general considerations as make it unlikely that Seneca was the author.

Bagnani returns to the position of Adolf Stahr (*Agrippina, die Mutter Nero's* [1867], pp. 330 ff.; the second edition of 1880 to which Bagnani refers was not at my disposal) and refuses to accept identification of the two works. He will have nothing to do with the laborious and devious methods by which many scholars in many different ways have attempted to make the title "Pumpkinification" applicable to the *Ludus*. Examining the passage in which Dio mentions the *Apocolocyntosis* (LX, 35), he suggests that the work was concerned in some measure with the poisoning of Claudius and "also explained or described how Claudius had got himself 'pumpkinified'" (p. 34). In this conjecture he follows Stahr (*op. cit.*). But it is his own thought that the *Apocolocyntosis* might have been written after the murder of Agrippina as part of a campaign of vilification which was directed against her in order to give strength to the official story

that she had attempted to do away with her son. After all, what could be expected of a woman who had wantonly poisoned her husband?

The sordid role played by Seneca in drafting an official explanation of Agrippina's death that also blackened her character is well attested by Tacitus (*Ann.*, XIV, 10-11) and Quintilian (VIII, 5, 18). According to Tacitus, who summarizes it, the poisoning of Claudius by Agrippina was not mentioned. This is readily understandable, since it was to this criminal act that Nero owed his accession to the throne. Is it likely, then, that Seneca at this time would have published a pamphlet which would indeed have put Agrippina in a darker light, but at the same time could not have helped being very damaging to Nero and himself? For given Nero's monstrous character, most recently exemplified in the murder of his mother, and Seneca's attempt to conceal his crime, who would not have been inclined to believe that Nero had been privy to the poisoning of Claudius and that Seneca had shown complaisance, at least, in regard to the deed, if he had not actually participated in it?

Moreover, what of the title *Apocolocyntosis*? In denying Senecan authorship to the *Ludus*, Bagnani finds it "quite impossible to believe that Seneca would ever do anything 'just for fun'" (p. 41). But can this title be anything but humorous or witty? And would it be appropriate for a serious attack on Agrippina's murder of her husband? I agree that it is unlikely that Seneca was the author of the *Ludus* for the chronological and political reasons set forth by Bagnani; and on the authority of Dio, I believe that Seneca wrote an *Apocolocyntosis*, the contents of which are unknown to us. But if we must conjecture about them, I should prefer the approach of Stahr (*op. cit.*, pp. 342 ff.) who would connect the title with the purgative quality of the *cucurbita* (Celsus, II, 29) and Claudius' stomach disorders. A salutary evacuation is part of one version of Claudius' death (*Tac., Ann.*, XII, 67); and to combat the story of poisoning, a version that Claudius had died of an overdose of a purge which his gluttony had caused him to take and which in turn led to his deification—god through pumpkin—would have been an amusing antidote to the grim stories which were circulating; an attempt, in other words, to laugh them out of court. Such a work could have been written at any time after the deification of Claudius when the rumors that he had been poisoned had gained strength and needed to be combatted.

Finally, given the similarity in language between the *Ludus* and the *Satyricon*, Bagnani suggests very tentatively that Petronius may also have been the author of the former work. From the *Ludus* he disengages the kind of mentality that would have produced it which accords with his concept of Petronius, author of the *Satyricon*. Here we are on very subjective grounds, except for the undeniable linguistic parallels which can be explained by imitation as well as by common authorship. If I may also express a subjective opinion in this regard, I do not feel it to be likely that the literary genius who composed the *Satyricon* was also the author of the rather dull and labored *Ludus*, regardless of age at time of writing.

The third chapter, "Gay Petronius" (the phrase is Pope's), is a remarkable mixture of good scholarship and sensitive imagination. In the first part (pp. 47-56) Bagnani reconstructs the stemma of

that part of the *gens Petronia* to which the Arbiter belonged. In the second (pp. 56-69), he offers us a biography of the man. In doing so, he assumes of course that the author of the *Satyricon* and the *Ludus* was the Arbiter of Tacitus. The background is known from the historians and so are the other characters on the stage. Some like Seneca and Lucan also speak to us through their own works. Bagnani has created a Petronius who is made up of the facts and characteristics attested by Tacitus and what he considers to be reflections in the *Satyricon* and *Ludus* of the mind and personality of their author.

This Petronius is then made to wend his way through the historical events of the period, reacting to them and the men and women whom he encounters "in character." There is not a grain of evidence for many of the events,—for example, a friendship with Messalina. But the psychological insight which assumes that Petronius would have detested Seneca, philosophers, and "the High Seriousness" hits the mark squarely in the middle. I shall not do Bagnani the injustice of summarizing or paraphrasing his brilliant description. It must be read to be appreciated. Forse, non é tutto vero; ma é molto ben trovato.

Six short excurses and an *index locorum* (pp. 76-91) conclude the book. Most of them expand views already expressed in the text. Here I cannot refrain from quoting one sentence from the excursus on vulgar Latin (p. 73): "Petronius and the society for which he is writing will have considered all the characters, Encolpius and Agamemnon included, as appallingly vulgar." What fountains of ink and reams of paper spent on Petronius' latinity would have been conserved, if the simple truth of this statement had been realized.

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J. MARTIN, ed. T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex. 2nd ed. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1953. Pp. xxiv + 285. DM. 9.60.

The text of Martin's second edition of Lucretius—a conservative text—does not differ much from that of his first edition of 1934, save for several new transpositions. The *apparatus*, on the other hand, is markedly different, having been thoroughly revised and usefully expanded.

O and *Q*, together with the *schedae G*, *U*, and *V*, still remain the chief textual supports. As for the *Itali*, though Martin, doubtless under the influence of Diels, had himself done much careful work on these MSS—he cites in his *apparatus* only those Italian readings which he deems of particular importance—yet neither in 1934 nor in 1953 did he subscribe to Diels' theory that Poggio's exemplar was copied from *O* (with complicated influences from *Q*). To Martin as to most students, Lachmann's view that Poggio's MS came from the archetype from which *O* and *Q* were derived still seems correct. Hence Martin reasonably argues that these *Itali* deserve thoughtful

attention, even though we may often be unable to distinguish inherited readings from astute emendations.

As every student of Lucretius' text knows, such is the nature of our MSS that many emendations (or lifeless daggers) are inevitable. True, the corruptions are not so numerous as nineteenth-century editors imagined. Lucretian, not Virgilian, standards have now been applied to Lucretius! But a host of corruptions remains, and these are much more glaring than in the case of authors like Horace or Virgil who were regularly read and commented upon in the late Empire and in the Middle Ages. To emend the text of Lucretius with even tolerable success, mere competence in palaeography and a theory about a *stemma codicum* are not enough. We must thoroughly know the whole Lucretian text itself—Martin makes good use of this knowledge in his own conjectures—and then know Lucretian syntax, accidence, vocabulary, and prosody, and then Epicurean philosophy (though not to enslave Lucretius to Epicurean remains), and finally we must work to understand the Lucretian mind along the lines that Büchner and Bailey have pointed out. Then, too, we must consult the poets who echo Lucretius, and not forget, either, the *De Natura Deorum*. But when most of all this, or even a decent part of it, has been mastered, to select an emendation out of the multitude proposed, or to prefer one of your own devising, is a hard task.

I have noted thirty-five emendations of his own which Martin has admitted to his text. Since these will interest Lucretian students, I list them: I, 555, 657; II, 43, 209, 422, 428, 462, 467, 547, 911, 926, 928; III, 240, 594, 935, 962; IV, 471, 491, 545, 632, 1168; V, 429 (oddly enough, in the second edition assigned neither to Martin nor any other source, and no note of *conventa OQ*), 485, 568, 1339, 1442; VI, 83, 131, 490, 541, 550, 555, 858, 972, 1012. It is difficult to pass judgment on these. Perhaps Gildersleeve was wiser when, in a lordly modesty, he said of his Pindar: "The text of this edition . . . has been constituted according to my best judgment, and that best judgment has excluded all emendations of my own." Martin has given up four of his own which he had inserted in his 1934 edition (III, 58; IV, 544, 822; V, 1094), and has added two new ones (I, 657; IV, 471). To comment on a few, the support Martin thinks to derive from IV, 510 for *quae sint* in I, 657 is outweighed by the palaeographical difficulty of extracting that phrase from the MSS' *musē* or *mu* or *mussant* or else by the difficulty of explaining how this *mu*-pattern ambled into this meadow. If I were not to take Bignone's *Musae* (which I like), I should then read *L*²'s *inesse* (which I suspect to be an ingenious conjecture). In IV, 471 *minuam*, I agree, is as palaeographically acceptable as *mittam* for the *mituam* of *OQ*—to explain the "u" in terms of either majuscule or minuscule script is equally hard—but I am not sure that II, 1029 is parallel (since I do not know whether *mirarier* of the *Itali* is there an object of *minuant* or actually a prolate infinitive). On the other hand, in support of *mittam*, cf. IV, 690 and VI, 1056. His *videre* in IV, 491 (*videri* Ω *seorsum Bentl.*) seems to me excellent, supported both by palaeographical likelihood and by cross-references. But to read in IV, 1168, in the list of endearing names to cover your love's defects, *nimia* for the hallowed *tumida* (at *nimia et mammosa Ceres*) is rather a shock. All the MSS read *iamina*, and so Martin's conjecture is perhaps palaeo-

graphically better. Still, we might imagine a confusion between "I" and "T" in rustic capitals and one between "u" and open "a" in minuscules. But I cannot, I admit, account for a confusion between "n" and "d." Nonetheless, *nimia* is certainly less spirited (in a spirited passage), and Ovid, *A. A.*, II, 661 wrote *turgida* in imitation. Finally, in the defective line VI, 83, Martin proposes *est ratio caeli <que igni> sive tenenda*. Apart from the fact that this suggestion of *ignis* narrows the subject too much, I find the rhythm displeasing, and from both points of view I prefer Bailey's *est ratio <terrae> caelique tenenda*.

As for transpositions, only three disturb me—a remarkably low number when one thinks of the almost infinite possibilities! It is surprising, and a bit disheartening, to find that Martin puts lines 50-61 of the first proem after line 135. Surprising, because he had resisted any such temptation in 1934; disheartening, because I had thought that we had moved away, in Lucretian criticism, from such subjective license. For in the end such an arbitrary transposition indicates that an editor believes that he (and usually he alone) actually knows what an ancient poet first wrote, what changes he subsequently made, and what changes he would have made (had he lived longer or been a better poet). Martin refers to his "Lukrez und Cicero," *Würzburger Jahrb.*, IV (1949/50), pp. 1-52 and 309-29. This is a study of much value and sense, but its proposals do not justify moving the text about. This sort of thing should be kept to the *apparatus*. In the fourth proem, however, where plainly something must be done, Martin puts lines 45-51 after line 25, and lines 52-3 after line 30. Though again I should prefer to print the text as the MSS give it and use brackets, I have much sympathy with Martin's procedure. For here we *see* two strata; we do not divine them by intuition. I disapprove, however, of putting VI, 92-5, the invocation to Calliope, after line 47. I am not so much moved by the fact that these lines dwell so insecurely in their new abode that they have to be protected front and rear by asterisks, as I am by more general considerations. Lucretius' habit is to open a book with praise, a brief résumé, and a syllabus of what is to come. In the last book, which is the last lap, an invocation to parallel in a sense the one to Venus is called for. But it should come after the usual sequence of praise-résumé-syllabus. Lines 1-42 eulogize Epicurus, 43-6 look back to the first half of Book V, line 47 is a crux but probably refers to his poetic mission (and perhaps its final course; hence Martin's shift), 48-50 begins the syllabus of Book VI and lead the poet, as he has so often been led, to take up digressively one of his chief purposes in writing the work: to free men from fear—this time, fear of the gods. So then lines 51-67 take up the false idea of the gods, and lines 68-79 are inevitable: the true (i. e. the Epicurean) idea of the gods. Lines 80-82 are transitional, and 83-9 again pick up the syllabus. Now is the time for the invocation.

To come to the final transposition, after line 1286, with which the MSS end the work, Martin puts lines 1247-51. This is a shift (in 1934 assigned to himself, and now rightly to Bockemüller) *quo melius concluditur opus et ordo servatur Thucydidis*. Beneath the *melius* we again detect the quietly patronizing attitude of being ready to help out the poet when he nods, though the transposers would indignantly protest that they were only righting the wrongs

that Time had wrought. Since I myself believe that Lucretius deliberately intended to end his poem with the terrifying picture of mankind in the plague, in order to frighten men into salvation, i. e. Epicureanism, I should consider the abrupt starkness of line 1286 to be just what the poet sought. "But now," you will ask, "who is becoming subjective?" As for the *ordo Thucydidis*, it is a bit broken in Martin's quotation by the omission of *ἅλλων* (and the reference should be "2, 52, 4"). The other transpositions that I have noticed are the conventional ones. All in all, as I said, I consider him conservative on this score.

In bracketing, too, Martin seems conservative. He no longer prints II, 42^a (cited by Nonius), and I agree that this line probably should not be put into our texts at all. And he now brackets V, 312—an improvement over his 1934 edition. For what is the force of *proporro* here, and what sort of construction is *quaerere senescere*?

To pass to the *testimonia*, the collection of these is one of the best features of the edition, and a truly remarkable inclusion in a medium-sized single volume. We all doubtless wish that Bailey had added such a collection to his 1947 edition. Further, Martin often gives readings from the *testimonia* in the apparatus, so that they are actually used in establishing the text. And such a collection is indispensable for a study of Lucretian *Fortleben*. Martin began, of course, with Diels' rich gathering, but did a good deal of garnering for himself. I have noticed no changes—there may well be some—between the 1934 and the 1953 collections.

The *apparatus* is a model of economy. Because Martin himself does not explain how it works, and because I think it worthy of imitation in editions of authors with only a few MSS (or perhaps even for texts whose MSS can be fairly definitely classified into families), I should like briefly to give its *ratio*.

Its basis is the elimination or "positive-negative" system. The reader can assume that all of the MSS (save for the *Itali*) are always taken into account. Hence by the subtraction of MSS giving the "wrong" readings noted in the *apparatus*, the reader knows what MSS give the "right" reading. No *lemmata* need fill up the *apparatus*, unless the source of the "right" reading is no one of these basic MSS but is a *testimonium* or a conjecture. Rarely a *lemma* is needed for variants which in themselves would give no hint of what they are variants of, as in I, 104: *iam] me QG* (by elimination, you know that *O* gives *iam*). For contrast, look at Bailey's O. C. T. edition where, as with most editions, the reader must rely upon the judiciousness of the economy-driven editor's selection, with no hope for completeness (I disregard minor orthographical variants). But Martin's system involves more than just elimination. Diels had used *O* for the uncorrected *Oblongus*, *O** for the *Oblongus* not yet corrected, and *O*¹ for contemporary correctors (and *O*^s for the Anglo-Saxon corrector, and *O*² for recent correctors). But he did not fully carry through an elimination system. Martin, however, uses *O* for the uncorrected *Oblongus*, *O*¹ for the *Oblongus* not yet corrected, and *O*² for all correctors (except the Anglo-Saxon, which is designated *O*^s as with Diels). The advantage of using Martin's *O*¹ symbol (which he applies to all his MSS) is that, by the process of elimination, it immediately makes you reckon with an *O*² (which is most often unrecorded in the *apparatus*). For example,

on I, 77 Bailey notes: *quanam* O^1 *quantum* OQ . But Martin need only write *quantum* O^1QGG . Martin's O^1 —not to be confused with Bailey's O^1 which is the conventional symbol we are all used to for the contemporary or first corrector—immediately tells you by elimination that O was corrected into reading what is the source (viz. O^2) of the text (along with the two other MSS Bailey omits, G and J). Or take I, 100. Bailey gives: *classi* QGO^1 *classis* O . Martin gives only: *classis* O^1 . The O^1 tells you first that O^2 corrected it “correctly”—had it been “incorrectly,” the “incorrect” correction would be noted—and second that by elimination you can assume that the other MSS in the picture at this point also give the accepted reading.

We all are familiar with the elimination system. But the idea of using a symbol for the *uncorrected* MS and its utility in the elimination system is not so common at all. In these days of increasing costs of printing, here perhaps is an admirable way of reducing the size but not the contents of an *apparatus*.

I notice that when Martin cites a *testimonium* as a source for a correct reading in which O^2 also shares, he cites O^2 also, probably for clarity's sake, although in strict theory he need not. Thus on I, 27: *ornatum* *Prisc.* $O^2Q^2G^2J$ *oralatum* $O^1Q^1G^1$. In such a case, the superscript “one” would have told us that these MSS were corrected “correctly.” (Incidentally, this case illustrates the usual divergences between our *apparatus critici*. Diels and Martin say that the right reading appears in corrected OQG , Bailey in corrected OQ , and Ernout only in corrected O . I find, from reproductions, that in O the word itself was changed into the “correct” reading, and that in Q *vel* *ornatum* is superscript. I have no facsimiles of G available.) Sometimes, if I mistake not, even Martin is confused by his own system's potential economy. Thus on I, 29 he gives: *militiai* *Prisc.* O^2Q^2GJ *militia* OQ . But should not these last two be O^1Q^1 ? As we said earlier, he might even have reduced it to: *militiai* *Prisc.* *militia* O^1Q^1 , since the superscript “ones” indicate that these MSS are corrected “correctly” and since by elimination we assume GJ share *Priscian's* reading.

So much for how to read the *apparatus*, and for its merits. Now for its contents. It is considerably fuller than that of his 1934 edition, especially in the line of conjectures, and becomes now superior to that in Bailey's 1947 edition. The additions, so far as I can determine, come from the *apparatus* of Diels and Bailey, from recent articles, and doubtless from the published reproductions of O and Q . These additions seem on the whole judiciously selected. In going over the first two hundred lines fairly closely, I noted the following errors—and heaven knows errors never found more fertile soil than an *apparatus criticus*: 68: “*fana Bern.*” should be “*fana Bentl.*” (did *pietas Teubneriana* inspire him to this?); 71: the same hand that corrected O also wrote the superscript *aliter videret*; 74: for *omnes* read *omnem* (I cannot speak about G nor, since Merrill, “The Italian Manuscripts of Lucretius,” Part II, *C. P. C. P.*, IX [1927], pp. 47-83 says nothing about the *Itali* here, can I speak about J); 103: the nota is not for *vel* but for *id est*—an important difference! 177: *creantur* O^2 should be *creatur* O^2 .

To give a more general picture of Martin's text, I note his readings in some of the famous cruces. In II, 42 for *EPICVRI* he adopts Munro's *et eum vi*. In the puzzling passage about the

"Phrygian Curetes," in II, 629 ff., Martin like Bailey follows Diels' solution—surely the best way out until evidence to support the meaning of the MSS turns up. In the last line of Book II Martin reads *capulum*; I still feel that something is to be said for the robust and homely metaphor of *scopulum*. In place of the traditional *eripitur persona, manet res* of III, 58, Martin prints *eripitur persona* † *manare*. In the *apparatus* he suggests *manu a re*. I wish he had indicated how to translate this. If it means any thing like "forcefully from reality," then that idea would seem opposed to the general sentiment of the passage. In III, 444 Woltjer's excellent *incolibens sit* is adopted for the difficult *incolibescit* of the MSS. In III, 962 he reads *age dum, magnis concede necessis*. Most, I believe, would rather keep the MSS' *necesses*. In that case, *magnis* must almost surely go. To add one more suggestion, my own master, Professor E. K. Rand, orally proposed *gnaris*. This is palaeographically acceptable, and compare Horace's *Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis* (*Epist.*, II, 2, 213). In the much-debated theatre scene of IV, 79, Martin reads *patrum matrumque deorsum* (adopting Bernays' *deorsum* for *deorum*). The *matrum* especially bothers me, but I have nothing to propose, and should probably print what Martin prints. I rejoice to see the *vestem* of the MSS retained in IV, 147 and 152. "Veil" will fit the sense here; it is hard to see how *vitrum* would become corrupted into *vestem*; it is even harder to see why the same corruption should occur in two lines. In the moving passage about the Molossian dogs and their puppies (V, 1068), Martin keeps the text of OQ: *aut ubi eos lactant, pedibus morsuque potentes*. This may surprise readers used to *lactant* and *petentes*. But Martin's punctuation is adroit: "or when they wheedle them, even though they are strong in foot and bite." Possible confusion in rustic capitals between "L" and "I" is perhaps not enough support for the usual change to *lactant*, and I, for one, am attracted by Martin's text (though I agree with Bailey that "the picture seems rather of the mother's play with her puppies when she pretends [*imitantur*] to toss and bite them." Nor am I specially moved by Martin's note on dog-lore: *neque tamen iactant canes pedibus catulos neque dentibus petunt*). Finally, in "perhaps the most desperate textual crux in the poem" (Bailey), V, 1442, in place of *propter odores* Martin reads *navibus ponti*. I have no comment on this, since I cannot see how *propter odores* (which cannot be right here, since Lucretius cannot have meant that the search for spices was the only reason people took up navigation; see Bailey *ad loc.*) ever got into the text here in the first place (certainly not from II, 417).

By now I hope that, despite my murmurs about the transpositions, I have made clear my high estimate of this edition. Its text, if not startling, seems as good as most of the best. The bibliography, the *testimonia vitae*, the *capitula*, the collection of *testimonia* to the text, and the wonderfully full *apparatus* are unique in such an average-sized single volume. Since in many cases no one of us is likely to be very sure just what Lucretius wrote, it is *testimonia* and a large *apparatus* that we need—for an undergraduate course as much as for a seminar in Lucretius.

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MAX POHLENZ. Die griechische Tragödie. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. Vol. I: Textband; Vol. II: Erläuterungsband. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954. Pp. 501; 203.

The first edition appeared in 1930. In the first volume of the second edition, the bulk of the text has been retained intact, but there has been some recasting, and a good deal of material has been added. In the second volume, of notes, there are far more additions, including references to subsequent scholarship and new texts. The organization remains the same; it is generally chronological, and each play is first summarized and then discussed. In the first volume, Greek is regularly translated. The restrictions of war time have evidently kept most of the recent work in English and French from being available to the author; the studies referred to are almost all in German or Italian. The point of view, postulates, and opinions remain, as the author states and as I have found everywhere I have checked, substantially the same as they were in the first edition.

The dimensions and range of this book, and the reputation of the author, suggest that it ought to take its place as one of the standard works, perhaps *the* standard work, on Greek tragedy, and there is enough erudition, careful scholarship, wisdom, and even wit, to qualify it. Such was the book Pohlenz meant to write. Of tragedy, he has said: "Doch fehlt es an einem zusammenfassenden Werke, das ihr Wesen und ihre Entwicklung darzustellen unternimmt. Diese Lücke möchte das vorliegende Buch ausfüllen" (Preface to the first edition, reprinted in the second). But the book which he produced is not a comprehensive or complete account of tragedy; it is subordinated to special pleading for the thesis that Greek tragedies are essentially religious and ethical documents or enactments. The book is therefore one-sided.

Tragedy, says Pohlenz, is "Gottesdienst," in its origin, for Aeschylus and Sophocles, and until Euripides broke it free from its religious context and "profaned" it. Being bound to such service, the poet was bound to give his audience a piece of moral education. Aeschylus was a Prophet with a sacred calling who displayed before his people the "heilige Geschichte" (p. 140¹ and elsewhere). Sophocles, like Aeschylus a supremely patriotic Athenian, found his true mission as religious educator of his people (p. 352 and elsewhere) who dealt reverently with these same heilige Geschichte and never allowed himself to doubt the goodness of the gods (p. 232 and elsewhere).

Let us examine these propositions. First, no one can dispute the fact that tragedy was authorized and performed under religious auspices (like, e.g., the athletic games), nor that Greek tragedy abounds in speculations (not always favorable) about the nature of the gods, nor that it makes lavish uses of oracles, portents, dreams and visions, of religious ceremonies, prayers, and invocations, nor that the whole atmosphere is generally more sacred and less secular than for modern drama. But the use of religious themes is no necessary guarantee of religious feeling. *Helen* has the tomb as a sacred altar of refuge, a divine miracle at the outset and heavenly exposi-

¹ References are to pages in Volume I, where the general statement is regularly made.

tors at the end, but Pohlenz himself points out, quite rightly, that it is not a religious play. It is more important to point out that the religious setting does not by itself make the quality of tragedy. A mass has its dramatic aspects, but it is not drama. What it specifically lacks is the story, the articulate action. That, says Pohlenz, is here supplied by the *heilige Geschichte*. This term is at least misleading and probably quite unjustified. It appears to be a translation of Herodotus' term, ἱρὸς λόγος. Herodotus uses this term three times (II, 51, 4; 62, 2; 81, 2), each time in connection with a religious mystery which he has no intention of divulging. Plato uses it of the legends which recount the judgment of the soul after death (*Epistles*, 335 a). At a pinch, then, the term could be used of the Homeric *Nekyia* or the *aitia* of certain plays; indiscriminate application to the stories of the Epic Cycle, to the legend of Thebes or the tales of Ajax and Philoctetes, is utterly unwarranted and tendentious. These stories are legends, or ancient or medieval history.

Next, Pohlenz seems much of the time to equate "religious" with "moral." The Greeks, like other people, constantly struggled, without complete success, to square all the data of their religion with their own ethical principles. This does not mean that every dramatic story establishes a moral position, although it is quite true that divine manifestations and moral issues, mostly in conjunction, are pondered again and again through the plays. On these matters, Pohlenz constantly shows care and shrewdness in particular observations, but the value of these is defeated by generalizations which are not only sweeping but ignore the attested meanings of words. A good case is the doctrine of ὕβρις, a term which Pohlenz (by no means alone) consistently misapplies.² Truly, the "hybris-pattern," wrongly termed though it is, is one element of tragedy. At least, it is true that great men fall, and the fact invites moralizing. The

² Hybris, says Pohlenz (p. 16) occurs when mortals overpass the limits of humanity in challenge of the gods. The tragic poets and Herodotus use the term constantly, but the above meaning, so dear to the hearts of modern critics, is exceedingly hard to find in tragedy. The best case is the Nurse's remark in *Hippolytus*; Pohlenz reads this as a travesty of the true thought (p. 272). Elsewhere, he consistently uses hybris where the poets do not, and ignores it where they do, since it constantly does not mean what he wants it to mean. Thus he applies it, in *Ajax*, to that hero's disrespectful attitude toward the gods (p. 181). Sophocles does not; hybris in *Ajax* refers to his rough treatment of the (defenceless) flocks and their protectors, or the Achaeans' treatment of Ajax and his family (now nearly defenceless). Of Heracles, on the other hand, Pohlenz says we do not hear "von dieser Hybris" (p. 206). No, we do not; but we do hear Heracles accused of hybris (*Trach.* 280) and it means "foul play," i. e., murdering a friend while he was looking in the opposite direction. (Hybris also describes an act of Deianeira, *Trach.* 888; it means self-murder). Semele, says Pohlenz (p. 131) committed hybris by challenging the envy of Hera. Wrong. The hybris was Hera's (*Bacch.* 9), i. e., causing her rival to be blown to bits. I do not think Pohlenz uses hybris correctly once in the book, and he uses it a great many times. He has the majority of scholars with him, but he can read his own Greek and read it supremely well; he is incapable of such abuse of his well-loved and well-learned language, except in the interests of a preconceived position for which there is insufficient evidence.

articulate Greeks of the fifth century were constantly thinking of pride and fall. How could they help it, remembering Xerxes, Datis, and Mardonius, and also Miltiades, Themistocles, Pausanias, Leutychides, and Cimon? But the fall of the great appears in tragedy, when it does appear, as a moral *action*, not a moral proposition, and thus as one of the types of tragic action which, *when made as a play*, becomes tragedy.

This brings us to the claims that Aeschylus was an inspired seer, that Sophocles (also Euripides) was first and foremost the educator of his people. It is perfectly true that Aristophanes at one point says, or implies, that the primary duty of the dramatic poet is to instruct his people,³ and it is quite in order for Pohlenz to use this passage for all it is worth. It is perfectly true that Aristophanes held firmly to that assignment in his own work and, with the aid of a parabasis in which he could speak his own mind plain, and with the privilege of using contemporary characters and up-to-the-minute issues, he succeeds time after time in driving home the point he wishes to make. It is also perfectly true that the poets in extant tragedies sometimes (not usually) push forward their own unmistakable views on politics or morals in the course of their plays. But when they do, they must, in order to make good *drama*, involve their principles in the action, or make them grow from the action. Failure to do so means a *Heracleidae* or a *Suppliants* (Euripidean). Aristotle saw this plainly, whatever else he saw or failed to see.

Aeschylus, says Pohlenz, again and again, was not only "Erzieher," but "Seher" and "Prophet." If he meant by this a prophet like Cassandra, he would have hit on a striking truth, but he seems to be thinking more of someone like Nathan. Aeschylus was a religious man and he said much about Zeus. In *Prometheus Bound* he gave him more hard knocks than the *Lyomenos* could ever make good. In the first stasimon of *Agamemnon* (sometimes called the "Hymn to Zeus," but Pohlenz can see it is no such thing) the wise Zeus of experience is also the presently-reigning champion of a rough-and-tumble contest. In *Suppliants*, the exaltations of Zeus are put in the mouths of the barbarian and rather barbarous young women, who are characters in the play speaking in character, who love authority, who have their own axe to grind, and who are trying their best to make a democratically-minded Greek king act like an oriental despot. The Greek king in answer deprecates that kind of authority. I do not mean any nonsense like a rationalistic attack on Zeus. No, Zeus, and other Olympians, and the shining Hesiodic abstractions, Peitho and Ate and Hybris and Dike, become characters in drama. Gottesdienst serves tragedy, not the other way around.

To look for the religious or moral lesson of even Aeschylean tragedy and so find its force is the approach that has produced the distortions, evasions, and contradictions of modern criticism. Is

³ *Frogs* 1053-5 with 1009-10. The former proposition is put into the mouth of Aeschylus, a dramatic character who, though he is something more than "a malicious fool," as Verrall contended, still at times palpably misrepresents the real Aeschylus. The statements in question are no true evidence for the attitude of any tragic poet.

Seven Against Thebes a particularly religious play (or, despite Gorgias and Aristophanes, a play which will make the audience feel militant)? If it is a moral play, is it a play with a moral? What is it? Is Eteocles being rewarded for his obvious merits, punished for his obvious faults, or neither, or both? Does the force of the play have anything in particular to do with any of these propositions?

Grant for argument what I will not grant for fact, that Pohlenz has correctly stated Aeschylus' chief position and his attitude toward his art. He has still left out (or nearly; he gives it about two pages in about 110) what makes Aeschylus Aeschylus; namely, the imagination, and the versifier's gift, the artist's patient and powerful work, which makes us see and hear and feel the vast scenes of the *Oresteia's* choral lyrics. The moral feeling does not drive out delight, and the imagination of beauty is not confined to the morally good. Pohlenz has great sympathy for his pious poet when the latter was faced with much of the "grausen Mythen" of Greek tradition. How they must have pained his moral feelings (p. 80)! Did they indeed? I rather think he revelled in the hideous Erinyes, the Lemnian murders, the banquet of Thyestes; and it is evident that, as his own disapproving elders luxuriate in the imagination of Helen's loveliness, and as the poet knew so well how to display the splendors of Clytaemestra's passion, or to parade the sex appeal (no other term will serve) of the Danaids, he knew better than most the lust of the eye and the fascination of the flesh. We may say about the foregoing what Pohlenz has said about Aeschylus' prophetic calling (p. 140): who understands not this understands not Aeschylus.

Sophocles was "Erzieher." What are the lessons we learn from his extant tragedies? In the case of *Electra*, Pohlenz has a very clear answer (pp. 322-23). *If your mother is as nasty a piece of goods as Clytaemestra, it is quite all right to murder her.* Enough said. *The Trachinians* gives him more trouble, but he bravely comes up with a pious conclusion. "In all this there is nothing but Zeus" means that the audience is urged "sich in Gottes Willen zu fügen, mag er auch unbegreiflich sein" (p. 207). Is that what the character who speaks the lines, Hyllus (or the chorus) can be understood to mean when he speaks the lines? With *αἰσχροῦ δ' ἐκείνοιο*? Go back to the speech and read it and see whether you can make it mean that. Is the poet personally attacking Zeus? Not necessarily, and there Pohlenz is right. If Hyllus (rather than the chorus) did not feel bitter in these circumstances, he would not be human. This is a play, not a sermon. But as it stands, it is not good evidence for the "unbeirraren Glauben des Dichters, dass die Götter, so Schweres auch den Menschen trifft, es doch gut mit ihm meinen" (p. 232). What is the moral of *Ajax*? Why is our sympathy directed to the massive, murderous egoist? Why is Menelaus made so repulsive, while every word of his complaint against Ajax is true and represents the interest of the community? Or, what *program* can we extract for dealing with the current situation of the unassimilated aristocrat? None; except, bury him when he is dead. But the situation makes a drama. Consider the end of *Oedipus at Colonus*. Religious feeling? Yes indeed, superbly *used*. Religious enlightenment? If so, what? Moral edification? Ditto. The old tyrant goes

out grandly, a good friend to his friends and a good hater of his enemies to the last, leaving audience or reader stunned. If ever there was a man of the theatre, this was Sophocles.⁴

Pohlenz has a considerable tenderness for the patriotic plays of Euripides, and looks back wistfully from the period of the later "artistic" (the term is scarcely respectable) dramas to the heartier days of *Heracleidae* and *Suppliants* (pp. 364, 429). Patriotism is moral, and religion is moral, ergo patriotism is religious (for a specific case of this inference, see the discussion of Aeschylus' epitaph, p. 39). The jingo of *Heracleidae* pleases him. He never questions Euripides' sincerity, artistic or otherwise. Iolaus is not funny; he reminds Pohlenz of the martial grayheads he saw in Germany in 1914. Otherwise, on Euripides Pohlenz is exceedingly instructive. That this poet considered himself, among other things, an "Erzieher" of the people, is not open to doubt; that, plainly, is sometimes what is the matter with him. Beyond this, Pohlenz has wisely refrained from trying to fix once for all and summarize Euripides' religious and ethical position, as he did for Sophocles with "the gods are good and kind." Once Pohlenz has decided that Euripides has made tragedy "profane" (right) his excellent talent for dramatic analysis and character analysis is set free. He can see, for instance, that Menelaus in *Helen* is both worthy and stuffy; he could only see that Andromache in *Andromache* and Macaria in *Heracleidae* were worthy.

Aristotle, Pohlenz thinks, failed to appreciate the religious aspects of tragedy. Pohlenz fails in part, as this long and dreary polemic has tried to show, to appreciate the dramatic. It is easier, in writing for a wide public, to write about morals and the gods. There is another whole side to the study of the drama, namely the study of its anatomy and its patterns, of what makes drama dramatic, of the uses of surprise and discovery in the familiar, which includes the use of sacred motives—oracles, dreams, sacrifices, and ceremonies—as motives of dramatic fiction. Pohlenz is qualified to deal with this in detail. He is, for instance, on the point of discovering that *Oedipus* is a tragedy mounted on the frame of a romantic comedy. But the implications of such a theory do not interest him; mere contrivance or craftsmanship would be beneath the high moral purpose of a Sophocles. Still, there is much good observation on dramatics scattered through this book. What I miss more is an awareness and exploitation of what Aristotle, too, slighted; namely, the poetry. Pohlenz can leave his moral obsession long enough to note the fragmentation of *Andromache*, but not the mediocrity of the writing. Or again: "Euripides ist es, der dem lyrischen Element in der Tragödie erst zur vollen Wirkung verhalf" (442). An illuminating remark, and quite true if lyric means pretty songs; but we now see why the choral lyric of Aeschylus means, as lyric, so little to Pohlenz, and why almost everything he says about Aeschylus, and Sophocles, would apply equally well if they had written nothing but prose. Attic tragedy began with poetry; there is no modern book

⁴ These remarks merely restate the substance of Norwood's final paragraph in his review of Whitman's *Sophocles*, in this Journal, LXXIV (1953), pp. 172-3. But the point is worth restating, though I can never state it so well.

on tragedy which begins with poetry or ends with poetry. There probably never will be; but until there is, that comprehensive and authoritative study of tragedy which Pohlenz hoped to write will never be written.

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FRANÇOIS CHAMOUX. *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*. Paris, 1953. Pp. 420; 28 pls. (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 177.)

The history of the Greek colony at Cyrene on the Libyan coast of north Africa presents a variety of interesting questions for early Greek history. What led the Greeks to this particular area, motives of trade or a search for new agricultural land? How were their institutions and culture affected by the connections with Greece, Egypt, and the native Libyans? Why did the monarchy established at the time of colonization last so long (until ca. 440 B. C.) there, when it had disappeared nearly everywhere else in the Greek world at a much earlier date? Happily, Chamoux is aware of the significance of these and other questions so that his book is planned and written with a scope which enables them to be properly formulated and discussed. He has drawn on the full range of existing evidence, literary, epigraphical, and archaeological, supplemented by his own visits to the site. While the author modestly disclaims technical competence in all this varied material he rightly insists on its pertinence for his theme: an attempt to write a general history of early Cyrene from the resources available to modern scholarship. The book is a very broad synthesis of the history of early Cyrene up to the fall of the Battiad monarchy with detailed discussion of many special problems. By way of introduction we are given a brief geographical sketch of the area and a history of its excavation with critical bibliography. The history proper is divided into a narrative and cultural section. In the latter the social organization and economic development, the religious activity and the sculpture are discussed. As an appendix there is an account of the treasury of Cyrene at Olympia. The book is thoroughly indexed and the site and archaeological material illustrated by 28 plates. To the reviewer the chief defect seems to be a too equal allocation of space between the trivial and the important in the historical sections and too much descriptive material for the archaeological. The result is an excessively long book for the subject which tends to obscure the valuable treatment and conclusions on certain topics. Chamoux has been properly catholic in the breadth of his evidence, but might have refined it more thoroughly in the presentation.

Colonization. The various problems of the colonization are fully discussed and sensibly resolved. The author follows the Herodotean account, rejecting the various legendary notices of earlier expeditions and accepting the Eusebian (Eratosthenes) date of 637 for the landing on the island of Plataea (Bomba) and 631 for the foundation of Cyrene itself. The scanty archaeological evidence is

in general agreement, but Chamoux cautiously points out how slight the investigation of early levels has been on the site. While Chamoux denies that motives of trade had any share in the colonization, he plausibly suggests (to account for the Cretan pilotage of the expedition) that the Cretans had used Plataea as a purple-fishing station. Certainly the indications in the literary sources—drought and presumably famine in Herodotus (IV, 150-3) and the allocation of one son from each Theraean family to the enterprise (Foundation Stele; *S.E.G.*, IX, 3, 29) support Chamoux's view that overpopulation and lack of land in Thera were the main motives for the expedition. Yet, the suggestion of Cretan purple-fishing off the Libyan coast accords well with the slight indications of pre-colonization trading in other parts of the Mediterranean: Spanish (the Jerez and Huelva helmets); southern France (the late seventh century East Greek pottery from the area of Marseilles and the Riviera); the Black Sea (East Greek pottery from inland sites such as Nemirov near Kiev and from Ak Alan near Samsun, which predates the earliest material from the colonies). Perhaps Chamoux is too hasty in rejecting Milne's theory (*J.E.A.*, XXV [1938], pp. 177 f.) of a pre-colonization trade in exotics brought by a caravan route from the Sudan. It is rather difficult to explain the Samian colony in Oasis (Herod., III, 26) as founded by Samian mercenaries for a pleasant retreat in their old age. The mercenaries are plausible, but it seems more reasonable to interpret the settlement as a desert outpost for the function of protecting a water supply on the analogy of Tell Defenneh. Be this as it may, we can agree that the caravan trade would only assume some importance after the foundation of Cyrene when it could use that city as a terminus. For the Theraeans, if not the Cretans, the desire for new land was probably the chief motive in prompting the expedition.

Political History. Chamoux includes in the political narrative a study of Herodotus' interest in Cyrenaean history (pp. 153-9) and a chapter of historical commentary on Pindar's *Pythian Odes* IV, V, and IX which celebrated the victory of Telesicrates the Cyrenaean in 474 and of Arcesilaus IV in 462 (pp. 169-201). Herodotus forms the basis for the narrative as far as his account goes, to the death of Arcesilaus III, shortly after 525 B. C., but thereafter the shreds of literary and archaeological evidence are patched together neatly. A possible weak spot in the chronological reconstruction is the connection of Arcesilaus III and Polycrates of Samos. Chamoux ascribes Arcesilaus' recruitment of volunteers in Samos for his restoration to a natural affinity of interest between tyrants and accepts the date of 532-1 for Polycrates' accession to power. The inception of a tyranny in Samos, however, seems to have been rather earlier, perhaps in the generation before Polycrates (White, *J.H.S.*, LXXIV [1954], pp. 36-43). One difficulty in accepting a date after 530 for the appeal is the too great compression of events between Arcesilaus' restoration and his submission to Cambyses. That is one of the few well-attested dates in Cyrenaean history. On the other hand Chamoux considers that Arcesilaus' birth can hardly be placed earlier than ca. 550 B. C. on a reconstruction of the Herodotean account. Thus, some caution is necessary in using Chamoux's chronological reconstruction.

After the successful establishment of the colony the first important political change in Cyrene was the result of the influx of new immigrants *ca.* 580 B. C. Greeks from the Peloponnesus, Crete, and the Aegean islands migrated to the city at the invitation of Battus II to convert it from a purely Theraean colony to a cosmopolitan city-state. This influx precipitated conflict with the Libyans, for their land had to provide the lots for the new settlers; it also provoked internal strife between the old settlers, solidly established as landed proprietors, and the new arrivals. To solve the difficulties Demonax of Mantinea was invited to arbitrate. A new civic organization was created by the establishment of three new tribes, presumably replacing the traditional Doric *phylae*. Members were assigned on the basis of origin: Theraeans and perioeci (interpreted by Chamoux as Greek laborers on the large estates), Peloponnesians and Cretans, Islanders. While the new members were made members of the state by their tribal affiliations they do not seem to have come out very well in political privilege, for the king who had invited them was stripped of his political power and an oligarchy of Theraean landowners was established in control of the magistracies. Chamoux's ascription of all this activity to the arbitration of Demonax seems rather too inclusive; stripping the king of his political powers was a sorry return by Demonax, and the creation of new tribes seems to imply more political equality between new comers and old settlers than emerged in the sequel. Perhaps Demonax gave the tribes equal rights (which would account for Herodotus' phrase, ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἐθήκε, IV, 161) and the resentment of the Theraean landowners led to a successful revolution against the king and the new settlers on whom he based his power. In any case, this quarrel between the two elements in the state seems to be the motif for further Cyrenaean development. The successor of Battus II, Arcesilaus III, enlisted the commons in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the oligarchy. He was more successful with Samian volunteer soldiers who were promised lands, evidently to be confiscated from the large estates. Thus, the later Cyrenaean monarchy took on the form of a typical Greek tyranny with popular support, foreign mercenaries, and finally, a double guarantee when Arcesilaus became a subject of Cambyses after the latter had defeated Amasis of Egypt. Cyrene thus became a tributary of the Persian Empire which evidently contributed to its well-being and prosperity as shown by the growth of trade, building activity, and the coinage of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Despite this and the fact that the welfare of the "tyranny" was founded on Persian support, Chamoux argues that Cyrene successfully declared its independence shortly after the Persian defeats of 480 rather than at the time of the revolt of Egypt under Inaros and the Athenian intervention. The evidence is very slight and indirect (p. 167) and on the whole the usual view which accepts the latter date seems preferable. The monarchy itself came to an end very soon after the Egyptian revolt had forced a relaxation of Persia's hold on Egypt. It is interesting to note that throughout this period of Cyrenean history the political institutions of the state remained thoroughly Doric, while its art followed first the lead of Cycladic and Ionian centers, then after 550 of Athens with whom Cyrene's trade relations became very close. Perhaps the strongly Doric char-

acter of the institutions is the result of the oligarchical control asserted at the expense of the new colonists. While the slight evidence gives ground for disagreement with Chamoux's conclusions it is fairly and fully presented.

Society and Economy. Chamoux's treatment of this topic is valuable and interesting. The vigor of the colony is well attested by the secondary foundations of Barce and Euesperides and the extent of the territory exploited by the Greeks. They seem to have farmed it partly by manorial estates (*pyrgoi*), partly by small owners living in villages (*komai*). The exploitation was in Greek hands and Chamoux emphasizes the Hellenic character of the city despite the evidence of intermarriage with the Libyans and their proximity. Yet his interpretation of the *perioeci* as Greeks and not Hellenized natives seems doubtful (pp. 223-5). His chief objection to this orthodox view is that Greek cities did not admit barbarian aliens to their citizen bodies, and the *perioeci* were a part of the Theraean tribe. Certainly the cities in mainland Greece did not, but they had no occasion to do so; in Asia Minor native elements were admitted to the civic organizations as the cases of Samos and Ephesus attest, yet those cities remained essentially Greek. Also, in the archaic period there was little of the anti-barbarian sentiment among the Greek aristocracy popular after the Persian Wars. Chamoux interprets Cyrenaean economy as almost entirely based on agriculture. Its exports were cereals, wool, and silphion and Athens the best customer. This seems sound in view of the pronounced effect of Athenian coinage on that of Cyrene and the marked Athenian influence on the sculpture and minor arts. The Cyrenaean trade with Egypt is minimized and the presence of Cyrenaean coins in the Egyptian hoards explained as part of the tribute paid to Persia. That part of the tribute would filter down into the merchant's hoards is possible, if Persia paid her mercenary troops with the silver rather than sending it on to the treasury, but inscriptions from Naukratis attest the residence there of Cyrenaean and there were Egyptian or oriental goods obtainable in Egypt which Cyrene needed to purchase. It did not need wheat, but what of linen, papyrus, and the minor *objets de luxe* which characterized the Egyptian trade? A chapter is devoted to silphion without identifying that mysterious plant but Chamoux's explanation of the organization of the commerce seems fresh and convincing. Silphion grew in the Libyan area rather than the Greek and Chamoux suggests that it came into Greek hands as tribute paid to the king. The scene on the Arcesilaus' kylix is considered to represent the payment of the tribute to the king who supervises its weighing and storage in an underground chamber while he sits on land under the shade of an awning, not on board a ship taking in cargo. In general, then, Cyrene's prosperity is found in its agricultural resources for its own consumption and export, not in its position for transit trade along the coast of Africa, nor in its industrial products. "Cyrenaean" pottery remains Laconian.

Religion. The section on the cults correlates the scanty literary evidence with the almost equally scanty archaeological remains. Among the latter are the very interesting sculptured, but faceless, female busts found in the cemetery which date in a series from the

late sixth century (pp. 293-300). They are interpreted as representing an *anodos*, perhaps the veiled figure of Ge rising from the ground and as such the object of a cult. Most important of the temples was the largest Greek temple in Africa, that of Zeus Ammon. It was comparable in size to the Zeus temple in Olympia and the Parthenon in Athens and is dated by Chamoux a generation before them, in the late sixth century (p. 327). This important cult apparently represented an assimilation of Zeus and the Egyptian Ammon of Siwah. Yet there is little evidence for other Egyptian or Libyan influence in religious practice. The city remained Greek in religion as in civic institutions and art.

Sculpture. Chamoux's discussion of the sculpture is based on his study of the pieces stored on the site. Those catalogued and discussed are of excellent quality, comparable to good Greek work in the main centers of production. The sculpture offers an almost uninterrupted series from the late seventh to the third century and, since its style keeps pace with Greek developments, Cyrene must have offered attractive opportunities to travelling Greek sculptors. It was very much of a luxury art in Cyrene since all the marble had to be imported, for the local shelly limestone makes poor material. The earliest marble piece, a *kouros*, of ca. 600-590 is related by its head to the Dipylon head and by its body to the *kouros* of Thera and to island work of the early sixth century. Attic influence is paramount from 550 and Egyptian almost completely lacking.

Cyrene is thus an interesting example of colonial development. The political institutions and social organization remained Doric despite the influx of Ionian colonists from the Aegean islands and intermarriage with and the proximity of the Libyan natives. The cults are similarly little influenced by Egyptian and native practices. The art is not Doric, but follows the currents of trade, to the Cyclades and Samos before 550, to Athens after that date. In the case of the Greek colonies Chamoux has made it clear that "influences" worked on different levels. Either the literary or the archaeological evidence is only half the story.

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VICTOR MARTIN. Papyrus Bodmer, I: Iliade, Chants 5 et 6. Zürich, Artemis Verlag, 1954. Pp. 90; 6 pls. (*Bibliotheca Bodmeriana*.)

An excellent review of this book has been published by Reinhold Merkelbach in *Gnomon*, XXVII (1955), pp. 269-75. I am greatly pleased by this fact; because it permits me to pass over some important matters more or less completely, and thus to save space for the mention of others in which, for the moment at least, I am more interested. Indeed, I have delayed my work in order to profit by what Merkelbach has done.

Thus, for instance, there is no need for me to tell in detail of the rich collection that Martin Bodmer has formed of items prized both by collectors of curios and by students of literature; nor of

the efforts he has generously made to share them with a wide circle of readers. I have, however, the pleasure of congratulating Switzerland on numbering among her citizens a man of such abilities and tastes, and also of expressing to him my gratitude for access to documents that must interest greatly every student of the problems that group around the name Homer.

The opening section of this book (pp. 7-22) is headed *Description* (pp. 9-20) but, in addition to what that would lead one to expect, it includes also a discussion of the two ways in which Homeric papyri are of importance to us—their *aspect philologique* and their *aspect bibliologique*. Martin believes that papyrologists have been slighting the latter, while devoting time to the former. This seems partly a special application of the old maxim that cobblers should stick to their lasts. I will agree to the extent that a good part of the contribution papyrologists strive to make to the solution of Homeric problems is a waste of energy. I hasten, however, to add that much of the trouble springs from the bad example set by Homerists.

I shall begin with the curious obsession that an athetesis by Aristarchus was a directive to future copyists to omit the line(s), and that obedience to it is to be expected in later copies. That idea goes back to the beginning of the 19th century, when only the readings of medieval MSS were available for testing the theory. Difficulties were met in three ways: (1) an athetesis by anybody else would do, if one by Aristarchus was not at hand; (2) if there was no report of an athetesis, a statement that a line was not in the edition of Aristarchus (or of somebody else) would serve equally well; and (3) *in extremis* it could be assumed that an athetesis must have existed.

Three score years and ten ago Ludwig (*Aristarchs hom. Textkritik*, II, pp. 132-43) argued against the theory, and said (p. 133, n. 110): "Es sollte eigentlich unnötig sein, dergleiche elementare Dinge noch besonders zur Sprache zu bringen: leider ist es das aber nicht." Unfortunately it continued for a long time to be needed. Three philologists, whom I respect most highly, Blass, Wecklein, Wilamowitz, kept on trying to establish a connection between a medieval blunder in copying and the conduct of some Alexandrian. Specimens are given in *External Evidence*, pp. 4-7. None of them made full use of the papyrus evidence then available. The sort of thing Blass might have done may be inferred from his note (*Arch. Pap.*, III [1906], p. 259) on the stichometry of P 21 = 596 (Pack). Zeta in our texts has 529 lines but this papyrus gives $\phi\kappa\epsilon$ as the total. Blass comments: "Athetiert wurden nach den Scholien in dem ganzen Buche nur 433-439, indes das sind 7 Verse. Leider ist im Papyrus das ϵ unsicher."

In 1906 Grenfell and Hunt showed that *ca.* 150 there was a great change in the Homeric papyri. The longer texts of the type found in the earlier papyri ceased abruptly and almost completely. A new type of text appeared, one that contained "substantially" the same combination of lines that is found in the medieval manuscripts. That is the key to understanding the transmission of 'Homer.' The work progressed, and in 1931 Allen was able to make a good statement of the case: Aristarchus' signs "did not have the effect of removing lines from the text—and were not intended to do so.

Hence we do not expect to find, and do not find, Aristarchus' athetesis followed by omission in the text" (*Iliad*, I, p. 197).¹

Then came the papyrologists, but unfortunately with the theory that 19th century Homericists had clung to in spite of Ludwig. In *Athetized Lines*, pp. 20-1 I listed errors of that sort by two men whom I admire.

To show that this sort of thing is not—as yet—given up, I shall use some examples² from a series (nos. 1-32) of papyri, carefully edited by Jacques Schwartz, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XLVI (1946), pp. 29-71; LIV (1954), pp. 45-71. In LIV, pp. 56-7 is an attempt to explain a mark, described (p. 54) as a Γ peut-être, in the margin opposite A 310, as a stichometric mark, leading to an inference that 10 lines had been dropped before A 215 the first line preserved in No. 23.

The editor lists ten atheteses of Aristarchus from A 1-214, making the mistake of counting 133-4 as one line, and of omitting 177 entirely—cf. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185; Leaf, *ad loc.*; my *Athetized Lines*, p. 54. He also fails to consider lines 215-99, still extant, from which 265, 266, 296 were omitted. The two last are added in a hand that wrote in small uncials—the editor (p. 55) cannot determine whether it is the scribe himself or a second hand. In the latter case certainly, in the former probably, they should have been included in his calculation.

A 373 ends with 'Απόλλωνος, A 380 with 'Απόλλων; the first hand of no. 23 skipped 374-80. The uncial hand did a poor job in correcting it. The only athetesis in the neighborhood is Aristarchus' of A 366-92, cf. *Ath. Lines*, pp. 59-61. Obviously there is no connection between the facts. I am not sure of what the editor wishes to do with it. Any attempt to find in it support for the idea that an athetesis by Aristarchus works as a directive for cancellation would be a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Over a decade ago I wrote (*Ath. Lines*, p. 21): "Of course it is just a piece of luck that so far no 'blunder' of a copyist has brought about an accidental coincidence between a papyrus and an athetesis. The luck may not hold, and its breakdown will lead to confusion. It cannot, obviously, make nonsense of the text, and a homoeographon need not be present. Even without that help it should be taken, on account of its isolation, for the accident it would be; but I fear there will be arms open to welcome it."

The breakdown has come. Aristarchus athetized A 296 on the testimony of Aristonicus in § A. The scribe of no. 23 omitted the line, and that this is no more than a "blunder" is shown by its correction either in his own or in a later hand. The editor shows no appreciation of the curio his papyrus has brought us.

The second section (pp. 23-31) is headed *Paléographie*. The texts (pp. 33-78) follow, with brief footnotes, giving the readings of

¹ His attempt to list a "few coincidences" is badly bungled, cf. Merkelbach, p. 273. Allen's misprint "Ω 536" is tangled with Ω 556 which (with the following line) was athetized by Aristarchus and is not omitted by any MS; and also with Ω 558 which was not in Aristarchus, and is omitted (according to Allen) by 23 MSS including V¹, V²³, the two he previously cited for the omission of Ω 536.

² See Merkelbach, p. 272, n. 1, for a long list of others in these and in recently published papyri.

other witnesses, and references to the places where Martin has treated the passage more fully. On pages 79-90 is a *Commentaire Philologique*. I shall confine myself to what seem the most interesting topics.

I begin with variants a line in length. Edgerton well says: "Doubtless few mss. are wholly free from accidental omissions (often, but by no means always, explainable by haplography or the like)"—quoted with approval in *Ath. Lines*, p. 9, where the guiding principles are set out in more detail. Omissions of E 172, 233, 584, 669-70, 673 make nonsense of the text; those of E 457, 604 take out lines that are clearly desirable. Haplography is clear at E 669-70, less so at 584, 604 (homoeomeson?), 673. Martin notes, p. 80, that no athetesis has left a trace in the Bodmer papyri. The remark is accurate; but leaves uncertain what sort of a trace he was expecting. I should prefer: gaps prevent the papyrus from testifying at E 64, 183, 187, Z 88-9, 433-7; it contains E 838-9, 906, Z 311, 438-9 (all athetized by Aristarchus) and E 734-6 (by Zenodotus).

Of added lines: Z 386^a is simple dittography; E 180^a is well explained by Martin as being 206, picked up by the scribe's model from an adjacent column; E 522^a (= A 28) makes nonsense; it comes either from an ill-timed recollection of the parallel passage, or by inheritance from a text that had absorbed a marginal note. The writing of E 415-414 in this order is probably mere surface corruption: 414 dropped by a mechanical blunder, 415 written, the fault noted, and 414 then written. Line 415 looks like a metrical gloss on Αἰγιάλεια. It belongs really in the margin; if it is to be brought into the text, it would be best placed after 412, as Cobet, Leaf, and Merkelbach have seen.

All this is mere surface corruption, but very different is the omission of E 808. Here the basic question is whether the line was or was not in the edition of Aristarchus. On this point the scholia contradict one another flatly. Aristoniceus in § A says at Δ 390 (= E 808): ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ὑγιῶς τέτακται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὸν Διομήδη λόγῳ οὐκ ἐστὶ. Thus he asserts that E 808 was read by Aristarchus, and implies that it was athetized. His note on E 807: ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ὑποτάσσει τοῦτω στίχῳ "ῥηιδίως· τοίη οἱ ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦα." ἐναντιοῦται δὲ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ οὐ φησι παροτρύνειν, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν. μετηνέχθη δὲ οὐ δεόντως ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος³ λόγου (Δ 390). This is in harmony with his previous note, and adds an assertion that E 808 was read by Zenodotus, and an implication that he (Aristoniceus) knew, directly or indirectly, of MSS without it. At first blush one might expect a note of Didymus explaining the athetesis of E 808. An understanding of the way the epitomizer of § A worked (cf. *Athetized Lines*, p. 40) will show that it is not to be expected, and it is not found. The T scholia tell a different story: οὐ καθόλου δὲ εὐρέθη ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου τὸ "ῥηιδίως· τοίη τοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦα." ἐναντίον γάρ ἐστι τοῖς προκειμένοις. The B scholia agree except for a less explicit phrase παρ' Ἀριστάρχῳ. The A^t scholium starts by drawing on the source of § BT: τοῦτον τὸν στίχον (E 808) οὐχ εὐρήσθαι καθόλου φασὶν ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου; and then continues with a remark that may go back to the suppressed note of

³ I cannot understand why Martin (p. 80) emends to Ἀθηνᾶς.

Didymus: καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπράττει καὶ πρὸς τὸ "δαίνυσθαι μιν . . . ἔκκλητον" (805), καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐπιφέρειν "σοὶ δ' ἦτοι . . . φυλάσσω" (809).

Such is the testimony. If it comes to choosing sides, it should be noted that while § T may have been innocently misled into error by a faulty copy of Aristarchus, Aristonicus must, in all probability, be either telling the truth or lying. I do not regard this as conclusive, but I should hesitate before plumping for § BTA^t, as moderns have generally done.

If one looks for help to the later tradition, the trouble is that he can—with more or less difficulty—argue for either side of the case. Thus the reading by Aristarchus of the line is supported by its presence in P 295 (2/3 p.) and in practically all of the medieval manuscripts. The exception is its absence in V¹⁶ (s. xii) and L⁹ (1452 A. D.). This is explained as "ex homoeomeso" by Allen. The temptation to haplography (τοίη οἱ ἐγὼν: ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ) is perhaps not very great,⁴ but, if it is accepted as sufficient, it will account also for the omission of the line in P 588 Paek (2 p.) and now in P Bodmer. On the other hand if one follows § T and denies E 808 to Aristarchus, P 588 (Paek), P Bodmer, V¹⁶, and L⁹ show what would be expected; while one would be faced with the need of explaining the presence of the line in P 295 and in all the other manuscripts. It could be that before the close of the second century E 808 passed from a scholium to one or more papyri, and spread from them to the medieval manuscripts. What happened at a much later date to Θ [183]—described in *Language*, XXX (1954), p. 274—would be a parallel. I should leave the case *sub iudice*.⁵

Among the smaller variants I notice first E 785 which appears as

Στέντορι εἰσαμένη ἡμὲν δέμα]s ἡδὲ καὶ αὐδῇ
ὅς τὸσον [αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλο]ι πεντήκοντα

where Ω has εἰσαμένη μεγάλητορι χαλκεοφώνῳ. There can be no questioning of Martin's restoration, nor of the pertinence of his comparing (p. 83) δέμας καὶ ἀπειρία φωνήν, N 45, P 555. I may add that no example in the *Iliad* of ἡμὲν . . . ἡδὲ would tend to suggest the variant. Where did it come from? Perhaps the key lies in the scholia. Of 786 § T says: ἐν τισιν οὐκ ἦν ὁ στίχος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ταύτην τὴν ψυχράν. B has the same, but stops with ὑπερβολήν; A agrees with B, but attaches the remark to a scholium on 785—a line which obviously could not be dropped by itself. Now § T at times makes a connecting link between our texts and Ptolemaic papyri. Θ [183] (cf. above) is one example, and even more striking is B 855^{ab}. For a long time these verses were known only from Strabo, Eustathius, and § T which at γ 329 quotes them after an introductory phrase τινὲς δὲ καὶ φέρουσι τὸ . . . Then P 40 (3a.) fr. p. was seen to contain them—cf. *External Evidence*, pp. 77-9. Similarly I take the statement of § T about E 786 to mean that some Ptolemaic texts lacked that line, and suspect that in its fuller

⁴ Allen explains an omission of N 458 in the same way; but, as far as I can see, with less, if any reason.

⁵ It may be well to warn that three papyri are so small a sample of those written 150-250 A. D. that inferences about the probable numbers of all papyri cannot be made. All that is certain is that papyri both with and without the line existed at that time.

form a scholium told of the variant ἡμὲν δέμας ἡδὲ καὶ αἰδῶν, which P Bodmer, directly or indirectly, took over from it.⁶ If this is so, other variants in P Bodmer are entitled to more consideration than would otherwise be given them.

In E 636 P Bodmer points to ἔμμεν' ἐπεὶ (whether one so writes or ἐκ πληροῦς matters little) against the Attic-Ionic εἶναι ἐπεὶ of Ω. Obviously this is no blunder of a scribe, and it is surprising to find an Aeolic form instead of an Attic one. The tide in the tradition sets strongly in the opposite direction. Gehring lists 61 examples of εἶναι in the *Iliad*, and not in one does Allen record a variant. In *Ilias Atheniensium*, p. 15, I referred to the difficulty of determining "how far Π itself was Atticized, and how soon Atticisms were introduced." The papyrus could not have got ἔμμεναι here, unless it had been read by Π; the later domination of εἶναι points to its introduction at an early time. I should now read ἔμμεν' ἐπεὶ for a text of ca. 550 B. C., but εἶναι ἐπεὶ for ca. 150 B. C.; and should treat ἔμμεν' ἐμὸν similarly in E 639. Ludwig cites at 639 ἔμμεν? Nauck; I should have expected Nauck to take the same action at both places. This improvement of the text may lead to matters of further interest, but this is not the place to discuss them.

Disregarding surface corruption we find in P 41c (3a) = 536 Pack:

- E 529 ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔλεσθε,
 530 ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
 531 αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σάοι ἢ πέφανται
 532 φευγόντων δ' οὐτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτε τις ἀλκή,

and also in P 267 (2 p.) = 578 Pack—its omission of line 532 is recognized as nothing more than surface corruption, cf. Barbara McCarthy, *C. P.*, XXVII (1932), p. 131—and in all manuscripts. Against this background the omission of line 530 in P Bodmer cannot be regarded as more than a blunder.

Martin (pp. 82-3) discusses its relationship to O 561 ff. in a fashion with which I cannot agree. He has been misled by the fact that Wolf and others after him have taken O [562] into their texts, although it should be clear that it is a plus verse added in post-Aristarchean times.

Because of the formular style of the epos we might expect these four lines to be repeated without variation when a similar situation arises. That is not what is found. E 529 is never repeated; a con-

⁶ In passing I now incline to believe that E 785-6 were not in the archetype Π (ca. 550); since in Ptolemaic times line 786 alternated with zero, and 785 circulated in two forms, cf. Didymus *apud* § A at T 327: τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς διασκευῆς τὸ καὶ ἐτέρως φέρεσθαι τὸν στίχον. If one wishes to argue on grounds of "intrinsic probability," there is the ignorance about Stentor. Those who knew him as a Thracian objected that it was Homer's way to have his gods take the form <only> of those present. Others denied this principle; while some met with the difficulty by declaring that Stentor was an Arcadian and adding verses to the Catalog to prove their point. See § ABT on E 785. Present is an elastic term; Calchas and Phoenix are members of the expedition, but never (because of age?) appear on the battlefield. Twice gods appear in their form—the two passages from which δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν is cited. Is this merely a coincidence?

siderable variation of it is found in O 561, and this is used in a different context at O 661. Repetition of E 531-2 gives us:

- O 561 ὦ φίλοι, ἄνέρες ἔστε καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
 563 αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σάοι ἢ πέφανται,
 564 φευγόντων δ' οὐτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτε τις ἀλκή.

Trouble starts when someone remembers the similar passage and writes (E 530) ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας in the margin. The consequence may be seen in P 60 (4 p.) = 671 Pack, where the marginal note passes into the text after O 530 making nonsense; P 48 (5 p.) = 719 Pack is still uncontaminated; nine manuscripts are reported by Ludwich as lacking the line, though in four of them it is added by later hands; Allen lists twenty-seven MSS as omitting the line.⁷ This is ample ground for the opinion expressed above, and already in *External Evidence*, p. 20.

In E 294 the reading of Ω is: ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ while P Bodmer starts with ἦριπε δὲ πρηνής. I begin by trying to determine the associations elsewhere of the two competing phrases. ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων is found most frequently when something more is told about the team: ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι follows in © 122, 314, O 452; κατὰ δ' ἦνυα χεύεν ἔραζε P 619; the slaying of the charioteer—κυκήθησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι Y 487. In two other passages the death of the hero completes the line: στυγερὸς δ' ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλεν E 47; κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλὺς II 344. At E 75 it is an ἐν ἄλλῳ variant of A for ἦριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃ; and © 260 will be noted below.

On the other hand ἦριπε δὲ πρηνής is found only before ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ E 58. This phrase is usually preceded by δούπησεν δὲ πεσών Δ 504, E [42], N 187; P 50, 311; but at E 540 ἦριπε δὲ πρηνής is a variant with considerable attestation. © 260 reads ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ but there is an ἐν ἄλλῳ variant of A: ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι that puts it in line with © 122, 314, O 452.

There are smudges on the picture, but the P Bodmer seems to me to conform better to the practice of the *Iliad*.

Reference to Merkelbach may suffice for the new readings in E 616, 753, 855, Z 359. I can agree with his objections at E 477, 603, though I might express mine "a shade the stronger"; at E 486 I should have endorsed Meister's interpretation of ὤρεσσι < δόρεσσι enthusiastically on syntactic grounds.

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HARRY CAPLAN. [Cicero] Ad C. Herennium De Ratione Dicendi (Rhetorica Ad Herennium) with an English Translation. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd., 1954. Pp. lviii + 433. \$3.00.

There has come down to us in the Ciceronian corpus a spurious treatise on rhetoric entitled variously *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*,

⁷ I feel compelled to admit that I am surprised by the large number. Why is there no mention of additions by later hands?

Rhetorica Secunda, or *Rhetorica Nova*; perhaps more properly, *De Ratione Dicendi*, a title suggested by Marx. With its congener, the *De Inventione*, it had a great vogue in the Middle Ages, and as the earliest work on rhetoric in the canonical form it is a starting point for exploratory journeys in two directions: it points forward to later antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, and from it we may derive much information about the Hellenistic textbooks which preceded it.

The *Ad Herennium* has been much neglected of late. There is no complete translation in English nor any good commentary. Both these gaps are now filled by the admirable edition before us. Professor Caplan after a lengthy Introduction covering the history of scholarly work on the *Ad Herennium* reaches the following conclusions: the author can only be referred to as Auctor Incertus; the date is 86-82 B. C., after the *De Inventione*. There is no immediate common source in Greek for the two works, but resemblances indicate some common Latin source like the *De Ratione Dicendi* of Antonius. The Auctor Incertus had some originality and did not merely edit notes taken in the classroom. These are conservative and sensible views; in fact throughout the whole book Caplan shows conservatism and sound sense. The Introduction closes with an Analysis—very useful; one needs a road map to travel through the *Ad Herennium*.

The text is in the main that of the *editio minor* of Marx, without the idiosyncrasies of Marx's spelling: e. g. Caplan writes *prooemium* and *epodos* instead of *prohemium* and *epodos*, and *hae* (nominative plural feminine) instead of Marx's *haec*.

The translation is a sheer delight, clear, vigorous, and idiomatic. If at times it borders on paraphrase, this is not to be put down as a fault of the translator, but is the only way to handle the crabbed, sometimes well-nigh unintelligible Latin of the Auctor Incertus. Caplan has not been afraid to expand his translation of technical terms in the interest of clarity, and the result is wholly admirable. We have only a few suggestions. On page 29 is not "official documents" too narrow for *tabulae*? The latter might mean "wills" or "contracts." On page 77 would not "inquisitor" be a better translation of *quaesitor* than "presiding justice" inasmuch as the matter under discussion is the torture of witnesses? For "men of the jury" (*passim*) the more common phrase in our courts is, I believe, "gentlemen of the jury." On page 269 "Taste" seems to be too broad for *elegantia* of which the sub-heads are *Latinitas* and *explanatio* (clarity). Taste is applicable to the use of figures and in innumerable other parts of a speech. *Elegantia* (from *eligere*) means precision in diction.

We come now to the notes, which are the distinctive mark of this edition. The author has wisely departed from the type of notes usual in a volume of the Loeb Classical Library. We have here a full commentary on a standard work of rhetoric which will be the best introduction one can have to the study of this field of ancient thought. Parallels from ancient works both in Greek and in Latin are complete, and the modern literature on all debatable passages is quoted exhaustively. Scholars will be grateful to Caplan for putting his vast learning in this field at their disposal. I venture only a few remarks: There is confusion in note f on page 5. The text

reads: *Iudiciale . . . habet accusationem aut petitionem cum defensione*; the translation: "The judicial . . . comprises criminal prosecution or civil suit, and defence." The note: *κατηγορία, δίκη, ἀπολογία*. Granted that *accusatio* and *petitio* in Roman Law correspond roughly to our criminal and civil cases, there is no such distinction in Greek. *δίκη* covers cases of murder, theft, and assault as well as many others which we call criminal. A distinction is sometimes made between *γραφή* and *δίκη*, but this is not properly a distinction between criminal and civil, but between causes affecting the state as a whole and causes between individuals. Moreover in either case in Greek the prosecutor or plaintiff is a *κατήγορος* and his speech is a *κατηγορία*. The parallelism between Greek and Latin breaks down at this point.

It is difficult to see the point of the citation from Aeschines in note a on p. 284. The text reads: "Perfidious Fregellae, how quickly, because of your crime, you have wasted away." (An example of apostrophe.) The note: *cf.* the passage, often used by the rhetoricians, in Aeschines *Adv. Ctes.* 133: "But Thebes, Thebes, our neighbour-state, has in one day been swept from the midst of Hellas." So far the note. This is *ἀναδίπλωσις*, *conduplicatio*, not an apostrophe, for Thebes is not addressed *in absentia*. The only likeness in the two passages is that both concern cities which had been destroyed. The passage on Catachresis (p. 343) would be illuminated by a note showing what the exact or precise words are which have been displaced by the "inexact." To note a on page 388 on proposing the chin on the left hand as an indication of thought add a reference to Oedipus and the Sphinx on the red-figured cup in the style of Duris; reproduced in Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, I, Pl. LXVII. Cf. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, p. 296, no. 12.

In connection with note d on page 42 which deals with the testamentary capacity of a man under sentence of death, it might be of some interest to know that at Athens this case was covered by statute. See the law quoted by Hyperides, *In Athenogenem*, 17: *ἐξείναι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ [δια]τίθεσθαι ὅπως ἂν] τις βούληται, πλὴν [ἢ γή]ρωσ ἐνεκεν ἢ νόσου ἢ μανίῶν ἢ γυναικί] πειθόμενον ἢ [ὑπὸ] δεσμοῦ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης κ[ατ]αληφθ[έντ]α. Cf. Ps. Dem., XLI, 14.*

We have waited for many years with keen expectation for the appearance of this book. The expectation has not been disappointed. This edition will long remain as the standard work in its field.

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Menandri Quae Supersunt. Pars Altera: Reliquiae apud Veteres Scriptores Servatae. Edidit ALFREDUS KOERTE. Opus postumum retractavit, addenda ad utramque partem adiecit ANDREAS THIERFELDER. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1953. Pp. xii + 394. DM. 16.60.

The first part of this edition of Menander, containing parts of the text preserved in papyri and on parchment, appeared in 1938. It

included in addition such of the fragments from other sources as belong to the ten plays that appeared in it. Though neither volume has a table of contents, all known plays of Menander are listed alphabetically in the present volume with references to Volume I for the ten plays published there. There is also in this volume an index of titles of plays. Only *Perinthia* and *Misumenus* are divided between two volumes. Of the former a word from Harpocration is given as fragment 1a in Thierfelder's Addenda. Of the latter 26 broken lines from a papyrus published by Schubart in 1950 appear in the Addenda.

Since the last five of these are lines 1-5 of the previously known papyrus, an excellent test of the supplements suggested by scholars for those lines is provided. Wilamowitz hit the mark in lines 3 and 5, but no one was near in line 1. Lines 2 and 4 seem to require emendation. For line 2 I suggest ἀεί τε κάμπτεις and for line 4 δῆσαι κελεύσω τοῦτον, "I shall tell my master to ask him to dinner again and tie him up."

At the beginning of the Addenda are published 42 broken lines of a play that may well be Menander's, possibly the *Kekryphalus*. The situation is similar to that invented by Syrus at the end of Act 3 of Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*. The sum that must be paid to Dorkion in the new play is the same; a thousand drachmas, as Syrus says, must be paid to Bacehis for release of Antiphila. The counterpart of Antiphila in the Greek play has a faithful servant Parmeno. Compare Parmeno in *Plokion* and Geta in the *Adelphoe* of Terence. A matron, perhaps corresponding to Sostrata in *Heauton*, gives Parmeno goods to secure his mistress' release. Moschion, who is in love with the girl, is permitted to enter the house of Dorkion with him and comfort his beloved. It is not impossible that we have here a scene from Menander's *Heauton*, for Terence in doubling the plot might well have presented as invention of Syrus what is presented in Menander as a real situation. At any rate the sum owed is the same.

Besides the 951 fragments, this volume contains Körte's preface, dated three years before his death in 1946. Thierfelder's preface is dated 1950. There is a postscript written in 1953 to inform the reader that only a few notes have been added since 1950. The book was actually ready to print in 1943 when the type was destroyed by bombing. The proofsheets survived, and after many delays Thierfelder has seen the book through the press. He has added many brief notes besides those in the Addenda, sometimes expressing disagreement with Körte. The Addenda to the first part include corrections, but nothing is said of δεισπότην, *Perinthia* 14, which stands in my copy. I note also that the reference to Dem. 3 is missing for *Theophrastus*, fr. 7, on page 103. New supplements and interpretations are also cited, but in the report of Harsh's discussion of *Perik.* 171-8 Thierfelder has inadvertently written 'Sosia' for 'Davius.' It is Davus who cannot have entered from Myrrhina's house. See *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), p. 104. So in reporting my supplements from *A. J. P.*, LXII, p. 466 he implies by his 'duce Allinsonio' that I was following Allinson. It would be true to say 'approbante Allinsonio.' No attempt has been made to bring the bibliography up to date in this volume, though there are scattered references to most articles on Menander. Great indebtedness to Webster

is acknowledged. Notably missing are any references to discussion of the supposed sculptured portrait of Menander later than the year 1935. Both Herbig and Carpenter assign the portrait to Vergil. The latter wrote most recently in *Hesperia*, XX (1951), pp. 34-44. But Miss Bieber strongly supports the claim of Menander in her book, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1955).

The indexes are an immense boon to scholars. Plays known at least by title now number 99. Thierfelder rejects my *Hypergeros*, which was admittedly a long shot. See *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXI (1950), pp. 37-42. The index of gods, etc., might well have included the Phoenician Pataeci, to whom as saviour-gods there is an allusion in *Perik.* 230. The *index verborum* is accurate and usually distinguishes words not fully attested or cited only in the apparatus from those fully guaranteed. The Addenda seem to be disregarded in the Index. The form *λήξουον* (*sic*) is cited from fr. 649 with no warning, though it is clearly due to corruption and the verb is not attested for Menander. After the *index verborum* is a short index of odd forms, hiatus, metrical peculiarities, and so on. It would be convenient to have elision and crasis also included. Perhaps it is ungrateful to ask for more.

A table is provided for translating the numbering of fragments from Kock and Dem. to Körte. The old numbers are also cited in connection with each fragment. An asterisk after the number of a fragment seems to indicate that Körte had some doubts about the attribution of a fragment to a particular play, but I find no statement to this effect. The asterisk appears even when a fragment is found translated in a Roman comedy. In the case of *Ep.*, fr. 11, the fragment might as well belong to a number of other plays. Fr. 808 is represented by a blank space without explanation, while 686a and 686b have intruded. A. Dain proposes to add 871 *bis*. See *Bull. Assoc. Budé* for Sept., 1954, p. 169. Kock had 1130 fragments and Demiańczuk 25. The present volume has 951 for highest number. Numbers 932-50 are listed as doubtful, wrongly attributed, or spurious. Thierfelder helpfully gives in each case the reason why fragments formerly included do not appear here. Only a few new fragments were added by Körte. It was a great service when he discarded un-Menandrian material, particularly single lines from collections of maxims. Of course many fragments missing in this volume are found in the text of, or assigned to, the plays of Volume I.

Another valuable feature of this book is a collection of references to Menander in ancient writers or inscriptions. Some of Kock's fragments appear here as testimonies. On the other hand many testimonies are found in connection with fragments. It is too bad that room was not found for the comments of Aulus Gellius and Cicero on the difference between Greek and Latin comedy, as well as much matter from handbooks of rhetoric that is found in De Falco's school edition of the *Epitrepontes* (Naples, 1949). Körte's citations are, however, more conveniently arranged and include more evidence from inscriptions. I should like to see added to the testimonia Statius, *Silvae*, II, 1, 113-19, which proves that schoolboys spoke pieces from Menander as well as Homer, and Pliny, *N. H.*, XXX, 7: *literarum subtilitati sine aemulo genitus*. This indicates that Me-

nander's plain style was a strong point. The middle style of Terence, smooth and elegant, lacks power, as Caesar saw. I should paraphrase Pliny as saying that Menander was the unrivaled literary genius of the plain style. This quotation from Pliny does, however, appear in a citation under *Thettale*.

This is as good a place as any to mention some points that have occurred to me in going over the fragments. In fr. 47 (52 K) the participle of a verb of motion is needed since the subject came from a battle somewhere and corrupted all the women of Lamia. Read *πλεύσας* for *πλήσας*. For fr. 125 (138 K) I suggest *εὐρετικὸς οὖν κἀγὼ τι τὴν τούτου τέχνην*. In fr. 358 (425 K), line 2, *τοῦ* should be taken as the interrogative. Thus we get *ἔνεκα τοῦ ζῆν βούλεται* / <διὰ τὸν τρόπον κακῶς>, "what motive he has for wanting to live a poor life because he takes the course he does." In fr. 416 (481 K), line 11, the change of sigma to theta produces *ἀν πρῶτος ἀπίης καταλυθείς*, which presents no difficulty: "If you are dismissed and depart first," i. e., from the banquet of life. In fr. 816 (986 K) the superlative of a pronoun or proper name is cited from Menander, so that *αἰτιώτατος* will not do. The word is probably a corruption of *Ἀττικώτατος*, of which a form is actually used by Cicero. In fr. 951, line 11, it is clear that the speaker has used a term implying divine intervention. Read then *θεία τε* or *ὡς θεία*. In fr. 568 (541 K), line 8, *εἶσω δὴ* is almost certainly a misreading of *ἐκὼν* written in uncials. The sense is excellent, but a word must be supplied to fill the resulting gap. Perhaps the best is *δ' οὖν, γοῦν*, or *δῆθ'*; the latter I owe to the suggestion of a colleague, Mr. Arthur Brain. I suggest also *ἦ* for *ἡ* in the preceding line. Hence: *καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἦ νόσος / ψυχῆς. ὁ πλῆγεις δ' οὖν ἐκὼν τιμρώσκειται*. It is weakness of mind that admits love. "At any rate he who is smitten is glad of his wound."

The new fragment of the *Misumenus* presents an interesting problem, something like a Rorschach test, where each observer sees something different. For 1b-1d I suggest *δεινὸν γὰρ βίον / [τρυφῶν ἐβίον] ἐγὼ [πρί]ν. οὐ γὰρ μακάριον / [ἐχρῆν λέγειν ἀ]σύνετον ὄνθ' οὕτω[ς τινά]*. Translate: "It was a terrible life that I lived when I had luxuries. For it would be wrong to call anyone fortunate who was so devoid of understanding." Then for 1r through 1 I get

ἄρ' οὗτός ἐστι δοῦλος οὐκλύω[ν κόρας;
ἡγείτο θ' αὐτῶν θάτερος [ᾧστε λαμβάνειν
τὸν ἄνδρα [πρίν] ὁρᾶν, ᾧ πολυτίμητοι θεοί,
σὺν πᾶσιν [ἀγαθοῖς.] τοῦτο δῆ[λον γὰρ ποίει.
πίνων δικαίως ᾗσεν, ἀνθρώ[ποις ἀπλοῖς
ἀγαθὸν ἀκουσμῶν].

Translate: "Is this a slave who ransoms maidens? And one of the two went ahead so that the man was unseen until he had a good look, ye precious gods, with no hint of evil. For he makes that plain. He did his part honestly over the wine and sang a song that was good entertainment for simple people." I do not suppose of course that this is exactly what Menander wrote; yet it may convey some adumbration of the truth. There is more uncertainty about some letters than I have indicated in my text.

To return to business, the get up of this part seems equal in

every respect to that of the first. I noted one misprint—in the text of fr. 23 ἀνείδεα for ἀναίδεα. There are missing stops on pages 60 and 137, a reversed sigma below fr. 452, a few bad letters, and an omitted question mark after 718, line 6. There is a 't' missing from 'superabat,' page 5.

It is clear that we have here a greatly improved edition of the fragments of Menander, the fruit not only of arduous labor, but also of ripe scholarship and unusual acumen. No one but Körte could have produced it. We also owe a great debt to Thierfelder, who has rescued it from oblivion in the aftermath of war and presented it with valuable additions.

L. A. POST.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

ANDRÉ AYMARD and JEANNINE AUBOYER. *Rome et son Empire*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. Pp. 783; 48 pls.; 31 figs.

This is the second volume of the new *Histoire Générale des Civilisations*. The book is large and outwardly impressive; at the end one lays it down with a distinct sense of disappointment.

The first six hundred pages are given over to Aymard's survey of Roman civilization. Factually the author makes remarkably few downright slips, and the proofreading has been excellent. At some points Aymard has incorporated quite recent findings; at other times his interpretations are those of a generation ago. The difficulty lies not in the details, which I shall not criticize here, but in the realm of general vigor and organization.

Aymard takes up first the civilizations of the Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Gauls. Roman civilization proper is divided into the three phases of Republic, Early Empire, and Late Empire. Each major phase begins with the general political climate, sketched very briefly with a minimum of dates and names; after the political introduction come in order chapters on political institutions, economic and social conditions, religion, and intellectual matters.

From the point of the student it may be observed that both the earlier peoples of Italy and the days of the Roman kingdom are almost ignored. Despite a lengthy *Tableau Synchronique*, covering pp. 708-42, a beginner in Roman history would probably find the background much too hazy; the chapters also tend to skip back and forth over two or more centuries in a fashion baffling to the neophyte.

Scholars can benefit from such a general survey only if it is richly documented or is infused with a brilliant, synoptic view. The plan of the present series forbids documentation, and one cannot properly quarrel with that decision; the bibliography is brief, though up-to-date, and is largely French.

What remains then? Simply a descriptive account of the surface of Roman civilization, which mentions the important thinkers and developments in dutiful fashion but goes no further. Aymard's style is rarely relieved either by the cutting generalization which abides in one's mind or by the skillful use of concrete fact to light up a complex situation; the reader is rarely challenged to halt and

mus. Repeatedly the author comes up to great questions of Roman history such as the Roman expansion (pp. 87-90) or the decline and fall (pp. 596-9) and then slides away without presenting a fully rounded answer.

The present volume, moreover, is not just a survey of Roman development; it is presumably a study of a part of human civilization. As such it gives virtually no idea of the main currents stirring the Eurasian landmass during the epoch. In Aymard's part free Europe lies dark on the horizon; yet worse, the Parthian-Sasanid state, which was in many ways the center of the civilized world, nowhere receives any connected discussion.

Auboyer's part is a vestigial appendix. Less than one hundred pages in length, it treats of the civilizations of India, Southeast Asia, and China largely by piling up names and quotations in a mass of impressionistic prose. Central Asia is virtually ignored, though out of it the whirlwind was soon to strike both Europe and China.

The illustrations are numerous and are superbly reproduced; they are not tied to the text or otherwise discussed. The index is adequate.

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A. M. DALE. *The Plays of Euripides: Alcestris*. Edited with Introduction and Commentary. Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1954. Pp. xl + 130. \$2.00 (12s. 6d.).

This is the latest addition to the Oxford series of annotated editions of the plays of Euripides, a series which has already proved its value to students of Greek everywhere. As users of previous volumes will recall, the text of Gilbert Murray (OCT, 1902) is reproduced *verbatim*; where the editor differs from Professor Murray, the reading preferred by the editor will be found in the commentary. Although this practice may confuse the student at first (since most American students will assume that the text as printed is the only text), the saving in printing-costs more than justifies the method. At any rate, in this edition of the *Alcestris*, Miss Dale rarely disagrees with Murray—perhaps a dozen times in all.

Miss Dale states that in preparing the Commentary she kept the undergraduate mostly in mind, although she hopes that "the Sixth Form may find things in it to interest them." For my part, I found the notes none too easy for an imaginary, but typical graduate student. At first sight this fact would merely seem to indicate the difference between Greek studies in England and America; but on further examination much of the difficulty appears to lie in the nature of the notes themselves. A great deal of space is devoted to purely textual matters, and very often the discussion makes the interpretation of the Greek more difficult and complicated than it really is. For most American students the purpose of notes is to elucidate, not to complicate the interpretation and meaning of the text; and few of our undergraduates are interested in or concerned

with long defences of the received text against various "improvements" made by nineteenth-century editors.

A detailed and "meaty" Introduction includes discussions of the tetralogy of which the *Alcestis* formed a part, the *Alcestis*-legend as a whole, the play itself, and the history of the text. Most readers will be primarily interested in Miss Dale's remarks on Euripides' treatment of the material and on his attitude toward the characters and the action of the drama. In Part III ("The *Alcestis* as a pro-satyrical play") Miss Dale reaches the conclusion that although the play contains recognizably pro-satyrical, or lighter elements, this fact does not modify its dramatic essence: "the action . . . is meant, together with all the characters, to be taken seriously." With this as a premise, she submits "The Characters and the Action" (Part IV) to a brief, but (in my opinion) brilliant analysis. As for the action, she finds the central theme of the tragedy in the experience of Admetus, who learns too late that the life of which he has cheated Destiny is a useless possession. This is perhaps a conventional, or at least widely-accepted view; but for those who seek the essence of Euripidean tragedy in complex character-portrayal, Miss Dale offers a surprising and novel approach in her discussion of the characters. It is perhaps fairest to state her main point in her own words: "The root of the trouble" (*viz.*, in past interpretations of the characters of *Alcestis* and *Admetus*) "lies in our inveterate modern habit of regarding a drama almost exclusively in terms of its characters. The modern conception of the actor's function, with each actor concentrating on the 'interpretation' of his single part, strongly reinforces this habit. It works quite well with modern drama, which is largely composed from the same point of view. It can be made to work with Shakespeare. But it will not work satisfactorily with Greek tragedy. Of course, the Greek, like every serious drama, involves 'characters,' whose part in the action, and therefore whose words, to some extent reflect their several natures. But in Greek tragedy, their speeches . . . can rarely be interpreted as *primarily* or *consistently* expressive of their natures, and whenever we find ourselves trying to build up some elaborate or many-sided personality by *adding up* small touches gleaned from all parts of the play we can be pretty sure of being on the wrong lines." From this point of view, much of the accepted analysis of character in the *Alcestis* is faulty, especially the traditional view of the play as a realistic and elaborately unflattering character-study of Admetus as a vain and selfish egotist. In Miss Dale's opinion, Admetus is a person to whom things happen; "it is his experience that matters," not his character. "So far from considering the *Alcestis* as a full-length study of *naïveté*, weakness, . . . and so forth, I do not believe that Euripides had any particular interest in what sort of person Admetus was." The conclusion is that we must pay more attention to "the rhetoric of the situation" in interpreting Euripides. "Nourished on the psychological novel, we tend to assume that the poet had brooded on the story until the characters took shape in his mind, as if he had asked himself: What would X, being such a man, be likely to say in such a situation? whereas we might sometimes get nearer to the meaning by imagining the question: Suppose a man involved in such a situation, how should he best acquit himself? How gain his point? Move his hearers? Prove his thesis? Convey

information lucidly and vividly?" Your reviewer, who spends a good deal of his time teaching Greek drama to undergraduates, finds this a valuable warning and a stimulating point of view which should be taken into account in interpreting ancient drama to modern students.

To sum up: this is a useful, indeed most valuable edition. All teachers of the *Alcestis* will want to consult it, whether they can use it in class or not. As for its use by students, I imagine that a graduate student would feel more at home in the commentary, but a reasonably advanced and ambitious undergraduate Greek major will find much to arouse his interest and lead him to some conception of the higher levels of scholarship in the treatment of classical texts.

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MYRA L. UHLFELDER. *De Proprietate Sermonum vel Rerum. A Study and Critical Edition of a Set of Verbal Distinctions.* Rome, American Academy in Rome, 1954. Pp. 115. (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, XV.)

In an age in which looseness of language is dismayingly prevalent it is pleasant to scan a work written with the sole and specific purpose of encouraging precision in the use of synonymous words. The author of the *De Proprietate Sermonum vel Rerum* was following a tradition which began for the Latin language as early as Cato, was continued through the Republic and the Empire, and came into special prominence when actual sets of these verbal distinctions were compiled as a refinement of grammar. The earliest datable set was made in the fourth century. It had its counterpart a millennium and more later, when a European schoolbook could present the compounds of the verb *sedeo* in hexameter verse duly calculated to fix their differences in the student's mind: "Hostibus insideo, medicus pius assidet egro,/ Subsident hic patrie, sed presidet ille Velitris,/ Obsidet hic muros, podio sed considet iste,/ Desidet ille piger, discordans dissidet ille,/ Insidet hic asino, magnam rex obsidet urbem."

The set here edited was compiled probably in the fourth century and contains with much likelihood material transmitted by Flavius Caper from the Republican period. The editor deduces that it preserves remnants of the lost works of Verrius Flaccus and of Pliny. Its 256 distinctions present in nutshell form, ordinarily in a single sentence, the broad and also the finer differences between such words as *diutinus* and *diuturnus*, *fidus* and *fidelis*, *germanus* and *frater*, *nasci* and *enasci*, *omnis* and *totus*, *percussus* and *perculsus*, *rogus* and *pyra*. Although no index to the words is provided it is readily clear that the distinctions were of great assistance in their day to students of the Latin language; a close perusal of them would in fact be beneficial to most teachers of Latin today and at the same time, because of the succinct and refreshing style in which they are written, enjoyable. "A word to the wise. . ."

The last edition of this set was published in 1803 and reprinted

in 1862; it had been based on a much-criticized edition of 1601. The present edition, done according to the highest standards of modern scholarship, is an enormous advance. It is provided with an introduction which traces the history of verbal distinctions in general and of this set in particular and includes a conspectus of the manuscripts; with a full critical apparatus and citations of *testimonia*; with a table setting forth the order in which the *differentiae* occur in the various manuscripts; and with an appendix on the *differentiae* of the *Liber Glossarum*. For such complicated material the format and typography are excellent, and the Italian printer is to be congratulated. Nor is it his fault that there exists no international syllabication and that he has sometimes treated English at the end of a line as if it were Italian; he could point out in turn that American printers continue obstinately to spell *Giuseppe* with the *i* and *u* in reverse order. Also to be congratulated are the American Academy in Rome for this worthy addition to its series of Papers and Monographs, the editor herself for her painstaking and rewarding labors, and the mentors who counseled her in her task. Similar editions are needed for many authors. If American publishers cannot undertake them, scholars will do well to investigate the possibilities of publication abroad.

DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN.

ARMED FORCES MEDICAL LIBRARY.

L. CAES and R. HENRION. *Collectio Bibliographica Operum ad Ius Romanum Pertinentium: Series Prima, Opera in periodicis miscellaneis encyclopaediisque edita*, vols. 1, 2-3, 4-5. Brussels, Office International de Librairie, 1949-53. Pp. 448; 944; 949. Series Secunda, *Theses*, vol. 1: *Theses Galliae*. 1950. Pp. 448.

All books and articles concerning Roman public and private law which have appeared since 1800 are being efficiently indexed by professors of Roman Law at Louvain and Liège. The enterprise has received a hearty reception from the jurists for its completeness and accuracy. The reviewer has tested in a few places the coverage of archaeological and philological periodicals and would support the endorsement given by the jurists. But historians and philologists will greet with special satisfaction the guidance into the recesses of juristic periodicals, because the problems of Roman law are also problems of Roman history and many even are problems which arise again and again in the study of Latin literature.

The third series will contain *opera praeter theses separatim vel etiam coniunctim edita*. The whole series (those so far published can be acquired for \$65) will be necessary at least for a full exploitation of our system of interlibrary loans.

J. H. OLIVER.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

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THE REFORM OF THE *COMITIA CENTURIATA*.

This paper aims at showing that a view such as Mommsen held in his later works on the third-century reform of the *comitia centuriata* is most in accordance with present evidence.¹ A fresh statement of this position has become necessary since the publication of important articles by E. S. Staveley in 1952 and by E. Schönbauer in 1953.²

Much discussion of the reform has arisen from a consideration of the implications of the *tabula Hebana*.³ The exact status of the electoral body described in this inscription is by no means clear, but fortunately we do not need to settle this question

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. A. H. McDonald of Clare College, Cambridge, and to Dr. J. H. Oliver, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for valuable criticism and suggestions.

² A list of references to previous discussions of the subject will be found in Mr. Staveley's article, "The Reform of the *Comitia Centuriata*," *A. J. P.*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 1 ff. To the articles cited by Staveley now add: Aldo dell'Oro, "Rogatio e Riforma dei Comizi Centuriati," *Parola del Passato*, XIV (1950), pp. 138 ff.; E. Schönbauer, "Die römische Centurien-Verfassung in neuer Quellenschau," *Historia*, II (1953), Heft 1, pp. 21 ff.; Filippo Gallo, "La riforma dei comizi centuriati," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, XVIII (1952), pp. 125 ff. I am substantially in agreement with the conclusions of Gallo although I differ from him on the interpretation of Livy, I, 43, 12. See also G. Tibiletti, *Principe e Magistrati Repubblicani, Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto per la Storia Antica*, IX (1953).

³ Complete text and very full bibliography in James H. Oliver and Robert E. Palmer, "Text of the *Tabula Hebana*," *A. J. P.*, LXXXV (1954), pp. 225 ff.

before considering what light the new inscription may throw on the working of the reformed Republican centuriate assembly. For this purpose we need only understand the system of voting described in the tablet and see what reasonable inferences may be drawn from it. It must be made clear at the outset that the *tabula Hebana* makes no explicit reference to the *comitia centuriata*. When one argues from the tablet back to the conditions of the full assembly the argument must be inferential and analogical. It is not, however, for this reason devoid of all force. It becomes the more cogent (though never conclusive) the more clearly we are able to show (i) that Augustus could have established this electoral body in other, more simple, ways if he had not been preserving here a genuine feature of the *comitia centuriata*, and (ii) that the supposition of a similarity between the provisions of the inscription and the working of the *comitia centuriata* not only accords with the other evidence on the reform but even helps to settle difficulties in that evidence.

The *tabula Hebana* is in form a *rogatio* providing honours for the dead Germanicus (d. A.D. 19). There are some minor honours but the greater part of the inscription is given over to a detailed description of a voting assembly in which there are fifteen "centuries," ten of them called "centuries of C. and L. Caesar" and five called "centuries of Germanicus Caesar." The ten centuries of C. and L. Caesar are said to have been created by a law of the consuls L. Valerius Messalla Volesus and Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus, that is in the year A.D. 5 and so in the time of Augustus. The five centuries in honour of Germanicus are added in A.D. 19 or 20.

The voting assembly here described, said to be *destinationis faciendae causa*, contained senators and the equites of all the decuries set up *iudiciorum publicorum causa*. It is likely that this group of senators and knights numbered from three to four thousand. On the day of an election the presiding magistrate assembled the voters and set up before them fifteen large urns (*cistae vimineae*) numbered I, II, III, IV . . . XV. The magistrate provided also voting tablets (*tabulae ceratae*) and boards showing clearly the names of the candidates. In the next stage account is taken of the *tribes* of the voters. Into a revolving urn (*urna versatilis*) the presiding official put thirty-three round balls, each one marked with a tribe name. Of the thirty-

five tribes two, *Suburana* and *Esquilina*, were omitted. The magistrate next drew the balls one by one from the urn and the voting went on *pari passu* with the sortition. Individual members of the first two tribes drawn cast their votes into urn I; then the next two tribes voted into urn II, two more into urn III, two more into urn IV and then three tribes voted into urn V. Of the thirty-three tribes eleven, a third of the total, will by now have voted into the first five urns and their vote is called the vote of five centuries. Voting into urns VI to X follows the same pattern: two tribes vote into each of urns VI, VII, VIII, and VIII while three tribes vote into urn X. At this point the *centuriae Caesarum* have completed the vote. Then the pattern is repeated with the *centuriae Germanici Caesaris*: urns XI-XIV receive the votes of two tribes each and urn XV the votes of three tribes. As each tribe is called to the vote the senators vote first and are followed by the knights. Each of the fifteen urns at the end of the voting contains the votes of individual members of two or three tribes, and the majority of these votes decides the vote of the century. It will be seen that the "centuries" of this organisation are formed artificially by combining sections of tribes (i.e. the senatorial and part of the equestrian complement of them) into voting-centuries by lot.

Tibiletti's view ⁴ is that the details of this voting assembly confirm and give weight to the theory which Mommsen was the first to put forward on the organisation of the centuries in the reformed comitia.⁵ Mommsen considered that the co-ordination of centuries and tribes which is mentioned in Livy, I, 43 extended even to the fifth class, so that there were in all 373 centuries (of a special kind) in the assembly. Of these 350 would be centuries of *pedites*. He accepted as well the evidence of Cicero (*De Re Publica*, II, 22, 39) that there were only 193 century-votes cast and that the first class cast 70 of them. This involved, for Mommsen, when the eighteen centuries of knights and the five supernumerary centuries were subtracted, the com-

⁴ G. Tibiletti, "Il funzionamento dei comizi centuriati alla luce della tavola Hebana," *Athenaeum*, N. S., XXVII (1949), pp. 201 ff.

⁵ *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III², pp. 270 ff. Criticism of Mommsen and a clear account of some other views will be found in G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, III, 1, pp. 353 ff.

bination, within classes two to five, of 280 of his first sort of century into 100 voting centuries. Mommsen suggested, long before the *tabula Hebana* was known, that the combination was probably by lot.

When this view was first put forward it found few supporters. De Sanctis (*loc. cit.* in note 5) and most others criticised the voting system Mommsen envisaged as unlikely and over-complicated: scholars objected, too, to the use of the word *centuria* in two senses. To the objections of de Sanctis the *tabula Hebana* gives an adequate answer: here is such a complicated system in regular use. And Mommsen himself, as will be emphasized later, provides other evidence for the use of *centuria* in two senses.

In the course of his argument Tibiletti combines two well-known passages (*Res Gestae*, 8, 5: *multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi*; and Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 40, 2: *comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit*). These point to an important feature of Augustan policy in matters of constitutional form—his traditionalism. Now, can these passages be applied to our present problem? Not directly. On the face of it they refer merely to the more regular working of the comitia after the revolutionary period. Further, the assembly of the tablet shows many departures from "*pristinum ius*." It contains no division into seniors and juniors, no separate equestrian centuries, no *centuria praerogativa*, no division into classes (as all the voters presumably belonged to the first class or to the centuries of knights).

Still, the assembly is obviously centuriate and the description of it uses terms and refers to institutions of the full assembly. It might well be the case, then, that Augustus did in fact derive this system of voting from the arrangements of the reformed *comitia centuriata*. It is one thing to drop features and quite another thing to invent new features for an institution with so long a tradition. If Augustus devised this system on no pattern, then he invented a further use for the word *centuria* and broke the rule of traditionalism. If he used a traditional pattern, then it could hardly have been anything but the reformed centuriate assembly.

That the analogical connection is likely has been accepted by a number of writers. Others have rejected the connection. Nessel-

hauf⁶ rejects it flatly, but without argument. Schönbauer (*op. cit.*, p. 34) says that the inscription shows *only* that there could be a number of separate *vocationes* within a century! Staveley (pp. 10 ff.), while agreeing that Augustus was preserving some Republican forms, rejects with detailed argument the view that the form he was preserving was a system of forming voting-centuries by combining class-sections of half-tribes into artificial units (voting-centuries) by lot.

The details of Staveley's rejection will have to be considered. He takes the matter up from two sides. He considers first Augustus' problem and suggests that the arrangement of the tablet was the natural solution to that problem. If this were so it would suggest that there is no need to look for any analogy with the workings of any other assembly. Secondly (pp. 14 ff.), Staveley looks at the possible aims of the third century innovators and tries to show that the grouping of tribes into centuries by lot could have served no purpose of theirs. On this second point it can be said at once that we have very little knowledge of the purposes of the third century innovators. Staveley may have given a correct account of some of these purposes, but it must be admitted that there might well have been other purposes. The position is that we can rely on little more than the evidence provided by the details for the reform to argue back to the purposes of the reform. If, on other grounds, we are led to adopt Mommsen's view, or a modification of it, then we might guess that the reformers had other purposes, such as reducing the effectiveness of influence and bribery, giving the assembly at least a more democratic appearance, etc. Let us turn, then, to Staveley's first point, the position of Augustus. He writes (p. 12):

He (i. e. Augustus) had brought into being a picked body of senators and *equites* who were to play a decisive part in the consular and praetorian elections. How were they to record their vote? There were two alternative solutions to that which was in fact adopted. Augustus, had he wished, could have allowed the tribe to be the unit of vote. As 33 tribes were represented in the body there would have been 33 votes recorded.

⁶ "Die neue Germanicus-Inschrift von Magliano," *Historia*, I (1950), p. 112. Gallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff., accepts the connection.

The objection which Staveley makes to the vote with the tribe as unit is that it would have meant too large a number of votes for so small an assembly: that it would have put "too much power into the hands of individuals or cliques." It is difficult to assess the real strength of this objection. In an electorate of about three thousand there would have been close to a hundred votes in each section and this seems large enough to have made the operation of cliques difficult, even if, in this assembly, Augustus envisaged the operation of cliques other than his own. Again, even though a clique or an individual might find it easier to exert influence within such a group, there would have been, with a tribal vote system, more groups to be influenced. Augustus' main objection to such a system must have been simply that it would look too much like electing the higher magistrates by the tribal assembly and that it would have been too little like the centuriate assembly. Staveley presents the second alternative solution in this way (p. 12): "the body could have been divided into a smaller number of clearly defined permanent groups without reference to the tribes to which each member belonged." This, of course, Augustus could have done, but, as Staveley points out, this solution was to be rejected because Augustus wished to preserve from the centuriate assembly the reference to both centuries and tribes.

Nevertheless, supposing that this was Augustus' aim, it would have been a much simpler solution than the one adopted, and one much more in keeping with what most scholars admit to be the position of the first class in the *comitia centuriata*, to have kept the division into 70 centuries, 35 of seniors and 35 of juniors, which that class contained. It seems clear that all the voters of the tablet belonged to the first class; and even if such a system left some centuries unmanned, the Romans had regular machinery for dealing with such a situation.

It is wrong to say that there were only *two* other possibilities: it is wrong, for example, to say that "Augustus *was presented* (my italics) with 33 (units) which he had to group into 10" (p. 14). The units and the groups were apparently of Augustus' own choosing, if he were not taking over some feature of another assembly. He need not have excluded the tribes Suburana and Esquilina. The provisions of the tablet show that there might have been members of these tribes present at the election, as

arrangements are made for them to vote with another tribe. The view of de Visscher⁷ that these tribes were "*trop peu considérées*" to be included in the voting is unsatisfactory, not to say uncomplimentary to those members of the senate and decuries who happened to belong to those tribes. It is probably true that there were fewer senators in these tribes than in most other tribes, and that if Augustus had another motive for excluding two tribes, then these two would be excluded. We have no knowledge of senators from the *Esquilina*; we know of only one senator from the *Suburana*.⁸ Still, we do not know the tribes of enough senators of the period to make these figures significant. In any case it is reasonable to assume that there were more members of the decuries in the urban tribes. It is too readily assumed that all men of rank and distinction avoided the urban tribes. An Aemilius is found in the Palatina (*I. L. S.*, 949) and in this same tribe appears a Manlius Severus, magistrate of Bovillae (*I. L. S.*, 4942). It seems likely that Augustus would not willingly have given offence by excluding these two tribes from the sortition simply because they were socially inferior. The elimination of these tribes in the arrangements of the *tabula Hebana* has the effect of leaving a number of tribes which is exactly divisible by three. It is probable that it is an organisational reason, and therefore, a reason imposed on the creator of the system by his own choice, that leads to the exclusion of the tribes.

It cannot be said, further, that Augustus *was presented* with the number ten for the centuries, unless he was following some tradition. Tibiletti's view is that Augustus could have fixed any number he liked—eleven centuries, for example, of three tribes each. This view involves the rejection of Coli's statement that the ten centuries of the Caesars were arranged in two groups of five, a group for each of the two Caesars. Certainly each of these ten centuries is called in the *tabula* a "century of Gaius and Lucius Caesar." This may mean no more than that Tiberius wished to say that *singly* these two were less distinguished than Germanicus. If the arrangement into groups of five were not original it is difficult to see why Tiberius added five centuries

⁷ F. de Visscher, "Destinatio," *Parola del Passato*, XIV (1950), pp. 118 ff.

⁸ *C. I. L.*, I², 709 with an addition on p. 714.

to honour Germanicus. He could easily have called the existing ten centuries "centuries of C. and L. and Germanicus Caesar," and saved a deal of trouble. Some reason for the arrangement by fives will be suggested later.

It is hard, then, to avoid the conclusion that Augustus could quite easily have devised some other system, without resorting to the curious device of amalgamating tribes into centuries by lot. On Staveley's view of the matter Augustus is devising not only the solution, but the problem as well. There is no problem until Augustus has himself settled on the form of his assembly. Once it is recognised that the problem was one set by tradition, it is more plausible to take the solution as traditional too.

To the final objection raised by Staveley, that the men voting in the assembly of the tablet were men who "on any view of the third century reform, would never have been so grouped in the *comitia centuriata*" the reply can be made that Augustus could not have grouped these men in the way in which they were grouped in the full assembly (that is in half tribes) because such a grouping would not have been sufficiently characteristic of the centuriate assembly and would have pointed too sharply to the narrow basis (the first class only)⁹ of this electoral body. What Augustus reproduces here are the voting conditions of the bulk of citizens, the middle and lower classes.

Let us turn now to those passages in ancient literature which appear to throw light on the reform. These passages have been examined many times in the past: the only excuse for dealing with them again is a belief that some of them have been misinterpreted and that at least one other passage contains a clue of importance. The conclusion I will be wanting to draw is Mommsen's: that Livy's evidence suggests that there were more

⁹ G. Tibiletti, *Principe e Magistrati Repubblicani*, pp. 62 ff., considers that the class system was absent from the restored centuriate assembly of Augustus. There is, however, no evidence for this violent breach of tradition. Admittedly there had been no censors for many years, but the rolls probably still existed and there would be little sense in claiming to have restored the centuriate assembly if its most essential feature were absent. Dionysius (IV, 21, 3) and Livy (I, 43, 12) both refer to the restored assembly as Tibiletti shows. But neither of them mentions the disappearance of the classes. Tibiletti's own reasoning on the point is not conclusive and takes no account of Livy's language in I, 43, 12. Livy speaks of *hunc ordinem qui nunc est* . . . and the *ordinem* is certainly an arrangement of centuries into classes.

than 193 of some sort of century in the organisation, while Cicero's evidence suggests that the total of votes cast was 193. Finally, I will claim that it is reasonable to hold that the *tabula Hebana* offers the clue for the solution of this puzzle.

There are three main passages to be considered. These are Livy, I, 43, 12, Cicero, *De Re Publica*, II, 22, 39 and Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.*, IV, 21, 3. One must agree with Staveley¹⁰ that Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, I, 59 is to be rejected as direct evidence for the reform. Eduard Meyer¹¹ has shown quite clearly that Appian here refers simply to Sulla's decision to use the centuriate rather than the tribal assembly for legislative purposes. Yet two observations may be made on Appian's language. The phrase *κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε* does not imply that the original Servian centuries were used, but rather that the system of voting by centuries, which was Servius' invention, was resorted to. Again, I think this passage makes it clear that in Sulla's time the senatorial interest could expect more success in the centuriate than in the tribal assembly. This was certainly even more true of the assemblies of the third century. Any account of the reform will have to take account of this fact, that it does not abandon the timocratic principle.

A text which has been taken as showing that the Servian centuries were in existence in the first century B. C. proves inconclusive and unusable. I refer to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVII, 2088. This document is very fragmentary, restorations are quite uncertain, and a close examination of the fragment reproduced on plate III of the volume will show how very uncertain are the letters marked in the printed text as doubtful. Understanding of the fragment is made even more difficult by the fact that the original length of the lines is not known. There seems, however, to be a clear reference in lines 5-7 to the creation of centuries by Servius.¹² The important word here

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 3, end of note 8.

¹¹ "Die angebliche Centurionenreform Sullas," *Hermes*, XXXIII (1898), pp. 652 ff.

¹² The lines read:

5. hae et ceterae cent[uriae
6. quae] nunc sunt omnes Servi Tulli [
7. qui pri]mus omnino centurias fecit

In line 7 the correct reading is clearly *omnino* and not *omnes* as Staveley prints it on p. 8, note 28.

is *omnino*. The use of this word implies that *others* apart from Servius created centuries, though the reference may be simply to Romulus. From the rest of the text no conclusions may be drawn.

It is less easy to follow Staveley in rejecting the passage of Dionysius, who, after describing the Servian constitution, goes on to say: οὗτος ὁ κόσμος τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐπὶ πολλὰς διέμεινε γενεὰς φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις καὶ μεταβέβληκεν εἰς τὸ δημοτικώτερον . . . οὐ τῶν λόγων καταλυθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῆς κλήσεως (v. l. κρίσεως) αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀκρίβειαν φυλαττούσης. . . .

Staveley comments on this passage on p. 2 (note 8) of his article. Admittedly the words ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις cannot refer to the third century. But, as Mommsen says,¹³ "er (Dionysius) schildert in seinen Perfecten nur den derzeitigen Zustand." The perfect tenses here indicate a *state of affairs* which Dionysius observed in his own time; they say nothing about the date at which the change took place. Staveley's view is that Dionysius is referring here to some change which took place in the first century, such as might be caused by the suspension of the censorship. I think, however, that the run of the language is against this. Dionysius does not speak of census conditions. It is οὗτος ὁ κόσμος τοῦ πολιτεύματος that is changed. An example of Dionysius' earlier use of these words (e. g. IV, 16) shows that he uses *πολίτευμα* of the whole Servian system. The addition of *κόσμος* shows more clearly that it is a complicated arrangement of elements (Cicero's *ordo*) that he has in mind here. When this point is taken with what will later be said on the genitive absolutes in this passage it becomes clear that a fundamental change in the whole system is envisaged in this text.

Consider now these three passages in some detail. The text of *De Re Publica*, II, 22, 39 usually printed is this:

... deinde equitum magno numero ex omni populi summa separato relicuum populum distribuit (*scil.* Servius) in quinque classes senioresque a iunioribus divisit easque ita disparavit ut suffragia non in multitudinis sed in locupletium potestate essent, curavitque, quod semper in re publica tenendum est, ne plurimum valeant plurimi. Quae dis-

¹³ *Staatsrecht*, III², p. 270, note 1 *ad fin.*

criptio si esset ignota vobis, explicaretur a me; nunc rationem videtis esse talem, ut equitum centuriae cum sex suffragiis et prima classis, addita centuria quae ad summum usum urbis fabris tignariis est data, LXXXVIII centurias habeat; quibus ex centum quattuor centuriis (tot enim reliquae sunt) octo solae si accesserunt, confecta est vis populi universa, reliquae multo maior multitudo sex et nonaginta centuriarum neque excluderetur suffragiis, ne superbum esset, nec valeret nimis, ne esset periculosum. . . . Illarum autem sex et nonaginta centuriarum in una centuria tum quidem plures censebantur quam paene in prima classe tota.

If this text stands, and I think it does, the conclusion to be drawn from it is that the reformed centuriate assembly contained 193 centuries: and that 70 of these were in the first class, since this class together with the 18 centuries of knights and the *fabri tignarii* made up a total of 89 centuries. We must first, however, take account of some attempts to dispute this interpretation. Two main attempts have been made to show that the passage refers not to the reformed, but to the Servian system.

The earlier of these attempts, that of de Sanctis, is well answered by Staveley (pp. 5-6), following Fraccaro. The second attempt has been made more recently by dell' Oro.¹⁴ His argument is that Cicero's total of 89 centuries is made up of the 80 centuries of *pedites* and 2 centuries of *fabri* of Livy's account of the Servian arrangements; together with the single century of *fabri tignarii* and the six centuries of knights known as the *sex suffragia*.

This interpretation is to be rejected for the following reasons. *Equitum centuriae cum sex suffragiis* is possible Latin for "the centuries of knights with six votes," but it would be a curious way to refer to this group, usually known as *sex suffragia*, especially in a passage where numerical precision seems important and ambiguity to be avoided. It would be strange, too, to find Cicero mentioning by name the *fabri tignarii* while including in the number for the first class proper the *duae fabrum centuriae* of Livy (I, 43, 2). The decisive objection, however, is that Cicero, in a passage dealing with the timocratic nature of

¹⁴ "Rogatio e Riforma dei Comizi Centuriati," *Parola del Passato*, XIV (1950), pp. 138 ff.

the assembly, would not have excluded from what we might call the upper-class vote the other twelve centuries of knights. Cicero's words here must refer to the whole 18 centuries of knights, made up of the *equitum centuriae* and the *sex suffragia*. The division of the knights into two groups is a reflection of the practice whereby the *sex suffragia* voted not with the 12 *equitum centuriae*, but separately after the votes of the first class had been announced.¹⁵

E. Schönbauer¹⁶ has recently made a much more serious attack on the traditional view of the passage. His hypothesis is that in the centuriate assembly after the reform there were only 89 centuries in all: 70 formed by dividing the 35 tribes into juniors and seniors, 18 centuries of knights and one of *fabri tignarii*. Whereas Niebuhr had assumed that the class divisions were abolished in the reformed assembly, in Schönbauer's account the voters in each century were arranged in classes and voted in the order of classes within their century: he supposes that the class division had no significance as far as the numbers of votes was concerned, taking it to be a division of prestige which gave the higher classes no advantage beyond the power to set an example to those who followed them to the vote. This modification of Niebuhr's view, already suggested by Madvig, is introduced to account for the numerous passages which point to a vote in order of classes. It must be said at the outset, however, that Schönbauer's view does not account for the language of Livy, XLIII, 16, 14: *cum ex XII centuriis equitum VIII censorem condemnassent multaeque aliae primae classis. . .*' On Schönbauer's view there could not be specific centuries of the first class, and the Livy passage obviously refers to the *comitia centuriata*, and to centuries of the first class in that assembly.

On this point dell'Oro makes a curious statement.¹⁷ He says: "che comunque nei *concilia plebis tributa* si avessero le *centuriae* e provato da Livio, XLIII, 16." Now it is very likely

¹⁵ Cicero, *Phil.*, II, 82; cf. Livy, XLIII, 16, 14.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff. His view is an extension of Madvig's version of the theory held by B. G. Niebuhr: *Vorträge über römische Altertümer* (1858), pp. 114 ff. Cf. Madvig, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des römischen Staates* (1881), I, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

that *perduellio* and other capital charges could come before the tribes after the *lex Sempronia* of 123 B. C.¹⁸ But Livy is here talking about 169 B. C. and in an earlier sentence uses the words *diemque comitiis a C. Sulpicio praetore urbano petiit* of the tribune arranging this prosecution. This is characteristic of actions before the *comitia centuriata*.¹⁹ Until he has accounted for this passage grave doubts must attach to Schönbauer's theory, and these doubts will affect the plausibility of his remarks on the other texts involved, for in the interests of his theory, he makes what appear to be arbitrary emendations to several passages in Cicero and Livy.

I consider his handling of the passage from the *De Re Publica* first. As is well known, our knowledge of this work rests on a single manuscript and that a palimpsest. In 1820 Mai found a considerable portion of the work under a text of St. Augustine's commentary on the Psalms. The codex (Vat. 5757) is dated by various authorities from the fourth to the sixth centuries. It is written on costly paper and in unusually short lines, but despite the costly materials and method it is written very carelessly by the writer of the first hand (V¹). Throughout the work are corrections of a second hand (V²). It is now generally agreed that this corrector was a careful worker and that he had a text before him, so that his corrections are not emendations of a conjectural sort but attempts to restore the reading which was before V¹.²⁰ Schönbauer agrees with the view that the corrections have a manuscript basis.

The text I have printed above is, except for punctuation, that of Mai's first edition (1823). It accepts as a principle that, in general, the corrections of V² are to be taken as right. This text has won general acceptance with scholars. The sense of the passage seems clear. Scipio in the dialogue is emphasizing the timocratic nature of the centuriate assembly, both in the Servian and in the reformed system. He passes over the details of the Servian system as well known and shows himself more concerned with the system of his own time. In this system, Scipio

¹⁸ A. H. J. Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, pp. 323 ff.

¹⁹ See J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law*, I, p. 157 and the passages quoted in note 3 on this page.

²⁰ See de Sanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

says, the first class, the knights and a century of *fabri* had 89 votes. This left 104 centuries and of these the upper-class vote (for want of a better phrase) had to attract only eight votes for a majority: this majority could be reached even though the other 96 centuries contained a greater number of individual voters. Thus the timocratic principle was preserved.

On pages 35-7 of his article Schönbauer attempts to break down the traditional text and the traditional interpretation of it, but his attempt must, at least in its present form, be considered unsuccessful. It is, all the same, difficult to criticise his view in detail because he gives little idea of the text he would print, little idea of the reasons for some of his conclusions, so that his statements seem at times bafflingly arbitrary. To bring this point out clearly it is necessary to print the lines of the codex which Schönbauer discusses, showing V¹ in large capitals with the corrections of V² in ordinary type above.

1. EQUITUMCER^{en}
urie
2. TAMINECUM
3. ETSUFFRAGIIS^{sex}
(several lines not reproduced)
a lxxx habeat quibus e cent. quattor centuriis tot
4. DATA VIII CEN
5. TURIAS TOT
6. NIMRELICU^{e i qu ae}
7. AE SUNT

Consider some of Schönbauer's statements on the passage. On page 36 he says:

Die erste Handschrift bringt die Zahl: 9 Centurien. Da später 104 als Rest hervorgehoben werden, würde sich eine Summe von 113 ergeben, die überhaupt keinerlei Anknüpfungspunkt böte. Deshalb übernehmen die Herausgeber die Zahl 89 von der zweiten. Mit den restlichen 104 kommt man dann tatsächlich zu der überlieferten servianischen Gesamtzahl von 193 Centurien.

This is correct except for one small point. Editors do not take the number 89 from V². They find in the manuscript VIII

with LXXX written above it. Their choice is, if a correction is necessary, between reading LXXX or LXXXVIII. The latter is chosen because it fits in with the arithmetic of the passage. It is hard to follow him from this point:

Aber man versteht dann nicht, warum gerade eine Rechnung mit 89 und 104 angestellt wird, wenn nicht eine dieser Zahlen eine—veränderte—Bedeutung in der neuen Ordnung hatte. Denn Cicero kann doch nicht eine beliebige Zahl herausgreifen und jene dazuzählen, die nötig ist für eine knappe Mehrheit; es würde ja sonst nur die banale Rechnung herauskommen $89 + 8$ ist mehr als 96. Die Mehrheit von 193 Centurien würde sich genau so ergeben, wenn er irgendwelche andere Klassen-Summanden nähme, die zusammen 97 ergäben. Sinnvoll wird erst der Passus, wenn wir annehmen, dass das System der neuen Ordnung 89 Stimm-Centurien zeigte.

Clearly this criticism is not valid if Cicero is here referring throughout to the conditions of the reformed assembly. For, in Cicero's account, the number 89 has a special meaning in the new arrangement; it is the total of what might be called the first class vote. It is *because* he is discussing the timocratic nature of the assembly that Scipio speaks of this group as a unity and considers the conditions under which it will become the *vis populi*. The reason why 89 is not a "beliebige Zahl" is that it is an essential part of the exposition of the timocratic nature of the assembly. But Schönbauer is not, it appears, taking the arithmetic here to refer only to the reformed assembly. He thinks that Cicero here is combining figures appropriate some to the new and some to the old assembly, and that the number 89 represents the total of centuries in the whole of the reformed assembly. He supports this view with a suggested emendation which is based on the view that both V¹ and V² have failed to bring through to us the proper connections (Zusammenhang) of the various sections of the sentence.

In line 4 of the codex passage printed above a letter "a" will be seen before the number LXXX in the correction. Schönbauer says of this letter that it seems to imply that the preceding line in the "Vorlage" ended with an "e" and that the "a" is the end of *ea*. He then reads the sentence as: *nunc rationem videtis esse talem ut ea LXXXVIII habeat centurias*. But this is completely arbitrary. The "a" can be explained in

simpler ways, perhaps as locating the insertion of the numeral, but much more probably, I would say even certainly, as a clarification of the last "a" of *data*.²¹ Schönbauer's emendation takes this earlier line to be that ending with *talem ut*. Even if further examination should show signs of the letter "e" after *ut*, this letter would even then be more probably explained as an anticipation of the "e" of *equitum* which does in fact follow in the codex. Before such a radical change can be accepted much more will have to be said to support the destructive criticism of the passage as it stands and to support the changes suggested in this part of the sentence. No decisive criticism can be made on grounds of grammar or of sense.

Let us consider further Schönbauer's view that Scipio is using numbers which are appropriate in two different systems. If this were so, Scipio is bringing out the aristocratic nature of the old order in a very peculiar way. He would, on this theory of the passage, be saying: "Today the total of centuries is 89. But earlier, in the old system, one had to add to this number at least 8 centuries to gain a majority of 97 out of 193 votes; and, in fact, the first class, the knights and the *fabri* had more than 97 votes." How does this reference to the supposed total of 89 centuries in the reformed organisation bring out the aristocratic nature of the old? If one is going to object to a "banale Rechnung" then surely this is the time to object. There is no true contrast (*Gegensatz*) between the two organisations: such a contrast would require some reference to the conditions for a majority in each assembly, not simply to the total votes in one assembly and to the conditions for a majority in the other.

Finally, Schönbauer's criticism of the number 96 of centuries in the text is based on a false notion of Scipio's line of thought. Scipio says that when the $89 + 8$ centuries have secured the majority, then the other 96 centuries, which contain a greater number of individuals, are neither excluded from the *ius suffragii* nor have an excessive power. Schönbauer's observation is that this characterisation is only appropriate when the first class and the knights of the Servian system, to whom he gives 99 votes²² are compared with the remaining 94. For in this case

²¹ See F. Ritschl, *Rh. Mus.*, N.F. VIII (1853), p. 405, where his reproduction of the codex passage shows that he held this view.

²² It would be rather 100 if Livy's account is followed.

there is no need of supplementary votes from the lower classes and no chance of the century which Cicero mentions as having more individuals almost than the whole first class being included in the eight and so falsifying the statement about *multo maior multitudo*. Two points may be made in reply. First, the number 96 stands in two places in the codex: to correct it to 94 or to treat it as a gloss are both unsatisfactory. It is not corrected by V². Secondly, what Schönbauer suggests is, as he says, a theoretical possibility, but very unlikely indeed. As a matter of practice rather than of theory, Scipio may be reasonably taken as assuming that the 8 centuries would come from the second class and would hardly ever include the *capite censi*. If on a few occasions this large century was among the eight, even this would not invalidate Scipio's *general* characterisation of the system. For the knights and the first class would in the vast majority of cases be supported by elements of the second rather than of the fifth class.

Despite some grammatical awkwardness, so long as one accepts the principle that V² had a manuscript before him from which to make corrections, one must accept the traditional text as it stands. Attempts to emend the "Vorlage" are futile, and emendation to V¹ must always take account of the fact that the text has been compared by V² with an original. The result of this, for an investigation of the reform is that two points are established, (i) that the first class contained 70 centuries of *pedites* and (ii) that there were 193 centuries in all in the assembly. As it is agreed that the reform was essentially some sort of co-ordination of tribes with centuries and as we read in Livy²³ of such units in the first class as *Voturia iuniorum*, *Voturia seniorum*, etc., it can be seen that the 70 centuries of *pedites* consisted of 35 centuries of the juniors and 35 of the seniors of each tribe in the first class.

Consider next the important passage in Livy (I, 43, 12-13). It runs:

Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa

²³ Livy, XXVI, 22, 7-11. Cf. XXVII, 6, 3 and XXIV, 7, 12.

collibus qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere.

The passage has been taken in a number of ways and has given rise to theories which place the numbers of centuries after the reform at 89 or 193 or 373. In the face of this variety it would seem rash to aim at an accurate interpretation. Yet, up to a point, an accurate and precise interpretation is quite possible: at least I think that by taking the various possibilities which Livy's language suggests and testing them against the other evidence we can limit the possibilities to two. Of these two, one is more strongly supported by circumstantial evidence than the other. To support my position I shall have to show that the Livy passage has been generally misunderstood, and this because it has mostly been examined minutely itself without proper attention to its context.

First let me offer what I think is a fair translation of the text:

There is no call for astonishment at the fact that this system (the Servian system)—which still exists now that the number of tribes has been fixed at 35 and this number is found doubled in the centuries of seniors and juniors—is not related to the number (of tribes) established by Servius. For he divided the city into four regions according to the settlements on the hills, and called these regions tribes . . . and these tribes had nothing at all to do with the number and distribution of the centuries.

The features of the context of which this version takes account—and of which standard renderings do not take account—are the presence of the phrase *nec mirari oportet*, the indicative mood of *qui nunc est* and the fact that the second of the two sentences begins with *enim*. I take it that in the passage Livy is referring only in passing to the system of his own day. The language in which he makes this passing reference is important to us, but the logical subject of these two sentences is the likelihood of a connection between the centuries and tribes of the Servian system. Consider the matter in more detail. To what does *hunc ordinem qui nunc est* refer? It has commonly been taken as standing for the reformed assembly, and *summa* is

usually read as the total of centuries in the Servian scheme. Such a view, with its suggestion that the number of centuries in the new assembly was different from that in the old, led to the adoption by some scholars of the hypothesis of Pantagathus, that the number of centuries after the reform was five times 70. Against this it may be said that *hunc ordinem* here cannot refer to the system of Livy's own day. If *hunc ordinem qui nunc est* means simply "the present system" we would expect *sit*; the indicative makes it clear that the clause *qui nunc est* is parenthetical, that it adds some fresh information thrown in by Livy and is *not part of the wonderment*.

This point is clear and in this way we avoid taking Livy's words as tautologous. To what, then, does *hunc ordinem* refer? Clearly to the Servian system, the system of his present discussion. *Ordo* in Livy's vocabulary has, in such contexts, two meanings: he uses it for the usual distinction between senators and knights, and to denote the system or principle of organisation of the assembly. It is, in this sense, the equivalent of *discriptio* in Cicero and *κόσμος* in Dionysius. See, for an example of some importance, Livy I, 42, 5: *tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discripsit, vel paci decorum vel bello*. *Ordinem* here refers to the arrangement of the centuries into classes and corresponds exactly to the *centuriarum distributionem numerumque* of our passage. I think it is clear, then, that *hunc ordinem* in the context of I, 43 must be taken as Livy defines it: it is the Servian system of arranging centuries into classes.

Now the parenthetical phrase *qui nunc . . . seniorumque* shows that in the system of Livy's time, i. e. in the reformed system, a relationship²⁴ between centuries of juniors and seniors and tribes was a distinctive feature. The situation of Livy's non-antiquarian readers, that is of the large mass of his readers, is that for them the *comitia centuriata* is characterised by such a relationship. Yet Livy's description of the Servian scheme has shown no such connection. It is this that causes surprise. If Livy had been saying simply that the number of centuries in his own day differed from the Servian total, or if he had been

²⁴ Gallo, *op. cit.*, p. 132, rightly insists that his relationship is "radoppiamento" and not just "collegamento."

saying that there was no clear-cut numerical relationship between the reformed organisation and the Servian total of 193 centuries (Tibiletti's opinion), then neither of these statements could have caused the sort of surprise that could be removed by a sentence (*Quadrifariam enim*, etc.) which explained that Servius also established four tribes and that these were not supposed to stand in any relation to the Servian centuries. Livy's readers would *expect* a connection between centuries and tribes: Livy explains why this expectation is groundless. His phrase *neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere* is an expansion of *hunc ordinem . . . ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire*.

For these reasons I take *summam* in this passage to refer to a number of tribes. It is so used without qualification because the logical subject of the sentences, what Livy is thinking about, is in fact the possibility of a connection between the Servian order of centuries and the Servian tribes. It might be objected that this is a strange use of *summa*: that one would expect this word to refer to a larger number than four and especially that one would expect it to refer to just such a sum of constituent parts as the centuries of the centuriate system. I feel sure that it is such a feeling about *summa* that has maintained the current view of its reference here to centuries in face of the clear intention of the second of the two sentences in the passage. Yet a glance at Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, 84, 7 will show that *summa* may be used as a mere variant of *numerus*: *ut unum quiddam fiat ex multis, sicut unus numerus fit ex singulis, cum minores summas et dissidentes computatio una comprehendit*. Here *summa* clearly refers to a small number which is being considered not as a total, but as a part of a total.

If my view of this passage is accepted, then that part of the sentence which has so far been discussed provides no evidence for the reform beyond the suggestion that Livy's readers naturally *expected* a connection between tribes and centuries in a centuriate assembly. My chief concern with the indirect statement in Livy, I, 43 has been to show that it does not say that the reformed assembly contained a number of centuries different from that of the Servian system. Livy does, however, make a direct reference to the reform in the parenthetical clause: *qui nunc est . . . seniorumque*. I propose now to examine the vari-

ous meanings that have been or may be given to this part of the sentence. Consider first the view of dell'Oro.²⁵

He takes the words *centuriis iuniorum seniorumque* with *convenire* and translates: "Né bisogna stupirsi que questo ordine . . . non corrisponda per quanta riguarda le centurie di iuniori e di seniori all'ordinamento stabilito da Servio Tullio." Dell'Oro holds that the reform had two essential features: (1) that the distinction between juniors and seniors, as a method of distinguishing centuries, was abandoned and (2) that the doubling of the number of tribes referred simply to the fact that 35 is roughly twice 17 and that 17 was, in some sense, the original number of tribes. This dell'Oro derives from the fact that certain priests were elected by an assembly of seventeen tribes. The final number of 35 is seventeen doubled with one tribe added to provide a majority. On this view, each class contained 35 centuries, each century consisting of the individual members of a tribe in that class. The writer connects this arrangement with the fact that if the centuries of knights are subtracted from the Servian total of 193, the remainder (175) is the product of 5 (the number of classes) and 35 (the number of tribes). Dell'Oro's opinion is that, at the most, there was a purely formal division into juniors and seniors within each century.

This view is for many reasons attractive, but it must fall once the weakness of dell'Oro's handling of the *De Re Publica* text is seen. Reasons have already been given for rejecting his view on this passage. Dell'Oro can, on his assumptions, give only a very unnatural account of such passages as Cicero, *In Verrem*, V, 15, 38: *Praeco te toties seniorum iuniorumque centuriis illo honore affici pronuntiavit*. Further, his theory involves a very serious breach of the timocratic principle in that a majority would not be reached until the third class had voted. Against this counts Cicero, *Phil.*, II, 82 which in spite of Schönbauer's desire to emend by the elimination of the second *renuntiatur*, must stand unaltered and as evidence that the majority was reached (*confecto negotio*) when the second class had voted.

Dell'Oro's view of *duplicato earum numero* is curious. The number seventeen is only *roughly* doubled and there seems no reason why Livy should have dragged in a reference here to

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff. See Gallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 f., for a similar criticism.

what is no more than a near mathematical curiosity. It would be a different matter if the number of thirty-five tribes had been reached by a single measure which in fact doubled an earlier seventeen and added one to make a majority possible. But this is not the case. Further, if the seventeen tribes which elected priests were in any sense original, one would expect the right of election to be reserved to the actual individual tribes. The electorate is, however, selected by lot; the purpose of this seems to have been to give the gods a decisive say in the choice.

For these reasons I think that this account of the reform must be rejected. We must, as a consequence, consider only those versions which assume that the number of tribes was doubled in the centuries of seniors and juniors at some time after the number of tribes was made final in 241 B.C. Notice that Livy is not merely talking about a *co-ordination* of centuries and tribes. The systems which Staveley suggests (pp. 20-3) contain 70 centuries in the first class and 35 in the second or in the second and third classes. Livy's language does not warrant such a solution. It is not a matter of mere co-ordination, but of the doubling of the number of tribes in some unspecified centuries of juniors and seniors.

What can this phrase mean? Of course, it is easy to say what it meant for the first class. From this text of Livy, from the passage in the *De Re Publica* and from the existence of such phrases as *Voturia iuniorum*, etc., it is clear that the 70 centuries of the first class consisted of 35 of each age-group. But after this we meet problems. How far was the doubling process carried?

Rosenberg and Fraccaro²⁶ held that the doubling held only in the first class. Livy's words give no indication of this limitation: it has already been shown that neither *summam* nor *ordinem* can be taken as referring to a class of centuries. Again, this view fails to account for the passages in which a vote in a later class is called *tribus*.²⁷ Cavaignac²⁸ extends the process to

²⁶ Rosenberg, "Untersuchungen zur römischen Centurienverfassung" (1911); P. Fraccaro, "La riforma dell'ordinamento centuriato," *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante* (1929), I, pp. 105 ff.

²⁷ Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, II, 4: *Phil.*, XI, 18; Livy, *Epit.*, 49; Polybius, VI, 14, 7.

²⁸ "L'as et les comices par centuries," *Journal des Savants*, nouvelle sér. IX (1911), pp. 347 ff.

the second class and gives 70 centuries to this group. Here again Livy's words give no hint. Further, de Sanctis' criticism of this view²⁹ stands. One cannot accept the great increase it makes in the numbers of the second class.

Livy's language is, in my opinion, consistent with only three views on this question:

- (1) that the total of centuries of *pedites* after the reform was 70.
- (2) that the doubling was carried out in classes I-III.
- (3) that is extended even to the fifth class.

Consider these views in order. The first will not detain us long. It has already been considered in discussing the views of Schönbauer and reasons for its rejection have been given. Nothing in the evidence warrants the belief that the division into classes ceased to be fundamental and the clear reference of Livy, XLIII, 16 to centuries of the first class is decisive.

The second view has, as far as I know, been held by no writer to date. Yet it has some merit. Livy does not talk about doubling generally, but specifies it by adding the limiting phrase *centuriis iuniorum seniorumque*. In Livy's account of the census arrangements it is only the first three classes which are divided into juniors and seniors. It is possible that Livy is here inexact, and certainly Dionysius differs from him on this point (IV, 16 ff.). But in Dionysius there is confusion indeed! He divides the *inermes* into age groups and speaks of six classes, taking the *capite censi* as the sixth. It would not be hard to prefer Livy if one had other reasons to limit the co-ordination to classes I-III. There are, in fact, considerations of an independent nature, which suggest that the first three classes were different from the later two in an important military respect.³⁰ Classes I-III bear very similar arms, whereas classes IV and V show a marked reduction in armament. It is likely that legionary troops were taken originally from classes I-III and light-armed troops from the last two classes; and a division between troops of the line and reserves (juniors and seniors) is natural with legionaries, while not so necessary with light-armed troops. If Livy

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 357.

³⁰ See Last, "The Servian Reform," *J. R. S.*, XXXV (1945), p. 43.

is to be taken strictly in this way then he is talking of a system in which the first three classes *at some stage* or *in some sense* contained 210 centuries. Obviously this number has to be reduced in some way in view of the clear evidence that there were only 193 votes in the assembly.

The third possibility is that which Mommsen held in the *Staatsrecht*. If the doubling process is extended to the fifth class, then classes II-V contain 280 "centuries" at some stage or of some kind. Notice that we have come to consider this possibility from Livy's language, even though reasons have been given to show that Mommsen misinterpreted the passage.

In view of the considerations so far advanced I would claim that there are only two ways in which the Livy passage may reasonably be taken: each possibility involves at some point considering a number of centuries greater than 193. In either case, as the first class together with the knights and the five centuries of *inermes* together had 93 votes, we are faced with the problem of seeing how some number greater than 100 was reduced to 100 in classes II-V. On two questions, then, we must make further enquiry: (1) was the doubling in fact carried to the fifth class and (2) was the reduction of what we might call census-centuries to voting centuries effected by lot. Let us consider the first of these problems.

Perhaps when Livy reports the age division of only the first three classes he is merely careless, or not interested in elaborating the situation of the lower classes. Certainly there is no real evidence that this division was not fundamental and pervasive. It is *a priori* unlikely that the lower classes would be arranged on a principle different from that of the higher classes. No reason for such a distinction could be readily suggested, whereas one might suggest a good reason for the co-ordination of centuries and tribes throughout the whole system of classes. The reason I would suggest is bound up with a view on the date and purpose of the reform, a question which must be examined at this stage.³¹

The evidence here is largely of a negative sort, but forceful for all that. It is clear, in the first place, that the reform was in no sense a revolutionary measure. Schönbauer attributes it

³¹ See Gallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 ff.

to C. Flaminius and calls him a "Bauern-Demokrat." Schönbauer says: "Wir verstehen aber meines Erachtens den Hass des senatorischen Adels nur dann, wenn wir in Flaminius und seinem Kreise auch die Urheber der Centurien-Reform sehen."³² Surely this "nur" is too strong! The passages in ancient literature which list the wickednesses of Flaminius do not mention the reform. Flouting of the Senate's will was surely enough to earn their hatred, even if we can be sure that this hatred was very extensive in Flaminius' own time. Against Schönbauer and de Sanctis Staveley's criticism holds: an examination of the *fasti* shows no change in the type of candidate elected. Further, we hear of no opposition to the reform, no suggestion of a repeal or an abandonment of the arrangement.

Against Staveley (pp. 26 ff.) it can be argued that he has not shown that in the middle of the third century, "Their (i. e. the urban dwellers') interests were in many cases opposed to those of the *nobilitas*: they no doubt had little respect for tradition." These propositions I should regard as at any rate needing close proof. Here too the *fasti* do not support the view that the control of the *nobiles* was in any respect insecure before the reform.

I take the question of the publicity of the reform to be important. It has not been shown to have had any serious revolutionary intent; and the Roman sources are singularly quiet about it. I suggest that the reason for this is that the reform was purely an administrative reform, and that it did not seriously alter the voting powers of the classes in the assembly. I would not agree with Schönbauer when he treats the reduction of the votes of the first class as a political suicide. As a matter of practice it seems clear that the first class would have been supported on all issues of a class-character by the bulk of the second class at least. I consider that the most likely date for the reform is the censorship of C. Aurelius Cotta and M. Fabius Buteo in 241 B. C. It is in this censorship that the last two tribes were added and Livy's language suggests an administrative decision to go no further in the creation of tribes: *post expletas quinque et triginta tribus*. It is reasonable to assume that the doubling of the tribes in the centuries went on at the same time.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

Of this we cannot be sure, and the date is not important. But it is easy to see an inducement to carry out such a reform. Consider the complex task of keeping two large citizen rolls, a task made much more difficult in the years of reconstruction after the first Punic War. Under the Servian system there were two rolls needed: one of citizens in their tribes for the tribal assembly, and a second, for the centuriate assembly, in which the same individuals were arranged in classes, age-groups and centuries. Under the new system, if the doubling process went as far as the fifth class, one set of rolls would do both jobs; tribal rolls, with the *tribules* divided into seniors and juniors, and with the census-classes of members noted, would serve all purposes.

Consistent with such a view of the reform is the fact that whereas in the Roman political vocabulary *tribulis* is a frequent and important word, *centurialis* hardly occurs in a political sense. This may be taken to indicate, for the bulk of citizens, no fixed membership in a century, at least no such membership that was not also membership of a tribe. Two passages have been taken as counting against this assumption. Festus,³³ commenting on the so-called *ni quis scivit* century, writes: *sed in ea centuria neque censetur quisquam neque centurio praeficitur neque centurialis potest esse, quia nemo certus est eius centuriae*. This is, however, not enough to compel belief in fixed centuries of the Servian sort in the reformed assembly. Apart from the possibility that Festus, or his source, is here talking about the Servian system, and apart from the unlikelihood of the *ni quis scivit* century, there is evidence of a normal use of *centuria* quite different from that of the Servian arrangement. The second of the passages I refer to is in the *Commentariolum Petitionis*, 18: *qui abs te tribum aut centuriam aut aliquod beneficium aut habent aut sperant*. Professor L. R. Taylor³⁴ considers that this refers to securing the enrolment of a friend in some desired tribe or century. But it seems more likely, in view of the sentences preceding these words, that the common practice of influencing the vote of one of these units is involved. Even if we assume that centuries are made up of tribe-sections put

³³ *Glossaria Latina*, IV, p. 292.

³⁴ *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*, p. 53.

together by lot, such influence is still possible before and during the taking of the vote, and at any time before the vote in the first class and the centuries of knights.

There is, then, no clear evidence of the existence, after the reform, of centuries of the Servian sort for *pedites*. Further, there is an interesting confusion between the words *tribus* and *centuria* in the terminology of the assembly. Votes in the *comitia centuriata* are referred to as both *tribus* and *centuriae*. It is certain here that *tribus* does not mean what it means in the *comitia tributa*: it means rather a vote of a unit which is in some way connected with a tribe—a part of a tribe or a collection of parts of a tribe. To take the word as referring to the vote of a unit made up of parts of a tribe is no more strange than the situation shown in the *tabula Hebana*, where *centuria* is so used. The spread into the vocabulary of the *comitia centuriata* of a word so characteristic of the tribal assemblies is best explained on the assumption that the connection of the centuries with tribes was pervasive. It must be admitted that such an assumption suits the many stray allusions to tribes in electoral matters, e. g., Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 15, *studiis tribuum*, where consular elections are certainly involved.

On this point reference must be made to the series of Imperial inscriptions which show the tribes divided into *corpora* of juniors and seniors, the *corpora* being further divided into centuries.³⁵ This division was used for the purpose of the distribution of *frumentum publicum* and also in the organisation of freedmen. Most of the evidence is about urban tribes, but *I. L. S.*, 6046 shows that the distribution was not limited to those tribes: Mommsen (*loc. cit.*, note 3) has shown that the system extended to the rustic tribes. There is no need to go over the details. They are made clear in Mommsen's account and the evidence may be conveniently read in the set of inscriptions in *I. L. S.* beginning with number 6045. The evidence shows that in what were beyond doubt public lists of citizens, these citizens are divided into sections of juniors and seniors within the tribes, and that these sections are further divided into centuries. Mommsen gives good reasons for believing that this was a survival of Republican practice, and that there were

³⁵ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III, 1, pp. 276 ff. See also *R.-E.*, III, col. 1960, s. v. *centuria*.

five centuries to each *corpus* and so 350 centuries in the whole citizen body. Here then is a good and regular use of the word *centuria* to refer to a group which is certainly not a century of the Servian sort. This is, for Mommsen's view, a strong answer to those who have criticised it on the ground that he was "inventing" census-centuries. It may be inferred that, as the members of these Imperial lists were mostly from the lower orders, the division into juniors and seniors along the lines Mommsen suggested pervaded the whole assembly.

All of these considerations make the third of the possibilities arising from Livy, I, 43 most likely. There remains the second of the questions raised above. How were the 280 census-centuries arranged to form 100 voting centuries? Here the sources are not explicit. Nowhere do we find a clear statement, but I suggest that the following considerations are in favour of Mommsen's view that the reduction was done by lot.

There is, first of all, the peculiar language used by Dionysius in the passage quoted above. Reasons have already been given for believing that this passage refers to the reform rather than to minor changes in Dionysius' own time. Consider the genitive absolutes in the passage (IV, 21, 3). Why does Dionysius, writing near the end of the first century B. C. to explain Rome to the Greeks, take the trouble to say that the centuries were not abolished? Surely because something that looked like the abolition of the (Servian) centuries had occurred. The second absolute phrase gives some idea of what happened. The *κλησις* of the centuries was no longer accurate, clear, and precise. *Κλησις* here means the calling of the centuries to the vote. The word is never used by Dionysius or any other writer in the sense of *classis* despite the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott. The passage from Dionysius (IV, 18) which the Lexicon quotes to support this meaning shows clearly, in fact, that *κλησις* is *not classis*. There is a variant reading to *κλήσεως*: this is *κρίσεως* which is supported by all the manuscripts except Urbinas 105, a manuscript which has no outstanding authority. I think that editors have commonly preferred *κλήσεως* because *κρίσεως* could not be understood. But, on a view such as Mommsen's, *κρίσεως*, which is to be preferred as far as manuscript authority goes, makes good sense. The sentence may be taken as implying that

there were no fixed centuries (*κρίσις* = "choice" or "selection").³⁶

Further the analogy of the *tabula Hebana* is and must remain a strong argument for Mommsen's view. Those who accept the force of the analogy are not merely relying on an intuition: their reasons are more than subjective. As I have argued above, it is not merely Augustus' solution, but also the details of his problem that have to be accounted for. To show how close the analogy is let us see how the 70 centuries in each of the lower classes could be reduced to 25 voting units. One assumption seems likely: that the units would be as much alike as possible, that is, the difference in number of constituent units would be no greater than one (as it is in the inscription). The arrangement that suits these conditions best is one in which there are 20 centuries with three half-tribes in each and 5 with two half-tribes in each. Now it can be seen how closely such an arrangement would match the conditions of the *tabula Hebana*. In the inscription the arrangement

(2) (2) (2) (2) (3)

occurs twice, and later three times. In the assembly, on Mommsen's view, the arrangement

(3) (3) (3) (3) (2)

would occur five times in each of classes II-V.

Let me state in conclusion the elements of the position I have tried to establish. The reform is best understood as an administrative one: our sources do not include it amongst the many attacks on the privileges of the *nobilitas* which they deplore. The *fasti* indicate clearly that the voting powers of groups were not changed, and the *fasti* indicate no danger to the position of the nobles before the reform. This being the case, we are helped in deciding the nature of the reform by only one consideration external to the evidence on details. This consideration is the evidence which suggests that the tribal rolls were the only rolls, and suggests that these rolls took account of age-groups.

Turning to the details of the reform, I maintain that Cicero in the *De Re Publica* is saying what he is commonly taken to be saying: that there were in the reformed assembly 193 voting

³⁶ See note 9 for some comments on Tibiletti's view of this passage.

centuries, and that the first class contained 70 of these. Livy, I, 43 then becomes important, for it shows how the seventy centuries of the classes were made up, and, rightly interpreted, shows that the doubling of the number of tribes in the centuries extended to either the third or the fifth class. There is a preponderance of evidence in favour of the latter view, even though this involves the reduction of 280 "census-centuries" to 100 voting units. Finally, I have maintained that the analogy of the *tabula Hebana*, which has been seen to be exceptionally close if Mommsen's view is adopted, explains how the reduction was carried out. It is easy to dismiss the analogy of the inscription *only* if one believes that Augustus faced some problem which was not created for him by the traditions of the assembly. I think I have given sound reasons for believing that this is not the case: Augustus' problem was not in any political situation, but in some pre-existing electoral tradition which must have been a tradition of the *comitia centuriata*.

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A FRESH APPROACH TO HORACE.

II, 20.

The last poem of the second book of the *Odes* has commonly been taken to be an epilogue and it has often been supposed that Horace originally intended this poem to serve as the epilogue to the completed volume of his lyric works but that it was supplanted before publication by the artistically superior *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*. Whether or not this is the correct interpretation of the poem appears to have interested scholars less than the question whether or not Horace should be censured for what is often regarded as the offensive realism of this poem. It will be recalled that this is the poem in which the author is discovered to be having intimations of immortality, the external symptoms of which are an appalling case of goose flesh, the sprouting of a heavy plumage, and the beginning of the complete transformation of the poet into the swan of Apollo. In this feathered state the poet promises to glide through the ether more successfully than Icarus and to become renowned throughout the whole Roman world. He is not to die and, like Ennius, scorns meaningless honors to the dead.

This ode has been deplored, denounced, and defended, but I shall not undertake to review the considerable literature dealing with it, because it is not my intention to join forces with any of the parties to this controversy.¹ In my opinion, both the unfavorable critics of the poem and its defenders, while concentrating their attention upon the question of the poet's offenses against good taste, have neglected to examine fully the nature and style of the poem itself and have failed to consider the poem in relation to its context. The present paper is a modest attempt to make up for some of this neglect by inviting attention to the essential character of the poem, the rhetorical mould in which it is cast, and its relationship to poems that precede and follow it. Specifically this essay propounds the following thesis: that II, 20 in both content and style is not, except in a

¹ The most important recent discussion of Horace, II, 20 is that of G. L. Hendrickson in *C. P.*, XLIV (1949), pp. 30 ff.

limited and superficial way, an epilogue at all but a prologue or rather part of an elaborate overture to the "Roman Odes."

Many students of Horace must have been troubled by the question that has disturbed me since the first days of my teaching: Why should Horace have published *two* "last poems," two epilogues to his lyric works, and have placed one (III, 30) at the veritable end of the collection and the other (II, 20) at the end of a book, it is true, but actually in the very heart of the volume, before his tale is half told, really before he has done enough to warrant his assumption of the title of *vates*? True enough, there were three great "Roman" poems in Book I, but for the most part in the first two books of the *Odes* Horace has struck, as it were, only glancing blows at the most pressing of Roman themes, namely that of the Augustan achievement. He has paid his tribute in disavowals and coy expressions of doubt of his ability ever to undertake such mighty work. He has borne out what he wrote to Agrippa. Varius and not Horace must be looked to for the Augustan epic. Varius is the *ales Maconii carminis* (I, 6), whereas

nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii
nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
nec saevam Pelopis domum

conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor
imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni . . .

Horace must remain the minstrel and, if he sings of battles, they must be *proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium*. The refusal is repeated, less obviously but quite definitely at the beginning of Book II (II, 1, 37 ff.) and explicitly in II, 12.

It does seem incongruous for a poet abruptly to lay claim to immortal fame before he has earned it and especially so after a series of refusals to attempt the only theme that can bring such fame; if that is what Horace has done in II, 20, then that is a worse offense against good taste than the much discussed objectionable realism of the poem's metamorphosis. But Horace is not guilty. If read aright (*sc. secundum interpretationem nostram*), the poem's message is quite different. To begin with,

its tone is strikingly different from that of the generally admired and undoubted epilogue III, 30:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regaliq̄ue situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.
non omnis moriar multaue pars mei
vitabit Libitinam; usque ego postera
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex:
dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos. sume superbiam
quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

The poet has built him a monument beyond the reach of storm and change, beyond what men call time and death, the peasant has become coeternal with eternal Rome. The poem expresses a serene pride in transcendent achievement. Ambition and mortal struggle are remembered but as battles long ago. The reader is invited to marvel at an ever fresh but completed work.

When one turns from the vast contemplative reaches of this epilogue to the allegorical melodrama of the swan-poem, he finds it difficult to believe that Horace could ever have intended the latter to stand at the end of his complete lyric works. Where is the Olympian detachment and what has become of those cosmic "images of rest"? This is a tense deathbed scene; Maecenas and anxious friends bend over the poet and call his name in farewell, as the poet himself, in seeming delirium, feels the beginning of a great change in his being; feverishly he prepares to soar into a bright new world, leaving his friends for comfort a paraphrase of Ennius' epitaph. Whether the much discussed scene of metamorphosis is to be thought of as enacted before the eyes of Maecenas and the reader or, as the dean of American Horatian scholars has recently suggested, "off-stage,"² it is a harrowing picture with which to close a volume. All in all II, 20 contains too much struggle and movement for an epilogue, which one expects to possess a tone of abiding peace.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 31 f.

There is, however, a more significant difference between II, 20 and III, 30 than that of mere tone or mood. Unlike III, 30, the swan-poem does not celebrate achievement. On the contrary, it is entirely forward-looking, it is vibrant with aspiration, promise, and audacious prediction. The poet takes little account of the past except to assert that the future shall be different from the past. The reader is made to expect a sensational change in the poet's character; and his words will no longer be addressed to a small group of intimates but to the whole Roman world. This is not the stuff of epilogue but of prophecy and not primarily a prediction of fame to come but of some act about to be performed by the poet which will result in his eternal fame.

What is it that the poet is going to do that will insure his lasting renown? The opening lines of the poem,

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
 penna biformis per liquidum aethera
 vates neque in terris morabor
 longius, invidiaque maior
 urbis relinquam . . .

say plainly, it seems to me, that the poet is on the point of abandoning (at least for the present) his accustomed literary genre for a different and more exalted one. The new field will not be epic (*nec usitata penna*) nor will it be merely some new development in the domain of familiar Horatian lyric (*nec tenui penna*), for Horatian *pudor* has done a thorough job of associating the concept contained in the word *tenuis* with the poet's ordinary minstrelsy. The precise nature, however, of the great transformation is not as important to this discussion for the moment as the fact that it is to occur. II, 20 is thus in tone and content entirely a poem of prophecy not retrospect, a prologue rather than an epilogue.

That II, 20 is a prologue or, at least, part of a poetic sequence prefatory to the "Roman Odes" is placed almost beyond doubt when one examines the rhetorical character of the poem and makes comparisons with other odes in which the poet makes use of similar literary formulas. It is difficult to believe that no scholar has pointed out the fact that II, 20, in which the poet for once faces up boldly and even boastfully to a heroic

task and announces as clearly as the ambiguous language of a *vates* will permit that he is at length about to treat a subject of the greatest importance, is rhetorically the exact opposite of Horace's customary formula of *recusatio*. It would not be pertinent to the present inquiry to examine all the instances in which Horace subtly varies the *recusatio* formula which permits him to win an artistic victory like the retreating Parthian without the necessity of making a frontal assault upon his subject. Two instances, however, are definitely to our purpose. In both these poems, the great poet, who can do what Horace professes that he cannot, is likened to a bird. In I, 6 Horace tells Agrippa that Varius is the *ales Maeonii carminis* and in IV, 2 great Pindar is the swan of Thebes, *cynus Dircaeus*, while Horace is the humble bee. The *recusatio* of IV, 2 must be scrutinized closely, for it provides the real clue to the meaning of II, 20. This poem is ostensibly a reply to Jullus Antonius, who had apparently invited Horace to write something in Pindaric vein to help celebrate Augustus' victory over the Sygambri. This characteristic Horatian *recusatio*, in its oblique way, compliments Jullus, honors the victory of Augustus, and pays eloquent tribute to Pindar the mountain torrent of Greek lyric, the swan of Thebes. Who can rival him? Least of all Horace (the humble bee). The swan's flight in *altos nubium tractus* (which recalls *per liquidum aethera*) is an effortless one, unlike the laborious buzzing, petty journeys of the bee. This is the wistful language of one who has tried before this to produce poetry in Pindaric vein; the intimation that he has failed in his attempt is required by the conventional hypocrisy of the *recusatio*—Horace's real opinion of his Pindaric efforts is probably concealed in III, 30. The second ode of book IV is the sort of poem one might have expected Horace to write *instead* of II, 20, for in place of II, 20's audacity is familiar Horatian *pudor*. The luckless imitator of Pindar will discover that he has been trusting only to his art, to wings of wax and borrowed plumage, wherefore he must fall like Icarus:

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
Iulle, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
nomina ponto.

It would seem to be unnecessary to pursue the analysis of IV, 2 any further in order to demonstrate that in II, 20 the poet has exactly reversed the *recusatio* pattern of IV, 2. In place of wistfulness is dynamic self-assurance, to put it mildly. There is no *apis Matina* here but a creature that soars as effortlessly as the Theban swan; and his plumage is his own, to the horror of later critics sprouting convincingly from the poet's person. He cannot fail:

Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
Visam gementis litora Bosphori . . .

The citing of Icarus makes the inverse correspondence of II, 20 to IV, 2 precise. It is almost like documentary proof that Horace in II, 20 is turning the *recusatio* formula inside out. He is deserting his accustomed literary genre and boldly adopting a new one: not *Pindarum aemulatus* but *iam iam futurus Pindarus*.

Without laboring the point further, I submit that II, 20 has the character of prologue rather than of epilogue and must have been composed intentionally to serve as part of an introduction to the "Roman Odes." The hard-bitten proponents of the epilogue theory will doubtless point to the paraphrase of Ennius in support of their view: these words have much of the finality of *sume superbiam/ quaesitam meritis*. In my opinion, however, these words would have the reader look forwards rather than backward. They have the effect of a last solemn notice to the reader that what is to follow will be of great moment, indeed: when he unrolls the next column of his *libellus*, he will find not just another *carmen*, not an epic, but *carmina non prius audita*, the essence of Roman epic in the idiom of Greek lyric.

When all is said and done, it is not a very revolutionary proposition that II, 20 has more the character of prologue than epilogue, for it is reasonable enough to suppose that Horace should have wished to effect a *calida iunctura* of Books I and II. We have here, perhaps, a spectacular example of what Horace has elsewhere done in the case of two individual poems.³ Yet

³ I, 34 and I, 35 (cf. Heinze, *Oden und Epoden* [1930], p. 142). The parallel is interesting. I, 34 records a conversion, a complete religious and spiritual revolution in the mind of the poet as the result of a supernatural experience. This poem serves as the preface to the hymn

strangely enough II, 20, which according to my theory is intended to effect the smooth transition, is itself startlingly abrupt. With the very first line the poet is discovered to be having a wild fantasy. Dramatically he is in the midst of a crisis, but how he came to have such an experience is not explained. In the case of the two poems just referred to, a violent spiritual upheaval is made to serve as the preface to a prayer for the safety of the State; it is notable, however, that the circumstances of the spiritual crisis are clearly explained.

The natural place to look for the dramatic motivation of II, 20 is the Alcian hymn to Bacchus which immediately precedes it (II, 19). Investigation of the relationship between II, 19 and II, 20 is not a new inquiry. It has been pointed out that the two poems complement each other in presenting different aspects of the poet's immortality. Recent writers have noted also that, whereas the first seventeen poems of book II are largely concerned with various aspects of death, particularly the vanity of human wishes in the face of inevitable death, the last three poems of the book celebrate triumph over death: the triumph of the poet's immortal soul.⁴ But no one, so far as I know, has drawn attention to what I regard as the most striking feature of the last three poems: they are arranged in an ascending scale: II, 20 is the climax of the series. What is of most importance to the present discussion, however, is the fact that II, 20 can most satisfactorily be explained as the sequel to II, 19.

I look upon the poetic fantasy of II, 20 as the continuation of (or, at any rate, the not illogical consequence of) the Dionysiac ecstasy that begins in II, 19. What could be more poetically logical than that one who "has seen the god" of poetry in one poem should be still under the spell in the following poem? Bacchic inspiration comes suddenly:

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem, credite posterì

to Fortune (I, 35) which follows. It is probably pushing the parallel too far to note that II, 20 (as a preface to the "Roman Odes") would, in effect, serve to join what is commonly regarded as a prevaillingly "Epicurean" Book II and a definitely (certainly at the beginning) Stoic Book III.

⁴ Walther Wili, *Horaz* (Basel, 1947), pp. 233 ff.

the hymn begins. He has seen the god in the act of teaching poetry! Could the *Musarum sacerdos* have found himself a more authoritative mentor? With the blow of the thyrsus comes strange terror but also the vision and new power. One stanza addressed to the god surely contains a thinly veiled reference to the poet himself:

quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
ludique dictus non sat idoneus
pugnae ferebaris; sed idem
pacis eras mediusque belli.⁵

There is the gentle and the warlike Bacchus, for the god had his share in Juppiter's triumph over the Giants; he had been metamorphosed into a lion expressly for that purpose. Why should not the *apis Matina* on occasion become a swan? *Bacchi plenus* Horace can strike a heroic lyre. This hymn to Bacchus, which resembles and is probably intended to foreshadow III, 4 in being part fantasy, part prayer, and part mystical autobiography, is the beginning of the prophetic spell which, I feel sure, we are expected to think of as possessing the poet for an unparalleled series of eight successive Alcaic poems! II, 20, then, is not abrupt or indecorously fantastic but an appropriate member and integral part of a great cycle of Horace's most ambitious works. In view of these considerations II, 20 may not appear less grotesque or repulsive to many readers, but it should fall into perspective as the finale, as it were, of a Bacchic overture to the "Roman Odes." This is, perhaps, the place to add a postscript to Professor Hendrickson's suggestion that the repulsive scene of metamorphosis is to be thought of as occurring "off-stage." Poems II, 20 and II, 19, as has been noted, balance each other artistically in a number of ways. Why should the reader be expected dramatically to witness the metamorphosis any more than the poet's meeting with Bacchus? Both are incidents in the mystical private life of the poet and neither is for the public view. *Procul este profani!*

The question may still be asked: Why should Horace have chosen to cast the prologue to the Roman Odes in the form of a Dionysiac ecstasy? One could think of a number of answers, although the ultimate explanation of Horace's choice of this

⁵ Lines 25-8.

formula is naturally beyond our reach. Bacchus was an important member of the Roman pantheon. The Dionysiac ecstasy offers an attractive literary formula on account of the relative brevity of its duration: it permits the lyric poet to make short excursions into the domain of heroic poetry without incurring the long-term responsibility of the epic poet. What may have been more important than all other considerations is the irresistible quality of the power of Bacchus, who can arrest the course of rivers, sway the hearts of men, and, above all, sweep the most diffident of poets to the height of a great argument from which when uninspired and uncoerced by the god he would modestly retreat. All these considerations may have influenced Horace's original choice of this device.

A more immediate and practical answer, however, must be offered to those who may be sceptical of my theory of the "Bacchic overture." This is quite simple: Horace had employed this literary device for a precisely similar purpose in his earlier work, presumably some time before either the "Roman Odes" or the "prologue" had begun to take shape in the poet's mind. In this early experiment (as I regard it), namely in Book III, 25, the Bacchic enthusiasm is presented as an apologetic or explicatory epilogue to the long poem (III, 24) which, as scholars have noted, anticipates themes of the "Roman Odes."⁶ The "epilogue" is explicit in language, whereas the "prologue" is appropriately ambiguous, but the rhetorical principle involved is the same in both instances. Only in the grip of the Dionysiac enthusiasm would your lyric poet be able to presume to treat of the one great "epic" theme of the age: the glorious achievements of Augustus.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to explore further the relationship of the "overture" to the "Roman Odes" themselves. It is likely that a detailed analysis of the poems would reveal that the poet's *calida iunctura* of the second and third books of the *Odes* is a piece of artistry whose subtlety is scarcely indicated by the broad strokes of the sketch contained in this paper.

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⁶ Cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, p. 358; F. Solmsen, "The First Roman Ode," *A. J. P.*, LXVIII (1947), pp. 337-52.

SOME FRIENDS OF THE CAESARS.

When the last of the dynasts won sole power in the world, he had no choice but to enlist his adherents in the management of it. They were already there—senators, knights, and freedmen. The personal friends of Caesar Augustus take in a wide range, from the men of consular rank, the “*principes civitatis*,” to common soldiers—and foreigners will not be excluded, the kings and tetrarchs. It was expedient for a Princeps to be *civilis*; an *imperator* took pride in knowing his “*commilitones*” by name and exploit; and the Caesars from the beginning showed themselves wondrously accessible to the claims of clients and petitioners. Various anecdotes exemplify. Augustus defended Scutarius, one of his *evocati*, in a court of law; and he intervened to rescue Castricius, who had given him information about the conspiracy of Varro Murena.¹ Again, when Augustus was present at a *hospitalis cena* at Bononia and the talk fell on loot and sacrilege, his host, an Antonian veteran, speaking as one who knew, told him that the golden dish from which he was eating was the leg of the goddess Anaitis;² and as “*hospes*” the Princeps learned from the centenarian Romilius Pollio the famous recipe for health and a long life—*intus mulsum, foris oleum*.³

The monarch has a court from the outset. Not so much the ceremonial (which both Augustus and Tiberius eschewed) as the habits, and the appendages—doctors and magicians, philosophers and buffoons. There would be no point, for example, in cataloguing the “*convictores Graeculi*” of Tiberius Caesar,⁴ but his entourage on the island in the last days mattered very much. Tiberius was a convinced believer in the science of the stars. Other ages and the recent time (despotisms or constitutional monarchies) exhibit the secret power wielded by the astrologer, by the court physician, or by some casual but devious confidant.

The term “*amicus*” is nothing if not comprehensive. It

¹ Suetonius, *Divus Aug.*, 56, 4.

² Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 83.

³ *Ib.*, XXII, 114.

⁴ Cf. Suetonius, *Tib.*, 56 f.

quickly becomes definite, and can be employed like a title. Categories develop among the friends of Caesar. Thus Seneca can mention the "cohors primae admissionis."⁵ Moreover, provincial governors are designated as "amici" of the ruler. The first instance is the letter of Caesar Augustus to the city of Cnidus, thus styling Asinius Gallus (*cos.* 8 B. C.), proconsul of Asia in 6/5 B. C.⁶ Furthermore, Gallus is one of a group who have their names and portraits on coins in Asia and in Africa. Some of those proconsuls, but not all, are related in various ways to the ruling house. It is therefore not unreasonable to describe them as "amici principis."⁷ The date and period at which the honour of coin portraits was permitted would be worth knowing, for its political relevance. The limits are fairly narrow. Six of the seven proconsuls in question cannot be proved earlier than 10 B. C. or later than 4 B. C.⁸ The seventh, however, L. Passienus Rufus (*cos.* 4 B. C.), seems eccentric, and no stretch of argument could bring him into relationship with the dynasty.⁹ Usage seems sporadic, as well as the evidence.¹⁰ Several eminent personages of the period lack the honour, notably Iullus Antonius (*cos.* 10 B. C.), proconsul of Asia and husband of the elder Marcella.¹¹

There are also "comites." By its nature, that is an exact term. A certain Cn. Pullius Pollio may have been a "comes" of Augustus in Gaul (i. e., in 16-13 B. C.)—it depends on the supplement believed best for a mutilated inscription.¹² The first

⁵ *De Clem.*, I, 10, 1.

⁶ *S.I.G.*³, 780.

⁷ M. Grant, *From "Imperium" to "Auctoritas"* (1946), pp. 228 ff., cf. 387 ff.; *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* (1950), p. 52.

⁸ Not all of the individual datings suggested by Grant are plausible, e. g. 5/4 B. C. for Paullus Fabius Maximus, consul in 11 B. C. (*From "Imperium,"* p. 387). The whole question deserves to be looked into again.

⁹ For the coin, struck when he was proconsul of Africa, M. Grant, *ibid.*, pp. 139 f. His governorship falls sensibly later than those of the other six proconsuls.

¹⁰ Cf. the early and isolated phrase *ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος* used by Augustus of a proconsul (*S.I.G.*³, 785: Chios). Presumably a Greek equivalent of "vir clarissimus." For the history of the latter title see M. Bang in Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹, IV (1921), pp. 77 ff.

¹¹ *P. I. R.*², A 800.

¹² *I. L. S.*, 916 = *C. I. L.*, XI, 7553 (Forum Clodii).

clear epigraphic instance of the word itself comes a little later—that L. Licinius who was “comes da[tus . . . a divo A]ug. C. [Caesari].”¹³ Then, beyond cavil, Sex. Palpellius Hister, “comiti/ Ti. Caesaris Aug. dato ab divo Aug.”¹⁴

Not all the large and motley company that benefit from the friendship and favours of an emperor can be deemed to carry weight in counsel and policy. Contrariwise, the men who exercise a genuine and pervasive influence must often be guessed or postulated—rank and honours, office or employments. Thus iterated consulates or the post of *praefectus urbi*. It is therefore difficult to register the friends and counsellors of the Caesar in a manner that shall satisfy all criteria, and all critics. Better, perhaps, to include too many than too few.

The latest list to be produced adds up to nearly four hundred names.¹⁵ It suggests certain observations by the way, and brief *addenda*.

First of all, personal friends of some rulers. A number of nonentities have to be admitted, such as the knights Baebius Longus and Calenus, said to be friends of M. Aurelius.¹⁶ Also the poet Voconius, whoever he be, who enjoyed the amity of Hadrian.¹⁷ Therefore, if Voconius, why not Florus, commemorated by a famous and familiar interchange of verses with the same emperor?¹⁸ Or indeed, Q. Horatius Flaccus? Augustus offered him a secretarial post, and letters are cited.¹⁹

Next, “comites.” Horace in the *Epistulae* furnishes useful evidences about the “cohors” of Tiberius in the eastern lands in 20 B. C.—and the word “cohors” is twice employed.²⁰ Notable among its members are Julius Florus and Albinovanus

¹³ *C. I. L.*, VI, 1442. Cf. also 1515 (a lost inser. and a bad copy): “[comiti]/ L. Caes. Augusti [f.]” The person is a Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Gracchus.

¹⁴ *I. L. S.*, 946.

¹⁵ In J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (1955), pp. 148-90.

¹⁶ *S. H. A.*, *Marcus*, 3, 8.

¹⁷ Apuleius, *Apol.*, 11. Crook (*op. cit.*, p. 190) suggests that he may be Pliny's literary friend Voconius Romanus (*P. I. R.*², L 144)—who, however, is not attested as a poet. Perhaps the Voconius Victor in Martial (*P. I. R.*², V 613).

¹⁸ *S. H. A.*, *Had.*, 16, 3 f. Cf. *P. I. R.*² A 650.

¹⁹ Suetonius, ed. Roth, p. 297.

²⁰ *Æpp.*, I, 3, 6; 8, 14.

Celsus, the latter designated as "comes" and "scriba."²¹ One or other of them might have survived into the principate of Tiberius Caesar. That ruler, though distrustful in his nature, and capricious, exhibited an attachment to old friends, as witness that Lucilius Longus (*suff.* A. D. 7) who had been with him on Rhodes.²² By contrast, the treatment of Palpellius Hister, whom Augustus had planted on the retinue of Tiberius on one occasion.²³ A chill seems to have supervened.²⁴ Palpellius received no marks of esteem. He came to the consulate late in life, under another emperor, in the year 43.

Time and season have to be watched. The list claims Barea Soranus (*suff.* 52) and Thrasea Paetus (*suff.* 56) as friends of Vespasian. Those items derive from a speech of Helvidius Priscus in Tacitus.²⁵ Whatever be the validity of the statement, both men were dead before Vespasian came to the power. They should be left out—as in fact is the Batavian Julius Civilis, who, taking up arms in 69, appealed to the "amicitia" that bound him to Vespasian.²⁶

Then there is another category: personages whose rank as "amici" or "comites" happens to lack precise attestation. The list appears to take in almost all the known holders of iterated consulates in the first two centuries of the Empire. Four are missing, viz. Q. Sanquinius Maximus, C. Antistius Vetus, M. Pompeius Silvanus, and A. Lappius Maximus (with second tenures respectively in 39, 50, 75, and 95).

Similarly, the Prefects of the City. One looks for three of the four attested holders of the post between 32 and the early years of Claudius: L. Aelius Lamia, L. Piso, and Q. Sanquinius Maximus.²⁷ If other *praefecti* are admitted, for example Q. Baebius Macer (*suff.* 103), who was in office in 117 (no

²¹ Julius Florus receives *Epp.*, I, 3, also II, 2, which addresses him as *bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni*. Celsus is the dedicant of I, 8 (and mentioned in 3, 15). Note also Septimius (I, 19).

²² Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 15, 1.

²³ *I. L. S.*, 946.

²⁴ Like Julius Montanus, *tolerabilis poeta et amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore* (Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 11).

²⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 7, 2.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 13, 2.

²⁷ Viz., in the interval between L. Piso (*cos.* 15 B. C.) and L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos.* A. D. 3.)

precise evidence states that he was an "amicus" of Trajan),²⁸ these three ought not to be denied an entry. L. Aelius Lamia (*cos.* 3), consular legate long ago in *Germania Illyricoque*,²⁹ surely falls within the ambit of Tiberius' close friends: dying after a brief tenure (32/33), he was accorded the honour of a public funeral.³⁰ L. Piso (*cos.* 27) is none other than the elder son (he changed his *praenomen*) of Cn. Piso, the ill-starred governor of Syria, the friend whom Tiberius had been compelled to disown. As for Q. Sanquinius Maximus, that mysterious character (consul in an unattested year under Tiberius), one fact speaks volumes—a second consulate in 39, with no precedent since T. Statilius Taurus in 26 B. C.

And finally, persons of consequence among the agents and helpers of the Caesars who do not happen to be certified by the label of an iterated consulate. If the chief credit for Vespasian's policy in the East is to be assigned to Licinius Mucianus and Eprurius Marcellus, men of craft and experience,³¹ others should not be lost to view. Vespasian early in his reign sent L. Caesennius Paetus (*cos.* 61) to be governor of Syria.³² He had been in the East before (not to his credit). He was married to a Flavia Sabina.³³ Then there is M. Ulpianus Traianus (*suff.* ?70), who had commanded a legion under Vespasian in Judaea, and was to hold Syria from 74 to 79.³⁴ The son of that Traianus (*cos.* 91) was presumably an "amicus" of Domitian—as is not stated in the *Panegyricus* of Pliny. Also Cn. Julius Agricola (*suff.* 77): Tacitus cannot suppress the fact that the Emperor was named in Agricola's will.³⁵

Two entries among the consular governors might be called into question. D. Terentius Scaurianus (*suff. ca.* 104), Trajan's first legate of the newly conquered Dacia, is clearly an impor-

²⁸ *S. H. A.*, *Hadr.*, 5, 5.

²⁹ Velleius, II, 116, 3.

³⁰ *Ann.*, VI, 27, 2.

³¹ J. Crook, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³² For the evidence, *P. I. R.*², C 173.

³³ *I. L. S.*, 995.

³⁴ *P. I. R.*¹, V 574, cf. *I. L. S.*, 8970 (Miletus). An inser. from Antioch reported by L. Robert (*C. R. A. I.*, 1951, p. 255) puts him in Syria already in 74.

³⁵ *Agr.*, 43, 4.

tant person.³⁶ He is not expressly attested as an "amicus" of that emperor. Nor has the younger L. Minicius Natalis a strong claim.³⁷ If he enjoyed the favour of Hadrian at early stages in his career, he could not keep it, or profit by it. Quaestor *ca.* 122 (and legate, in the same year, of his parent the proconsul of Africa), he was kept out of the consulate, which he did not reach until Hadrian was dead, in 139.³⁸ There would have been better warrant for admitting his father (*suff.* 106), who held Pan-
nonia in the critical year of Trajan's death, or Q. Pompeius Falco (*suff.* 108), whom Hadrian transferred from Lower Moesia to Britain.³⁹ Several of Hadrian's allies were already ensconced in the great commands by 117.

The foregoing examples will suffice to demonstrate how difficult it is to draw the line.⁴⁰ At the same time, apart from those examples, twenty names might be adduced in the period from Augustus to Hadrian, heterogeneous and on various criteria, both attested personal friends of the rulers and men of weight whose claims can be urged without scandal or sophistry.⁴¹

ALEXANDER THE ALABARCH (*P. I. R.*², A 510). Said by Josephus to have been a friend of Claudius Caesar before his accession (*A. J.*, XIX, 276). Worth noting in view of the resplendent career of his son, Ti. Julius Alexander, who, procurator of Judaea under Claudius, became Prefect of Egypt towards the end of Nero's reign, and rose yet higher: see now E. G. Turner, *J. R. S.*, XLIV (1954), pp. 54 ff., discussing, among other things, *P. Hibeh* 215.

ASCONIUS LABEO. Voted the *ornamenta consularia* at the same time as Nero's father was honoured with a posthumous statue (*Ann.*, XIII, 10, 1). Labeo had been Nero's legal guardian after the death of Passienus Crispus (*cos.* II, 44), his step-father, which (it can be inferred) occurred at some time between 44 and the early months of 47. The Asconii come from Patavium, as is patent: "[Asconius Q. f. Labeo" a local priest

³⁶ Cf. E. Groag, *R.-E.*, V A, cols. 669 ff.; A. Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien* (1944), pp. 9 f.

³⁷ *I. L. S.*, 1061, cf. 1029.

³⁸ His consulate is disclosed by a new diploma, *C. I. L.*, XVI (Suppl.), 175.

³⁹ *I. L. S.*, 1029 (Natalis); 1035 f. (Falco).

⁴⁰ Cf. Mr. Crook's own remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

⁴¹ Not included among the twenty are certain "comites" referred to above, pp. 266-7.

(*C. I. L.*, V, 2848) could have been cited under *P. I. R.*², A 1205. Observe the great scholar Asconius Pedianus; and "Asconius" figures in the full nomenclature of Silius Italicus (*cos.* 68), as is revealed by his edict at Aphrodisias in Caria (*C. R.*, XLIX [1935], pp. 216 f.).

C. ATEIUS CAPITO (*suff.* 5). The great lawyer, *humani divini-que iuris sciens* (*Ann.*, III, 70, 3). Of no small value as a sacerdotal expert—he interpreted the Sibylline Oracle on which were based the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B. C. (Zosimus, II, 4). The obituary notice (*Ann.*, III, 75) is notable on several counts. Augustus, so the historian asserts, speeded Capito's career to the consulate in order to give him primacy before his rival Antistius Labeo, who was Republican by family and sentiment, whereas *Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur*.

C. CAECINA TUSCUS. The son of Nero's foster-mother (Suetonius, *Nero*, 35). There are no grounds for calling him "Graeco-Oriental" (as A. Momigliano in *C. A. H.*, X, p. 727). In a sudden but transient crisis of 55 Nero wished to remove Afranius Burrus from his command of the Guard, and, according to the historian Fabius Rusticus, had actually sent *codicilli* to Tuscus, giving him the appointment (*Ann.*, XIII, 20, 2). Tuscus was later Prefect of Egypt, from 64 to 66, preceding Tiberius Alexander (cf. A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* [1950], pp. 35 ff.).

C. CILNIUS PROCULUS (*suff.* 87). In the fragmentary inscription from Arretium (*C. I. L.*, XI, 1833, cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1925, p. 224), E. Groag (*P. I. R.*², C 732) plausibly restores one of his posts as "[comiti Imp. Caes. Traiani] Hadriani A[ug.]."

TI. CLAUDIUS ATTICUS HERODES (*cos.* 143). The Athenian sophist and millionaire. A Latin inscription in Sweden (provenance unknown), cited in the notes to *S. I. G.*³, 863, describes him as "q. imp. Caesaris/ Hadriani Aug. inter ami/cos, trib. pleb., praetorem."

EPICETUS. The ex-slave. Cf. *S. H. A.*, *Hadr.*, 16, 10: *in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos . . . habuit*. Not unimportant, for Hadrian detested pomposity and class distinctions.

CN. HOSIDIUS GETA (*suff.* ?45). An acephalous inscription (*I. L. S.*, 971), at Histonium, the home-town of this family, could be supplemented to yield "[comiti divi]/ Claudi in Britannia." Cn. Hosidius Geta had been active in Mauretania in 42 (Dio, LX, 9, 1), and is generally identified with the (praetorian) legate in Britain Γάιος 'Οσίδιος Γέτας (*ib.*, 20, 4, where Reimarus' emendation to Γναίος is standard). Groag, however, suggests that the latter might be a distinct person, hence possibly the subject of *I. L. S.*, 971 (*R.-E.*, VIII, col. 2490).

C. LITERNIUS FRONTO. According to Josephus a certain Fronto, one of the friends of Titus, was empowered to decide the fate of the captives after the fall of Jerusalem (*B. J.*, VI, 416, cf. 419). Clearly Liternius Fronto (*ib.*, 233). The reference, missed by Stein in *R.-E.*, XIII, col. 746, was duly cited in *Die Präfekten von Ägypten* (1950), p. 39. Note that his governorship of Egypt belongs, not in 69/70, but in 78 or 79, cf. the revision of *A. E.*, 1937, 236 produced by H. G. Pflaum, *Latomus*, X (1951), p. 473.

M. MAENIUS AGRIPPA L. TUSIDIUS CAMPESTER. Roman knight with military service (including an *expeditio Britannica*), described as *hospiti divi Hadriani, patri senatoris* (*I. L. S.*, 2735: Camerinum). His son is clearly the "]s Campester," suffect consul under Pius or Marcus (*A. E.*, 1945, 37 = *Inscr. It.*, XIII, 1, p. 210), perhaps in 165, cf. A. Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari* (1952), 46.

P. MEMMIUS REGULUS (*suff.* 31). The consul who helped to suppress Sejanus. Not attested among the counsellors of Claudius or Nero. But observe the testimony rendered by Nero. If Nero died, *habere subsidium rem publicam*, and in elucidation Nero mentioned the name of Regulus (*Ann.*, XIV, 47, 1).

P. PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS (*cos.* 61). Honoured by Nero for loyal services (of what nature it is not specified) after the conspiracy of C. Piso was detected and crushed; his reward, the *ornamenta triumphalia*, likewise conferred on the praetor-designate M. Cocceius Nerva and on Ofonius Tigellinus, the Prefect of the Guard (Tacitus, *Ann.*, XV, 72, 1). Three years later Petronius was Nero's general in Italy in the last days, faithful perhaps to the end. (*Hist.*, I, 6, 1, cf. 37, 3; Plutarch, *Galba*, 15 and 17; Dio, LXIII, 27, 1a.)

P. POMPONIUS SECUNDUS (*suff.* 44). The tragic poet. According to Pliny, who wrote his biography, Pomponius entertained Caligula to a banquet, with costly and historic wine (*N. H.*, XIV, 56). He was half-brother of the ruler's consort Milonia Caesonia, as were also Cn. Domitius Corbulo, the great general, and P. Suillius Rufus (*suff. ca.* 44). For these, some of the children of the much-married Vistilia (*N. H.*, VII, 39), see C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), pp. 429 ff.

SEPTIMIUS. A mutual friend of Augustus and of Horace, cf. *ex Septimio quoque nostro* (Suetonius, ed. Roth, p. 227). Clearly (cf. *P. I. R.*¹, S 306) the person to whom *Odes*, II, 6 is dedicated, and who is commended to Tiberius in *Epp.*, I, 19).

C. STERTINIUS XENOPHON. Claudius' chief doctor, with him in the invasion of Britain, and the recipient of military decorations (*S. I. G.*³, 804: Cos). It was in response to his entreaty

that the Emperor, so he affirmed in an oration to the Senate, proposed *immunitas* for Cos (*Ann.*, XII, 61). The court physician presumably commanded great influence with Claudius. M. Artorius Asclepiades (*P. I. R.*², A 1183) cannot have played a comparable rôle with Augustus: he was lost at sea not long after the Battle of Actium (Jerome, *Chron.*, p. 187H).

P. SULPICIUS QUIRINIUS (*cos.* 12 B. C.). The obituary, from Tiberius' speech in the Senate requesting a public funeral (*Ann.*, III, 48), recapitulates his services, among them the post of guide and mentor to C. Caesar in the East. Quirinius had been careful to cultivate Tiberius in the period of his reclusion at Rhodes; and later, as an ex-governor of both Galatia-Pamphylia and of Syria, he must have had a place in the councils of both rulers.

THRASYLLUS. The great astrologer (*P. I. R.*¹, T 137). He passed the ordeal at Rhodes contrived by Tiberius who *incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat oraculi vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet* (*Ann.*, VI, 21, 3). Perhaps the parent of Ti. Claudius Balbillus (*P. I. R.*², C 813 and B 38), cf. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), pp. 370 ff. In any case, highly influential on Capreae: Cichorius further suggested that Ennia Thrasylla, wife of Sertorius Macro, the Prefect of the Guard, was the grand-daughter of Thrasyllus.

VALERIUS LIGUR. The Augustan precedent invoked by Claudius Caesar when he asked that his Prefect of the Guard, Rufrius Pollio, should be allowed a seat in the Senate whenever he was present himself (Dio, LX, 23, 3). Perhaps an Augustan *prae-fectus praetorio*, cf. *P. I. R.*¹, V 68, where it is suggested that he may be identical with Varius Ligur (V 189).

VALERIUS PAULINUS. Procurator of Narbonensis in 69. Himself a citizen of Forum Iulium, he caused the region to revolt from Vitellius, *strenuus militiae et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus* (Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 43, 1). Hence the prospect of a brilliant career, and it was reasonable to identify him with Paulinus, Prefect of Egypt early in the reign of Vespasian (Josephus, *B. J.*, VII, 434). So *P. I. R.*¹, V 105. However, *P. Oxy.*, 1266, line 25 (of 72/73), discloses a different *gentilicium*, probably "Caunius," cf. R. Syme, *J. R. S.*, XLIV (1954), p. 116, adducing the reading of C. H. Roberts.

Q. VERANIUS (*cos.* 49). Legate of Britain in 58, *supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Neronem adulatione addidit subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si triennio proximo visisset* (*Ann.*, XIV, 29, 1). His advancement had been rapid—quaestor in 37 (*I. G. R.*, III, 703: Cyaneae in Lycia), and tribune of the plebs in 41, when he carried

negotiations for Claudius between the Guard and the Senate (Josephus, *A. J.*, XIX, 229 ff.), to become (after the governorship of the new province of Lycia—Pamphylia) *ordinarius* in 49 at about thirty-seven. A loyal friend of the dynasty—the father, who had served under Germanicus Caesar in the East, was active in the prosecution of Cn. Piso (*Ann.*, III, 10, 1, etc.). For further particulars, see the new inscription, edited by A. E. Gordon, *Univ. of Cal. Publ. in Class. Arch.*, II (1952), p. 234, whence *A. E.*, 1953, 251.

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NOTES ON DIODORUS.

I. Adherbal and the Relief of Lilybaeum (XXIV, 1, 2)

In 250 B. C. the Romans, in a supreme effort to end the war, sailed to Lilybaeum with a large fleet, joined forces with their land army, and placed that key city under strict siege, by land and by sea. On their side the Carthaginians were determined to reinforce the city. According to Polybius (I, 44) they sent a relief expedition, 10,000 men and 50 ships, commanded by the trierarch Hannibal "son of Hamilcar (I) and close friend of Adherbal ('Ατάρβας)." Having successfully completed his mission and delivered the reinforcements to Himilco, the general in command at Lilybaeum, Hannibal again eluded the blockaders and sailed off to Drepana, to join his friend Adherbal, the commander-in-chief of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily (I, 46).

Zonaras' version of the story (VIII, 15, 11) differs in a number of details, not least in the names of the principals. The Carthaginian general at Lilybaeum is Hamilcar, not Himilco, and the relief expedition sent from Carthage, "a very large number of ships carrying grain and money" (soldiers are not mentioned), is headed by 'Αρδέβας (= Adherbal?). Following this successful attempt to break through the blockade many others followed suit, he says, with varying results.

The story as given by Diodorus is preserved only in the Hoeschel fragments, which, though in general far less reliable than the Constantinian excerpts, do frequently provide a summary, brief but useful, of the author's whole narrative of events, especially as it concerns Sicily. The brief statement relating to the relief expedition is as follows (XXIV, 1, 2): *πολιορκουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς βοήθεια ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας, ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ σῖτος, καὶ ἀνεθάρσθησαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτάρβου.* Wesseling¹ transposed the last three words to read: *ἦλθεν . . . βοήθεια . . . ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ σῖτος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτάρβου, καὶ ἀνεθάρσθησαν.* This easy "correction" brings the text of Diodorus into partial correspondence with that of Zonaras (if not of Polybius). Both Dindorf and Bekker accept it, and it has thus become the stand-

¹ He says: "Venit enim una cum classe . . . Adherbal, uti ex *Polybio* L. I, 44. & clarissime ex *Zonara* Ann. L. VIII. pag. 298. conficitur." As to Polybius this is one of Wesseling's rare lapses.

ard reading, accepted and used by historians as if it were, beyond question, the authentic reading of the text.

Thus, in a recent study Thiel,² apparently taking it for granted that Diodorus and Zonaras both here reflect the same tradition, which he ascribes to Philinus, argues that the record reveals two major reinforcements of Lilybaeum by the Carthaginians, first the arrival of Adherbal with 4,000 men, followed later by that of Hannibal and his 10,000. This enables him also to reconcile, after a fashion, the varying figures for the town's original garrison given by Diodorus and Polybius,³ though to do so he is forced to claim that "the excerptor of Diodorus has suppressed Hannibal's mission and Polybius is silent on the reinforcements brought by Adherbal."⁴

Now it is true that Adherbal, who apparently succeeded Hasdrubal in 250 B. C. as the Carthaginian commander in Sicily after the latter's defeat at Panormus, is not mentioned earlier in Polybius' account. Thiel assumes that Adherbal was sent out from Carthage, and even suggests that he (with Carthalo) was responsible for the vigorous rebuilding of the Punic navy at this time.⁵ This is possible, certainly, but the evidence for such a reconstruction of events is far less solid than Thiel would have it.

Thiel makes much of the fact that Hannibal the trierarch is introduced as an intimate friend of Adherbal (Polybius, I, 44, 1) "in spite of the fact that Adherbal is mentioned here for the first time and therefore cannot be supposed to be known to the reader. This *proves definitely* [italics mine] that he had read Philinus' account of Adherbal's mission: he suppressed the story of this mission, but a few moments afterwards he unconsciously copied a passage from Philinus which supposed that story to be known."⁶ The fact is, of course, that Polybius, whose account of the First Punic War is an attempt to set the record straight (I, 14, 1; 15, 13), *does* assume that his readers are familiar with at least the general course of events. The unmotivated mention of Adherbal in I, 44, 1 is hardly more

² J. H. Thiel, *A History of Roman Sea-Power before the Second Punic War* (Amsterdam, 1954), pp. 263 ff. and *passim*.

³ The 10,000 of Polybius (I, 44, 2) corresponding, he says, to the 7,700 of Diodorus (XXIV, 1, 1) plus the 4,000 men brought by Adherbal.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 264, n. 659.

surprising than, for example, the sudden appearance of Hamilcar I in I, 24, 3. But precisely because he is correcting the narratives of Philinus and Fabius Pictor, it is unlikely that he would "suppress" facts that he knew to be true. And it is clearly the implication of I, 44 that the expedition under Hannibal is the *first*, perhaps the only, relief to reach the beleaguered city. To the unbiassed reader the story would certainly seem to correspond to the single sentence in the much abbreviated account of Diodorus.

Zonaras apart, we know nothing of Adherbal's whereabouts or activities before we find him in 250 B. C. at Drepana as commander of the Carthaginian forces. Possibly he had been sent out from Carthage. It is equally possible that he had been in Sicily all along. Zonaras' account is so garbled that little trust can be put in it even, if his *Ἀρδέβας* is correctly identified with *Ἀράρβας*—Adherbal.⁷ In a comparison of the three accounts (Polybius: Hannibal, 50 ships, 10,000 soldiers; Diodorus: commander unnamed (?), 4,000 soldiers and supplies of food; Zonaras: *Ἀρδέβας*, food and money) it is at least as easy to reconcile Diodorus with Polybius as with Zonaras, especially as numerals are easily confused and miscopied, and a number of those elsewhere in the Hoeschel fragments of Diodorus are patently corrupt.

What, however, are we to make of the dangling phrase *μετὰ τοῦ Ἀράρβου* in the Diodorus passage? Were it not for the dubious and possibly misleading evidence of Zonaras a simpler solution than Wesseling's transposition might long since have been considered and adopted. By adding the definite article, to read *οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀράρβου*, the phrase becomes the subject of *ἀνεθάρσυναν*, its position in the sentence is justified, and the statement (except for the numeral) is brought into essential harmony with the Polybian account: "In the course of the siege relief arrived from Carthage, 4,000 men and supplies of food, and Adherbal and his men took heart again." In a narrative as bare as that of the Hoeschel excerptor, which never identifies the commander at Lilybaeum by name, *οἱ μετὰ τοῦ*

⁷ As already noted he confuses *Ἀμύλλας* and *Ἰμύλλων*. Just below, it is hard to tell if his story of the capture of Hanno is to be referred to Hannibal the Rhodian (Polybius, I, 47, 7-10) or to the incident in Polybius, I, 20, 15.

Ἀράβου seems a quite natural expression to use for the combined Carthaginian forces in Sicily, who being now limited to Lilybaeum and Drepana were one and all vitally concerned with the fate of Lilybaeum. If this emendation is correct, the statement in Zonaras stands alone, and must be judged on its own merits, without the seeming corroboration that it has hitherto enjoyed from the transposed text of Diodorus.⁸

II. Hamilcar Barca's Spanish Command (XXV, 8)

According to Diodorus, XXV, 8, Hamilcar Barca, after gaining high acclaim for his services to Carthage in both the First Punic War and the Libyan (or Mercenary) War, turned to demagoguery and finally induced the populace to place in his hands for an indefinite period⁹ the military command of all Libya. Polybius knows nothing of this. Indeed he twice (II, 1, 5; III, 10, 5) underscores the fact that *immediately* on the conclusion of the Libyan War Hamilcar left for Spain. There is no hint that his conduct at any time fell short of his former high standards or that he is acting for his own ends or without the full support and backing of the government.

Appian, however, in his two brief accounts of Hamilcar (*Hisp.*, 4-5; *Hann.*, 2) depicts him as a discredited man, who to avoid disgrace went off to Spain, seeking booty wherewith to win back his popularity. The two accounts by Appian do not altogether agree as to the exact occasion: both speak of his holding a command against the Numidians, but in *Hisp.* this event is subsequent to the Libyan War, whereas in *Hann.* that war is not mentioned and the time would *seem* to be immediately after the Carthaginian defeat in Sicily.

⁸ Thiel is also concerned (*op. cit.*, p. 264, n. 659, *ad fin.*) by the fact that in Diod., XXIV, 1, 6 Hannibal the trierarch, though not mentioned earlier, turns up at Drepana. But Polybius tells us (I, 46, 1) that he went from Lilybaeum to Drepana, and with my reading of the Diodorus text we are now free to assume that for Diodorus as for Polybius it was Hannibal who brought the relief forces to Lilybaeum, and even perhaps that it was he who conveyed the 700 cavalry from Lilybaeum to Drepana (Diod., XXIV, 1, 3). The fact that the epitomizer of Diodorus does not mention him by name until XXIV, 1, 6 involves no conflict with the Polybian account, and might even be considered to support the suggestion that in the original text of Diodorus he had been introduced earlier as head of the relief expedition.

⁹ So Herwerden, reading *eis χρόνον ἀόριστον* for the obviously corrupt *eis χρόνον ἀλόγιστον* of the sole MS (P).

Obviously Appian is none too reliable here, and is following, moreover, a strongly anti-Barcid tradition. Even so there is nothing comparable to Diodorus' statement that Hamilcar "induced the people to grant him unlimited military command over all Libya." In the fuller account, that in *Hisp.*, Appian expressly states that Hamilcar shared the command against the Numidians with Hanno the Great, and that it was only when Hanno was recalled to Carthage to face charges that Hamilcar was left in sole command—whereupon he at once put himself out of reach by crossing over to Spain!

As it stands, then, the statement of Diodorus is suspect, since it goes beyond even what the anti-Barcid tradition related. Now up to this point, especially in the account of the Libyan War, Diodorus has been following Polybius closely, at times even slavishly. It is true that the latter part of XXV, 8 reflects non-Polybian material of the anti-Barcid sort. However, in XXV, 10, 3 Diodorus says that on the occasion of the Numidian revolt Hamilcar, then in Spain, sent his son-in-law Hasdrubal back to Carthage, and it is thus clear that on this point the account of Diodorus cannot possibly be reconciled with that of Appian.¹⁰ For Diodorus, as for Polybius, Hamilcar was dispatched to Spain immediately after the close of the Libyan War and took no personal part in the Numidian revolt. Since no room is thus left for a Libyan command subsequent to the Libyan War, the text is wrong and must be emended. By reading Ἰβηρίας for Λιβύης we can bring the passage into conformity both with the facts of history and with the account of Polybius; above all we can thus reconcile it with our other evidence for the original narrative of Diodorus himself.

III. Book XXV, 19: Two Corrections

For some parts of the lost books of Diodorus our only guide to the original narrative is the fantastic "poetic" production of Johannes Tzetzes. Though its historical value is negligible, a few obvious errors may be corrected.

In line 18 of the present passage (= *Hist.*, I, 717), Tzetzes has Hamilcar perish in the river Iber. The surprise attack in which he died was, however, in the vicinity of Helice (XXV, 10,

¹⁰ The vague στρατηγῆσας κατὰ Καρχηδόνα at the opening of XXV, 10 need refer to nothing more than Hamilcar's part in the Libyan War.

3-4), by which is probably meant Ilici, the modern Elche, a few miles south-west of Alicante. The river Iber (the Ebro) is in this context a geographical absurdity. For Ἰβηρος we should therefore perhaps read Τάβηρος or Τέρεβος, the Taber or Tereps river (Ptolemy, *Geog.*, II, 6, 14), which is either the modern Segura or its tributary the Tarafa, near Elche. But it is not unlikely that the mistake goes back to Tzetzes himself. He was, after all, capable of designating the Carthaginians throughout his work as "Sicels"!

In line 60 (= *Hist.*, I, 759) there is an obvious dittography, the final word, Ἀργυρίππας being derived from Ἀργυρίππαν, the last word of the following line. The sense demands that we restore the line to read: αἱ Κάνναι πεδίαδες δὲ εἰσι τῆς Ἀπουλίας.

IV. Aemilius patronus (XXIX, 27)

According to Justin the Alexandrians, after the accession of the boy-king Ptolemy V Epiphanes and the overthrow of Agathocles, sent an embassy to Rome *orantes ut tutelam pupilli susciperent, tuerenturque regnum Aegypti* (XXX, 2, 8). The Romans were receptive to the plea: *mittuntur itaque legati qui Antiocho et Philippo denuntient regno Aegypti absterneant; mittitur et M. Lepidus in Aegyptum qui tutorio nomine regnum pupilli administret* (XXX, 3, 3-4). In particular, the Romans warned Antiochus: *abstineret regno pupilli, postremis patris precibus fidei suae traditi* (XXXI, 1, 2).

Though the account as a whole is both confused and confusing, the Roman embassy referred to is clearly the one appointed late in the consular year 201 B. C., which consisted of C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Neither Polybius, however, nor Livy knows anything of Lepidus' alleged administration of Egypt as guardian of the Senate's royal ward, and the only other references to this or a similar circumstance are much less specific. The earliest is a denarius of ca. 69 B. C., which shows Lepidus placing the diadem on a youthful figure and bears the legend TVTOR REG./ M. LEPIDVS/ PONT. MAX. Tacitus says only: . . . *maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in Aegyptum miserant* (*Ann.*, II, 67), but gives no clue to the precise occasion. Valerius Maximus is apparently more specific (VI, 6, 1): *cum Ptolemaeus rex tutorem populum Romanum filio reliquisset,*

senatus M. Aemilium Lepidum, pontificem maximum, bis consulem, ad pueri tutelam gerendam Alexandriam misit, amplissimique et integerrimi viri sanctitatem, reipublicae usibus et sacris operatam, externae procurationi vacare voluit. But his words provide a *terminus post quem* (175 B. C.) only if we assume that the rehearsal of honors¹¹ held by Lepidus belongs to the narrative proper and is not a retrospective embellishment.

Mahaffy,¹² assuming that some truth underlay the account given by Justin, suggested that the Egyptian court may have wanted a formal protector of Egyptian interests at Rome and that Lepidus, having received hospitality at Alexandria in 200 B. C., undertook the task: "He could not, of course, be called the king's *Patronus*, so the title *Tutor* may have been used in familiar conversation at Rome." In the course of time this was misunderstood and reinterpreted, and hence arose the family legend, piously recorded on the coin and reflected in the later historical writings.

The most searching criticism of the legend has been made by W. Otto.¹³ While admitting that the visit to Alexandria in 200 B. C. probably stimulated in Lepidus a lifelong interest in Egypt, Otto denies that the event commemorated on the coin could have occurred at that time, and he would refer it to the creation of Ptolemy Eupator, the oldest son of Philometor, as King of Cyprus in 152, just before the death of Lepidus.

In this discussion one piece of evidence, though slight, has apparently been overlooked entirely. A brief fragment of Diodorus (XXIX, 27), preserved in the Constantinian collection *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, singles out for praise a man who is identified only as ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὁ ὑπατος ὁ καὶ πάτρων γεγονός. The preceding fragment (XXIX, 26) in this collection can be dated to 180 or 179 B. C., the one that follows (XXIX, 32) to 175. The passage therefore relates to the period 180-175. Who, however, is the Aemilius under discussion?

The two possibilities are M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 187

¹¹ Lepidus was consul in 187 and 175, and *pontifex maximus* from 180 to his death, in 152.

¹² *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (1895), p. 298, n. 1; cf. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 2nd ed. (London, 1914), pp. 256-7.

¹³ *Zur Geschichte des Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, *Abh. Münch., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XI (1934), pp. 27-9, 122-3.

and 175, and L. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 182 and again in 168 B. C. Dindorf apparently assumed that it was the latter.¹⁴ But for the period 180-175 a much stronger case can be made for Lepidus, who became *pontifex maximus* in 180, censor and *princeps senatus* in 179, served as a *III vir coloniae deducendae* in 177, and held his second consulship in 175. Paullus, on the other hand, after the consulship of 182 and the proconsulship of 181 was apparently in political eclipse for the decade following. To be sure, he acted as *patronus* for the plaintiffs from Further Spain in the trials for peculation in 171, but there seems to be no reason why this should be mentioned in a notice of 180-175. Further, the Aemilius of Diodorus, XXIX, 27 is spoken of as "handsome in appearance," a point which again suggests Lepidus (cf. Polybius, XVI, 34, 6).

Assuming, then, that the identification with Lepidus is correct, the designation *πάτριων* will almost certainly refer to the family legend recorded by Justin, and the Diodorus passage thus provides our earliest *literary* allusion to that legend. Translated literally, the phrase means: "Aemilius the consul, who had also become (or been) *patronus*,"¹⁵ and on the face of it this would seem to look backward from 180-175 rather than forward. While this does not necessarily rule out Otto's interpretation of the coin, it at least suggests that to Diodorus Lepidus was already the recognized champion of Egyptian interests as early as 175, and that the historical basis for the legend is to be sought in the events of 200-175, rather than at the very close of Lepidus' life. To that extent the passage accords well with Mahaffy's interpretation.

(to be continued)

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¹⁴ "xxix, 22" in his Index (s. v. "L. Aemilius Paullus?") seems to be a misprint for "xxix, 27."

¹⁵ The excerptor seems to have omitted the defining genitive after *πάτριων*, unless the larger context of the passage made such a genitive unnecessary.

NOTES ON CORINNA.

A readable portion of the Berlin papyrus, col. i, 12-34, is presented by D. L. Page in his recent and masterly edition (London, 1953). I reproduce it from p. 19, but omit all lectional signs except those said (pp. 10 f.) to be visible in the papyrus.

- Κώρει-
- τες εθρε]ψαν δάθιο[ν θι]as
 βρεφο]s αντροι λαθρά[δα]ν ἀγ-
- 15 κο]υλομειταιο Κρόνω τα-
 νικά νιν κλεψε μακηρα Ρεια
- μεγάλαν τ' [α]θανατων εσ-
 s] ελε τιμαν· ταδ' έμελψεμ
 μακαρας δ' αυτικα Μώση
- 20 φ]ερεμεν ψαφον έ[τ]αττον
 κρ]ουφιαν καλπιδας εν χρῶν-
 σοφαις· τῷ δ' ἄμα παντε[s] ὤρθεν·
- πλιονας δ' ἴλε Κιθήρων
 ταχα δ' Ερμᾶs ανέφαν[εν
- 25 νι]ν ἄούσᾶs εραταν ὡs
 έ]λε νῖκαν στεφ[α]νῶσιν
 . . .](.) ατώ. ανεκόσμειον
 μακα]ρες· τω δε νοος γεγάθι
- ο δε λό]υπησι κά[θ]εκτος
- 30 χαλεπ]ῆσιν φελι[κ]ων ε-
] λιττάδα [π]ετραν
] κεν δ' ο[ρο]s· ὑκτρῶs
] ων δῶψ[ο]θεν εἴρι-
 σε νιν ε]μ μοῦ[ρι]αδεσσι λάῦs·

Errors of the scribe occur in lines 14, 22, 23 and at the junction of lines 15/16, 33/34. All but the last are self-corrected. The last is revealed by the metre.

Thus we have a *codex unicus*, admittedly not a letter-perfect copy of the *autographon*, though separated from it by only some 300 years. Our problems are: (1) to restore the damaged codex as completely as possible—it may have contained errors, diffi-

cult or impossible to divine; and (2) to reach the autograph on that lies behind it. I may quote Maas, *Textkritik*, p. 10: "Erweist sich die Überlieferung als verdorben, so muss versucht werden, sie durch *divinatio* zu heilen."

This readable portion comprises four stanzas each of which tells of one step in the story. The first is incomplete, but must have given the substance of Cithaeron's¹ song. I should put a period at its close.

The second stanza tells the events that followed on the close of the ἀγών: loud applause for Cithaeron; a secret vote ordered.

The third stanza gives the result as it affects Cithaeron; his victory, its proclamation, his prize, his joy.

The fourth stanza tells the effect upon Helicon: his misery, his taking the one vote he had got, going off to his mountain, and casting it away among the thousands of stones on the mountainside.

In line 13 I should restore δαθιο[ι, not δάθιο[ν]. The question is whether to sacrifice the usual meaning of the word, or a belief in the inerrancy of the scribe. As for the latter I sympathize with the conclusion expressed by Bechtel, *G. D.*, I, p. 270: "dass man also keiner auffälligen Betonung trauen darf, die durch ein einziges Beispiel vertreten ist," even though I recognize the possibility of avoiding the example from which he started by a different restoration. In the present case the scribe may have been tempted to accent δάθιοι as he would a word ending in -οι of his native speech, ἄθεοι for instance.

I should render the opening of the second stanza: "Great was the honor he (Cithaeron) won from the Immortals. For that was what he sang of." All that is traditional in the second sentence is the graph: ΤΑΔΕΜΕΛΛΕΜ. Each modern (cf. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, p. 38) does, and must, analyze such graphs for himself. Whether one here starts with ΤΑ or ΤΑΔΕ he will run into a usage or a form, which (cf. Page, pp. 54-5) he will have to explain as borrowed from epic. I understand the sentence to be an explanation of Cithaeron's success—the clever-

¹ I follow Wilamowitz; not because of his prestige, but because of the probability that in a literary report of an ἀγών the last contestant will be the victor. Aristophanes counted on his audience viewing with a smile the privilege of speaking first: cf. *Clouds*, 940-1, *Wasps*, 548 f., *Frogs*, 860-1.

ness of his choice of a subject that would appeal to all the gods, the founding of their dynasty. For this reason I separate ΔΕ from ΤΑ, taking it to be used in a context that "even appears to demand γάρ" (Denniston, *The Greek Particles*,² p. 169). ΔΕΜΕΛΨΕΜ is clearly two words; but how Corinna intended their division I do not undertake to decide, for the difference between the two possibilities is by no means clear. The scribe chose Δ' ΕΜΕΛΨΕΜ.

In line 25 *ερωταν* seems preferable to *εραταν*. On p. 60 Page shows the uncertainty of what is in the papyrus, citing *ερ*[...]*αν* (Wilamowitz) and *εραταν* (Croenert). He feels that -ρο- is to be expected because of inscriptional evidence. For this compare Bechtel I, pp. 242-3, Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (1955), p. 20.

Of the first half of line 27 all but three letters are gone; Page, p. 47, abandons the situation. Wilamowitz, Croenert, and Lobel, *Hermes*, LXV (1930), p. 361, saw that a connective was needed, and restored [δε]. That is all the good I can find in the previous tries as reported by Page. We are thus confronted by: [δ...] ..ατω.ανεκοσμιν. At first it seemed probable that the missing word was a genitive telling of what stuff the wreaths were made. But Pindar does not use such a phrase, and Bacchylides offers only (13, 69 f. Snell): πανθαλέων στεφάνοισιν[[άνθ]έ[ων]. However, poets dealing with the great festivals may well have had no wish to tell known facts to their hearers; while Corinna, whether following a local custom or inventing freely, might judge it advisable to be more explicit. At all events phrases of that type are cited in LSJ from Attic. I suggest that Corinna wrote: στεφαννιν[δ' ελατων. To show the appropriateness of this word, I quote E. R. Dodds' comment on Eur., *Bacch.*, 32-3: "Cithaeron . . . It is still thickly wooded with silver firs (the *ελάται* of 38), whence its modern name 'Ελατί." The reading suggested was not in the papyrus, but its scribe may have varied only by the dittography of a single letter. The spaces indicated could be filled by δ ελ[α]ατων.²

The mutilation of the fourth stanza is much greater. I suggest a complete restoration in which all supplements, except those at the beginnings of lines 31, 32, 33, are to be found in Page:

² Another possibility would be: δελ[α]ατων, a blundering correction of an Attic *ελατών*.

ο δε λο]υπησι κα[θ]εκτος
χαλεπ]ησιν φελι[κ]ων ε<σ>-
σελ' ιαν] λιττάδα [π]ετραν·
εβεβα]κεν δ' ο[ρο]ς· υκτρως
δε μακ]ων ουψ[ο]θεν ειρι-
σε νιν ε]μ μου[ρι]αδεσσι λανς·

It will be noticed that this suggestion differs fundamentally from the translation given by Page, p. 20. That leads to a broader question.

It is one of the many merits of Page's book that he points (pp. 76-8) to the close parallelism between the procedure at this ἀγών and that of Athenian practice, and compares both to the legal procedure of West Locris as seen in a bronze tablet from Galaxidi (now published with commentary by Buck,² *op. cit.*, pp. 248-53). He mentions various details by which the picture is realistically developed. One may have been overlooked, and it is one in which Athens and Corinna show an advance in democracy over Locris.

Athens perfected a method of guarding the secrecy of the voting. Each juror was given two ballots; one shaped to signify *x*, the other to signify *y*. He dropped the one he wished to register in a designated urn, the one he wished to discard in another urn provided for that purpose. Had he been allowed to keep his second ballot, he could have proved how he had voted. The shaping of the ballot was such that it was easy to conceal, and difficult to reveal, which went into which urn.

The provision in the Galaxidi inscription is simply ἐν ὑδρίαν ψάφειξιν εἶμεν calling for one urn. That may be more secret than a show of hands, but the secrecy is not well guarded. Indeed the purpose may be merely to prevent miscounting by the presiding officer. There is nothing in the inscription to show that secrecy was desired.

Now in stanza 2 Corinna orders explicitly a secret vote ψαφον . . . κρονφίαν and urns (καλπίδας) are set for the ballots. On my understanding of stanza 4 a smooth pebble λιττάδα πέτραν would signify a vote for Helicon, and by implication a rough stone one for Cithaeron. Except for this primitive marking of her ballots Corinna is in perfect harmony with Athenian procedure. The exception is no difficulty. Chronology would de-

mand such a change, and it would free the poet from some stylistic difficulties. Imagine the troubles of the modern maker of a border ballad, who decided to ignore an anachronism and to have the "rescue's lingering aid" brought up in motorized trucks.

It seems to me clear that Corinna is imitating Athens, not Locris; and that is strong reason for dating her *ca.* 200 B. C., the date suggested first by Lobel, and the one to which Page (cf. his last words) seems inclined.

To speak of my supplements in detail:

The opening of stanza 3 *πλίουας δ' ἔλε Κιθιρῶν* is balanced by the statement at the opening of stanza 4 that Helicon got one vote. It might seem better to emend the close of the second line to *ἔ-λεν*, but I think it simpler to supply the compound *ἔσσ-ελε* "took out (of the urn)." Space in the next line appears to suit *-σελ' ιαν* better than *-λεν ιαν*.³

The tense of *εβεβᾶ]κεν* causes no trouble. In the ending *-κει* (however spelled) might be expected, but there seems, cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gram.*, I, p. 777, to be no need of emendation.

In line 33 *δε βο]ῶν*, *δε γο]ῶν* are rejected by Page, p. 18, as not filling the space. I feel grateful for their suggestiveness.

The first longer word to suggest itself was *μυκῶν*; but the graph to be expected in this papyrus *δε μουκ]ων* is too long. There may be ways of avoiding this difficulty, but it is unnecessary to consider them. The word best suited to the noise made by Helicon in his crushing defeat is *μακῶν*. The dictionaries (Cunliffe and LSJ) start from 'bleating' as the basic meaning. I think a better description of the usage of the word may start from 'cry of an animal in great pain.' The pain may be caused by a deadly blow as in *καὶ δ' ἔπεισ' κονίησι μακῶν*, Π 469 (of a horse), κ 163 (of a stag), σ 98 (of Irus), τ 454 (of a boar). It may also be due to an emotion: to fear, as in *ὥς δ' ὅτε . . . κύνε . . . ἢ κεμάδ' ἢ λαγῶν ἐπείγεται* . . . ὁ δέ τε προθήησι μεμηκώς, K

³ According to Bechtel, *G. D.*, I, p. 257, and Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4, the most usual equivalent of *ἐξ-* in Boeotian is *ἔσσ-*, less frequently *ἔσ-*. Corinna probably used *ἔσσελε*, and the scribe may have found it already varied to *ἔσελε*. If he took the two forms as metrically equivalent (the *ε|σερνε* of Wilamowitz and Croenert implies a similar view) he may have written *ε|σελ' ιαν*. Merkelbach (by letter) points out that this may be not too long for the space available, since the iota would require little room. I agree that this was probably the text of the papyrus.

362, and οἷ τέ σε πεφρίκασι λεόνθ' ὡς μηκάδες αἶγες, Δ 383; or to maternal instincts as in οἷες . . . ἐστήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι . . . ἀζηχὲς μεμαχῦναι ἀκούουσαι ὅπα ἀρνῶν, Δ 435, ἤμελγεν οἷς καὶ μηκάδας αἶγας . . . καὶ ὑπ' ἔμβρον ἦκεν ἐκάστη, ι 244 = 341, and θήλειαι δὲ μέμῃκον ἀνήμελκτοι περὶ σηκούς (where their young were penned) οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγεῦντο, ι 439. Twice μηκάδες seems to have become a stock epithet, though even here there is an emotional background. In Ψ 31 πολλοὶ δ' οἷες καὶ μηκάδες αἶγες are waiting to be butchered; and in ι 124, βόσκει δὲ τε μηκάδας αἶγας, the nannies and kids are separated according to Cyclopean habits.

I am not troubled by λάως f. in line 34. The synonym λίθος is at times feminine under the influence of πέτρα, no doubt; and the same may have happened to λᾶος in Boeotian, or in Corinna's idiolect.

Line 27 ends with ἀνεκόσμειον which at first blush looks like a compound. The meaning 'adorn *anew*' does not suit the context, and attestation of ἀνακοσμέω is (cf. LSJ) extremely slight. I seemed to remember that Page had drawn attention to this, but can find only his citation (p. 63) of ἐκοσμοῖν as a probable example of synizesis. I notice also the lack of an object for the verb. I suggest therefore that *αν* is a slight scribal error, and would read the sentence:

στεφανυσιν
δ' ἐλατων νιν ἐκόσμειον
μακάρες.

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NOTES ON PRIMITIVISM IN VERGIL.

I have just read with great interest Professor Margaret E. Taylor's admirable article on "Primitivism in Virgil" (*A. J. P.*, LXXVI, pp. 261-78), and should like to make three little observations suggested by it.

(1) Miss Taylor points out justly that Vergil has little to say with regard to the theme of "eternal Rome" (p. 267). Indeed, I believe there is even a suggestion that this concept must not be taken for granted in the admonitory tone of the imperative in the famous line *tu regere imperio populos, Romanæ, memento* (*Aen.*, VI, 851); if Rome is to have *imperium sine fine*, the Romans must do their part in bringing this about. However, I think there is perhaps a hint of *aeterna Roma* in the poet's tribute to Nisus and Euryalus (*IX*, 447-9):

nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

Here Vergil, like Horace in *Carm.*, III, 30, 8-9, made a promise which has been far more than fulfilled; the fame of the glorious pair, like that of Horace himself, has long outlasted the imperial grandeurs of the Capitoline. But to the two Augustan poets, I feel sure their *dum* clauses signified "forever," just like the *dum* clauses in *Ecl.*, 5, 76-8 or in *Aen.*, I, 607-9.

(2) While the words *Saturnia regna* in *Ecl.*, 4, 6 (like *aureus* . . . *Saturnus* in *Georg.*, II, 538 and *aurea* . . . *saecula* in *Aen.*, VI, 792-3) certainly refer to a glorious golden age, I question whether the same is true of the phrase in its occurrence in *Ecl.*, 6, 41. Miss Taylor says (pp. 261-2): "the phrase *Saturnia regna* (41) suggests a golden age, presumably preceding the arts conferred by Prometheus as indicated by the next line." But the next line, *Caucasiasque refert volucris furtumque Promethei*, stresses not "the arts conferred by Prometheus" but the horrible punishment inflicted upon him by the king of the gods as a penalty for conferring these arts. In this *Eclogue* I think Vergil is wholly Epicurean, though I believe that in the *Aeneid* he is fundamentally and almost consistently Stoic (Dido and Anna

are the Epicureans there, and perhaps it is significant that the Epicurean theme is sounded in poetry there by a singer at Dido's court). Following up the illuminating suggestion made by Tenney Frank, *Vergil* (New York, 1922), pp. 96-9, that Silenus is Siro and *Ecl.* 6 represents an Epicurean lecture, I have proposed elsewhere (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXV, p. 219) "that the particular myths were introduced for the sake of the ridiculous, repulsive, or cruel element that is prominent in each—as Lucretius chose the tragic Iphigenia story to prove his point: *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*." Thus *lapides Pyrrhae iactos* just before *Saturnia regna* (and significantly following the accepted Epicurean account of the first appearances of life on earth) may have led to the query on the master's part: how could stones turn into people? And our phrase *Saturnia regna* itself may have led to a discussion on the impropriety of a view of divinity imputing such unfilial and cruel behavior on the part of the great king of the gods that his poor old father had to seek a new (and inferior) kingdom on earth. This does not seem far-fetched in view of the climactic horrors of the following myths: Prometheus punished by this same king of the gods for aiding man; lustful nymphs stealing a beautiful boy from his comrades; Pasiphae, even madder than the daughters of Proetus (who had been driven into a frenzy by some divinity), torn through a god's agency by appalling desire for her bull-mate. The poem seems to grow a little gentler and milder in its references to Atalanta and the sisters of Phaethon; but perhaps the lecturer means to dwell in connection with their stories not only on the impossible metamorphoses involved but on the terrible punishment meted out to Atalanta and her lover by one goddess for an act incited by another, and on the fact that the sisters of Phaethon are lamenting a brother's death caused indirectly by the want of foresight on the part of his divine father, and directly by the thunder-bolt hurled by his divine grandfather. Then, after a somewhat puzzling reference to Gallus (creating problems which I discussed on pp. 236-8), the poem goes back to fresh horrors in two more tales of transformations, the story of Scylla who betrayed her father, and the still more terrible one of Philomela and Tereus and the ghastly meal that she prepared and he consumed. All these abominations as depicted by the lecturer are transformed and concealed

by the poet; as I said before (p. 219), "Vergil's natural grace and tenderness lead him to beautify the ugly, soften the harsh, and refine the savage, so that we get a sympathetic and poetic picture rather than the unpleasant impression which a hostile Epicurean critic might have desired to convey." But still I do not think we can cite *Saturnia regna* in this catalogue as standing for an idyllic golden age.

(3) I feel highly gratified by Miss Taylor's friendly reference (p. 273, n. 21) to my article "*Pietas* vs. *Violentia* in the *Aeneid*" (*C. W.*, XXV, pp. 9-13 and 17-21), but I think this, as she herself realizes, is hardly relevant. My thesis there was not "that the *violentia* of Turnus and his followers is barbarism or even savagery which must give way to the civilized *pietas* of Aeneas" (pp. 272-3), for I was dealing with *violentia* from the standpoint of morality rather than of anthropology. To be sure, I did think as Miss Taylor does that some of the Italians opposed to Aeneas are savage in the sense of being uncivilized; see especially p. 19, which she quotes, and also the reference to the contempt felt by a savage race for the refinements of a higher civilization (p. 21), also touched upon by Miss Taylor (p. 272). But in general I was treating Turnus' *violentia* as on a par with Dido's *furor*; it represents the quality of opposition to the divine will and the true morality; it is *nefas* vs. *fas*, it is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *hybris*; and it is displayed by all types of the opponents of Aeneas, by Greeks and Carthaginians as well as Italians, and by divine beings (notably Juno) as well as humans. So far as Turnus' *violentia* goes, Miss Taylor herself shares this view, for she points out that *violentia* "is not presented as the product of a primitive way of life" (p. 273) but is "more akin to the excess of the Greek tragic hero" (p. 274). Hence we are in fundamental agreement—except that I was not touching on primitivism as such at all. This has become Miss Taylor's own domain; she has already given us a fine study of primitivism—or the lack of it—in Lucretius (*A. J. P.*, LXVIII, pp. 180-94), and I hope she will go on to one of primitivism in Horace and then perhaps in Tacitus.

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HORACE, *C.*, I, 33.

Markland, the most sagacious of eighteenth century critics and the most learned after Bentley, admitted that with a lifetime of effort he could not understand a single ode of Horace. For this he was naturally and severely rebuked by less candid contemporaries (see Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, pp. 289 f.). It was only the advent of Peerlkamp's first edition that enabled Gottfried Hermann to observe that Horace's readers were beginning to be roused from their comfortable slumbers.

Certainly there is much to admire in *C.*, I, 33, even on the surface. But without venturing to suppose that we can understand what Markland could not, we may try to dig a little deeper than is usually done. The poet seems to be developing his familiar formula of parataxis: as A is to B, so is B to C. This is specifically stated in the second strophe: Lycoris—Cyrus: Cyrus—Pholoe. It is, no doubt, to be inferred in the first and fourth: 1) Albius—Glycera: Glycera—X; melior Venus¹—Horace: Horace—Myrtale.² It is not certain that all three groups are to be taken in the same way, but it is a rather likely inference from the structure and from the third stanza. As often, what is not stated is the important thing.

Horace's humor is not always appreciated. In line 4 he seems to be making a splendid pun: *laesa fide*. (So also, perhaps, at II, 18, 9.) On the surface this means "she has broken her word and left you," or "she insults your lyre and refuses to be won by your poetry"; but combined with the preceding lines *miserabiles decantes elegos*, it may mean "your lute is off key," "your poetry is defective," "you have no further power to win her with your verse, this sweet-sour grape of yours" (on the play involved in *immitis Glycerae* see Verrall, *Stud. Hor.*, p. 156, n. 2 and many others, following Jahn's *πικρὸν Γλυκέριον*). *Miserabiles* may also have a double meaning: "dreadful" or "calculated to inspire pity" (and was so interpreted in an-

¹ It is not absolutely impossible that melior Venus = Glycera, thus squaring the circle: see I, 19; 30 and III, 19.

² Cf. Willi, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur*, pp. 178 ff. on the "Liebeskette" motif.

tiquity: see pseudo-Acro). Since the equations and the pun, if it is that, bring nearly every verse of the little poem to a double sense, we cannot doubt that Horace was writing in his most playful mood and with the same verbal adroitness which produced the wonderful *quale portentum* of I, 22, 13, turning τὸ λαλαγεῖν into Lalage³ and the poet's refrain into a pleasant way of routing wild beasts: as it were a prudent and poetic form of life-insurance. "I have only to raise my inspired voice (since my character is beyond reproach) to achieve a universal safe-conduct. And (bless me) wherever I may be I shall keep on yodelling" (which is the same as loving).⁴ This is, one may imagine, funny and admirable fooling, in spite of Hendrickson, *C. J.*, V, pp. 250 ff.; and I, 33 seems to be of the same humor. A vigorous pun ties us down to the quality of Tibullus' productions (*miserabiles*). But it is fun without rancor; and, of the same stamp, Albius' attachment to Glycera should be like Horace's to Myrtale. It may be significant that Miss Sour-Sweet did not survive into Tibullus' published work. Perhaps Horace's rebuke had been a trifle too vigorous: "My poor man, you're loosing even your style. With *that* one."

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³ Curiously enough it is Lalage who is the *immitis uva* in II, 5, 10.

⁴ That is, my love is vocal: it expresses itself in verse which, being poetry of the highest quality, has a magical influence on Nature and Nature's denizens.

REVIEWS.

J. A. O. LARSEN. Representative Government in Greek and Roman History. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955. Pp. viii + 249. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, 28.)

This is a book which badly needed to be written, and few, if any, scholars were more qualified to write it than Professor Larsen. For over thirty years one of his chief interests has been the governmental problems faced by the Greeks and Romans. In writing these lectures, therefore, he was able to rely heavily on his previous researches. The result is a judicious and learned book which will be of service to ancient historians for many years to come.

The scope of the book is illustrated by the titles of the eight lectures: I, The Problem; II, Early Greek Tribal and Federal States; III, Representation in Greek Permanent Alliances; IV, The Adoption of Direct Government in Federal States; V, The Introduction of Representative Government in Hellenistic Federal States; VI, Federal States and Commonalities in the Hellenistic Provinces of the Roman Empire; VII, Provincial Assemblies in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire; VIII, The Transformed Assemblies of the Late Roman Empire—Conclusion. In addition there is a useful appendix in which are listed, with appropriate discussion, the various meetings of the Achaean Confederacy from 229 B. C., the first year for which information is preserved, until the sack of Corinth in 146 B. C.

Larsen (p. 1) defines representative government "as government in which the ultimate decisions on important questions are made by representatives acting for their constituents and having authority to make such decisions according to their own best judgment." The antithesis of this type of government is direct government which the Greek and Roman city-state secured by means of primary assemblies. Within the direct government system, however, there could be strong elements of representation. After a full discussion (pp. 5-13) of the system of representation in the Athenian *boule* of five hundred, Larsen asks why Athens, although possessing such excellent representative machinery, rejected representative government by insisting that final authority must rest with the primary assembly. The answer, according to Larsen, lies not only in the smallness of the Greek city-states, but specifically in the belief which developed "that the collective judgment of the masses was superior to that of experts" (p. 14). This democratic theory did not take definite shape until relatively late—Larsen argues for the year 501/0 B. C. His chief evidence is a fragmentary inscription (*I. G.*, I², 114) containing a decree or law which transferred many powers from the council of five hundred to the *δημος πλεθύων*, a term for which he prefers the translation "entire *demos*" ("in opposition to the small part of it present in the *boule*") to the more usual "full assembly." This bill, although probably passed in 410 after the restoration of the democracy, is clearly a partial or total republication of a much

earlier document. If Larsen is correct that δῆμος πληθύνων is not a reference to the necessity of having a quorum of 6,000, but signifies that previously the council in important matters such as imposing the death penalty and declaring war did not have to consult the people, the conclusion seems inescapable that at one time—presumably shortly after the reforms of Cleisthenes—the representative *boule* had been so powerful “that it can almost be said that Athens for a few years possessed a representative government” (p. 18). This would have been a natural stage in the development from aristocracy to democracy—there is evidence for similar representative government in Chios *ca.* 600 B. C. (Tod, no. 1). Too little is known about Solon’s council of four hundred to say whether it also provided an example of representative government.

Lectures II, IV, and V deal with Greek federal states—*sympoliteiai*, to use Polybius’ term. The earliest such state for which there are reasonably adequate data, thanks chiefly to *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, XI, is the Boeotian Confederacy, established probably in 447 and dissolved after the King’s Peace of 386. In a masterly discussion (pp. 31-40) Larsen emphasizes the representative nature of the government—no primary assembly, control in the hands of eleven Boeotarchs and 660 councillors supplied by eleven “representational districts or units.” A property qualification gave an oligarchic character to the confederacy. It is interesting to note that oligarchic theory was developing representative government in Boeotia at exactly the same time that democratic theory was strengthening the primary assembly at Athens. Larsen also believes that the Chalcidic Confederacy had a representative government of an oligarchic type, although the evidence is not as satisfactory as it is for Boeotia. He thinks the confederacy was organized around 432 B. C. and he shows clearly that a confederacy was formed and not, as has often been maintained, a unitary state through the synoecism of various neighboring communities with Olynthus (pp. 42-3).

The examples of the Boeotian and Chalcidic confederacies, not to mention other federal states discussed briefly by Larsen, show that representative government was well known in fifth century Greece. In the two following centuries, however, representative government, but not representative machinery within a government, apparently disappeared. This trend started with the King’s Peace of 386 by the terms of which federal states in Greece were to be dissolved. Sparta, the agent of the peace, was conscientious in enforcing its terms only in the case of those federal states which were hostile to her—especially the Boeotian and Chalcidic confederacies. The setback to federalism, as is well known, was only temporary, but the setback to representative government was much more drastic. Larsen explains this phenomenon very lucidly (pp. 66-8) by showing that the dissolution of existing federal states made it possible for new federal governments to be organized on different lines. Thus the prevalent democratic theory “with its emphasis on the primary assembly and the collective judgment of the masses” was able to come into play. Also in federal states where one city was considerably stronger than the others—e. g., Thebes—, politicians found that a primary assembly was an excellent means for assuring control of the confederacy to the capital city. All the chief confederacies of the period—the Aetolian, Arcadian, and Achaean (down to about

217 B. C.)—had primary assemblies, for which the most important decisions were reserved, but the idea of representation was retained in the councils which were organized on the principle of representation in proportion to population. The Boeotian Confederacy, however, when it was reorganized after the liberation of Thebes in 379, apparently dispensed entirely with the earlier representative Council. We hear only of a primary assembly and the seven Boeotarchs of whom Thebes probably furnished four. Since the meetings of the primary assembly were held in Thebes and since the probouleutic power lay with the Boeotarchs, it is no wonder that the sources, when referring to the Confederacy, often speak of Thebans rather than Boeotians.

The discussion of the Achaean Confederacy is superb. Although owing much to André Aymard's learned book, *Les Assemblées de la Confédération Achaïenne* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1938), Larsen wisely rejects two of the French scholar's conclusions, namely, that a *synodos* was always a primary assembly and that in Polybius the term *boule* could be applied to such an assembly. This last assumption, highly improbable in itself, he disproves by referring to the language of Polybius, II, 37, 10, where the word *bouleutai* clearly "denotes a body of men which is not identical with the citizen body but which serves it or acts for it" (p. 77). The hoary problem as to whether *synodos* signifies a primary assembly or a representative body, Larsen, I believe, definitively settles by the simple observation that the term can mean a meeting rather than a council or assembly. "Hence a *synodos* can be a meeting either of a *boule* or of an *ekklesia* or of both" (p. 78). This solution is amply corroborated by his discussion in the text and by the evidence presented in the appendix, *The Meetings of the Assemblies of the Achaean Confederacy*. The picture presented of the organization and development of the Achaean Confederacy is briefly as follows. After its refounding in 280 B. C. the confederacy, following the democratic theory of the city-state, had both a *boule* with representation in proportion to population and a primary assembly in which votes were counted by heads. By the end of the third century—Larsen argues for the year 217—the meetings of the primary assembly had proved themselves unsatisfactory for the more complex business of the expanding confederacy. Consequently, legislation was passed which placed practically all the powers of government in the hands of the magistrates and the *boule*. The primary assembly was to be convoked only for extraordinary meetings—*synkletei*—to pass on matters of war and alliance and, by a later amendment, whenever someone brought a letter from the Roman senate. "Hence it can be said that the Achaean League essentially adopted a representative government with a proviso for referendum on a few vital questions" (p. 86).

The Achaean Confederacy apparently was the first Hellenistic federal state in Greece proper to adopt representative government. In Asia Minor, however, the Lycian Confederacy was also of the representative type. It had both a representative *boule* and a representative *ekklesia*. The fact that the larger body was called *ekklesia* suggests that it had originally been a primary body and that thus there was a change in Lycia from direct to representative govern-

ment. Larsen believes that the Achaean reform antedated the Lycian transformation. These two confederacies adopted representative government while they were still completely independent. After the interference of Rome in Greek affairs, representative government was adopted in Thessaly in 194 and in the four Macedonian republics in 167. Each of these federal states had a representative *syndrion* as the chief organ of government. The Greek term for representative government, to judge from Polybius, XXXI, 2, 12, seemingly was *syndriake politeia*, government by a *syndrion*. Although Polybius clearly admired this type of government, best exemplified in his view by the Achaean Confederacy, he nowhere presents a theory of representative government. Larsen (p. 104) suggests as a reason for this silence the fact that Greek political theory was so completely dominated by the idea of the city-state that even praise of a federal state was couched in terms of its similarity to a *polis* (cf. Polyb., II, 37, 7-11).

In the Hellenistic provinces of the Roman Empire, federal states and commonalities—associations of cities or other political organisms too loose to rank as federal states—continued to exist or were newly created. Larsen thinks it is a mistake to accept too literally Pausanias' statement, VII, 16, 9-10, that in 146 Rome dissolved all federal states in Greece only to reconstitute them shortly afterwards. The Achaean confederacy, which had antagonized the Romans, was temporarily broken up, but many federal states apparently continued to function with only minor interference from Rome. Under the Empire they served as important instruments for local government. In the course of time whatever primary assemblies may have survived in late Hellenistic confederacies disappeared, with the result that all these organizations were based on representative councils or assemblies. Larsen (p. 121) believes that in the composition of these bodies some system of representation in proportion to population was usual. Their two chief duties apparently were to maintain the imperial cult and, when appropriate, to initiate prosecution of governors. In the western provinces the assemblies (*concilia*) "were representative assemblies in the sense that primary assemblies did not exist" (p. 126). In this lecture, in which the discussion centers largely around the assemblies of the Three Gauls and of Narbonensis, Larsen deals with a mass of problems which cannot even be mentioned here. These assemblies did little governing, but they made a real contribution to the development of that part of the empire which they represented. The delegates were probably chosen by the various municipal councils according to the principle of representation in proportion to population. Each assembly elected a high priest who after his year of office became a permanent member of the body. Thus, as Larsen says (p. 139), "a western provincial assembly, with a group of former high priests superimposed upon the elected delegates, became a hybrid organization, partly a Hellenistic representative assembly and partly a council of dignitaries of the Roman type."

In the last lecture Larsen emphasizes the great difference between the assemblies of the Late Roman Empire and those of earlier times. In the late period, except for a few diocesan assemblies, the assemblies represented the great number of smaller provinces into which the old provinces had been subdivided. Thus it is almost impossible

to consider any single one of the late assemblies, for which the first evidence is the year 315 A. D., as a continuation of a particular earlier assembly. The late assemblies consisted entirely of dignitaries—the *honorati*, former imperial office holders living in the provinces, and the municipal *curiales*. Since both these classes were landholders, it is clear that in the assemblies there was no representation of urban and commercial interests. These assemblies sometimes served as organs for the publication of imperial edicts and also were encouraged, like the earlier ones, to bring charges against governors. The emperors evidently tried to use them to improve administration, but, since the members were of the same class as the governors and since they were primarily interested in bettering their own position, the emperors may often, while encouraging the assemblies, "have helped to strengthen an element which was fully as disruptive as corrupt administration" (p. 157).

Many subjects discussed by Professor Larsen have not even been mentioned in this review, in particular his excellent treatment of the Hellenic League of Philip II, Alexander, and Demetrius Poliorcetes in Lecture III; but enough has been said, I hope, to reveal the wide scope of the work. Needless to say, all Larsen's views, whether one finally agrees with them or not, deserve respectful attention. His erudition is profound and his ability to compress so much matter in such comparatively small compass is amazing and at times somewhat bewildering. Because of this compression the book is a difficult one to read, but this does not prevent it from being a worthy addition to the distinguished series of the Sather Classical Lectures.

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KURT VON FRITZ. *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity. A Critical Analysis of Polybius' Political Ideas.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xii + 490. \$7.50.

Professor von Fritz presents a study important not merely for students of Polybius but for historians and for political theorists. His aim is to consider Polybius' theory of the Roman constitution in the light of the actual growth and nature of that constitution, so far as this can be recovered, and to test the validity of Polybius' theory against the touchstones of the failure of the Roman republican constitution and of a criticism, derived from Hobbes, that Polybius provided no adequate theory of sovereignty. Thus the bulk of the book concerns itself with Polybius' background, the composition of his *History*, his interpretation of the Roman constitution, the actual growth and nature of that constitution, and the causes of its failure. Before describing in detail this discussion, note may be made of various supplementary matters.

Von Fritz adds three appendices. The first is a useful translation of those passages in Polybius concerned with his political theory. The second analyzes his concept of *Tyche* or Fortune. Polybius was not consistent in the degree of historical influence which he

attributed to arbitrary occurrence either because he held different views at different times in his life or because, not being a philosopher, he was not always consciously theorizing. Many apparent discrepancies may, however, be explained by regarding as the work of Fortune the occurrence in conjunction of elements or causes which, so conjoined, then provide a rational explanation of later developments. In a third appendix, von Fritz considers Polybius' criticism of the view held by Ephorus that Cretan political institutions were older than, and the model for, the Spartan. Seventy pages of notes contain many significant elaborations of matters of detail. There are finally a brief bibliography of works frequently cited and a considerable index.

Von Fritz opens his main discussion by considering Polybius' life and background. Although Polybius did not include the Achaean League in his critique of the constitutions of various Greek states, probably because it was not a true "city-state," he was obviously profoundly influenced by his practical political experience in connection with the League. This prevented him from being blindly pro-Roman, however much he respected their character and their constitution. In addition, Polybius was a politician, not a philosopher, and was therefore more concerned with the facts than with the theory of government.

Von Fritz is conservative in his treatment of the actual composition of the *History*. Polybius probably originally stopped with Pydna (168 B. C.) and later carried the account down to 146 B. C. He undoubtedly made changes in the earlier portions but these seem to have been in matters of detail rather than in any fundamental revision, or series of revisions such as Laqueur proposed to find. Many inconsistencies should be regarded not as signs of revision but as the result of Polybius' practical, untheoretic approach. His basic historiographic aim was to describe the facts accurately and to seek for their causal connection. He was a realistic historian, not a philosopher interpreting history after the manner of Plato or Aristotle. When he used philosophic language, especially that of Stoicism, he did so not as a professional but in the current, non-technical sense. He thought in political, not in moral terms.

Polybius' two main political theories, that of the cyclical succession of constitutions and that of the stability and excellence of the mixed constitution, derived from a line of thought reaching back to Plato and Aristotle. Von Fritz believes that Polybius confused the absolute stability of an ideal mixed constitution with the relative stability which in the Roman constitution resulted from growth. This confusion explains why Polybius admitted that in the Roman constitution, as in any living organism, growth would ultimately be followed by decay. Moreover, in his later years, Polybius saw that the corruption of the Roman oligarchy by wealth and power had undermined the moral basis for the stability of Roman institutions.

In his four opening chapters, therefore, von Fritz gives a reasonable and conservative interpretation of Polybius the man and of his thought. The fifth chapter treats Polybius' analysis of Greek constitutions. Von Fritz feels that a more thorough study of the Spartan constitution would have shown Polybius more clearly the sources of weakness in the Roman, and also that Polybius failed

to realize that in the Carthaginian constitution, real shifts of power were not adequately represented in overt constitutional changes.

These two themes are pursued more thoroughly in the four chapters on Polybius' account of the Roman constitution. Von Fritz gives in great detail his own account of the development of the Roman constitution. He concludes that Polybius' interpretation of the constitution as truly "mixed" prevented him from understanding how much real power rested with the senate and how much political influence was exercised by such social and economic factors as the admission of the plebeians into the senate and the widening gulf between rich and poor. Von Fritz regards the Roman constitution as fundamentally aristocratic, or perhaps rather oligarchic since the "noble" families tried to monopolize both political power and wealth. Only ostensibly did the magistrates represent a "monarchical" element since they were in fact members of the senatorial aristocracy. Equally, the assemblies passed increasingly under senatorial control as the poor became dependent on the rich and as the actual voters came to represent an ever smaller proportion of the total citizen body.

The tenth and eleventh chapters seek the causes of the downfall of the republic in the Gracchan movement and contrast the lack of specific sovereignty in Polybius' theory with the doctrine of monarchical sovereignty propounded by Hobbes. According to von Fritz, the too great emphasis which the Gracchi placed on the tribunician veto ultimately immobilized the constitution and prevented it from adjusting itself, as it had in the past, to new circumstances. In consequence, its system of balances broke down. It was not the lack of a well-defined sovereign which weakened the constitution, since Polybius was justified, against Hobbes, in assuming that stability is possible without specific sovereignty, especially when law is recognized as superior both to organs of government and to powerful individuals.

Von Fritz's conclusions are ambivalent. On the one hand he regards the Polybian mixed constitution, kept in balance by the checks exercised by the various elements on one another, as feasible. The failure of the Roman republic should not be held to prove the contrary. On the other hand, he hesitates to draw any general conclusions from his analysis of a particular form of government and of its failure, since political history cannot predict that what is found to have been true in one set of circumstances will prove to be so under others. Earlier in his discussion (p. 243), von Fritz accuses the present reviewer of blaming Polybius because he had not saved the republic by inventing a system of representative government. I had not meant to blame Polybius but only to show how the limitations of classical political thought made him blind to what appeared to me to have been the major problem faced by the later Roman republic, that of governing an empire under a "city-state" form of constitution in which participation in self-government required direct personal exercise of such rights of citizenship as voting. Von Fritz seems content to explain the downfall of the republic by such generally accepted weaknesses as the corruption of the ruling class by wealth and power and to find its immediate cause in the inflexible use of the tribunician veto by the Gracchi. For him, apparently, the republic would have endured had the

Polybian constitution not been first corrupted and then thrown out of balance. He never really copes with the more fundamental question to which I have just alluded. Can a city-state rule an empire? The experience of Athens and Rome, not to mention on a different scale the experiences of such modern "imperial" powers as England, France, and the Netherlands, would appear to deny that rule of large areas by a privileged section can long endure. If not, can means be found for the exercise of self-government by people spread over a wide area or is the only feasible government for such an imperial state some form of administration from the top? The history of the ancient world suggests the latter; the modern world is groping towards the former, with what success only the future can tell.

If the political historian is to confine himself to the narrow analytical function described by von Fritz on p. 351, he will have no contribution to make towards answering so broad a question. He will be balked by those possibly different conditions, those historical "ifs." But perhaps the political historian can try to find the general in the particular and to show how certain basic attitudes of mind or patterns of behavior lay behind the particular causes for the success or failure of any given constitution. If these basic attitudes or patterns can be recognized despite their different expressions in various societies, then perhaps steps can be taken to circumvent them. I suggested as a possible illustration that the part played in the ancient world by blind devotion to the city-state may be played today by blind devotion to nationalism and that though the expression has changed, the same attitude of blind devotion to a given credo may prevent modern society from solving its problem of creating a peaceful coexistence among nations except by the dominance of one over the rest, just as it prevented the classical world of separate city-states from peaceful coexistence except under monarchical rule.

Despite such general doubts about von Fritz's conclusion, and despite the many points of detail which scholars may want to debate, this study casts much light both on Polybius and more generally on the Roman constitution and on classical political thought. The reader with some knowledge of classical history and politics will be fully rewarded by pondering its arguments. For students it is likely to seem either too long or too short; too long because it extends its reach beyond Polybius into areas in which the non-specialist will have to provide himself with background from other books and thus find this book repetitive of much that he reads elsewhere. It is too short for the student who wants a complete presentation of the history and theory of the Roman constitution because it does not give fully either the general historical setting or the thought of such other figures as Cicero. Thus it will appeal not so much to the student who seeks to read on the run, as to the teacher and scholar whose insight into constitutional history and theory it will greatly enrich.

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JOHN HOWARD YOUNG and SUZANNE HALSTEAD YOUNG. *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*. Philadelphia, 1955. Pp. x + 260 + 74 pls. \$5.50. (*University Museum Monographs*.)

This modest-looking monograph is the first systematic study of run-of-the-mill Cypriote figurines from an excavation. These are not the elegant aristocrats that greeted the Swedish scholars at Ayia Irini, but "little people," uncouth villagers, such as those who packed the sanctuaries of Cyprus at every festival. The stoutest hearts shrink before solid phalanxes of these horsemen, lowering at us from their tiny ponies. But John and Suzanne Young did not call in the military to cope with these barbaric hordes. Patiently, affectionately, they have corralled their charges within the soothing confines of a museum and subjected them to docketing for a museum catalogue. Now they present them to us, a strange company, to tell us of primitive beliefs and rituals, and to give us a glimpse into the way of life of a most ancient community.

This catalogue deals with some three thousand pieces, selected from 10,000 fragments which were discovered by the University Museum of Philadelphia between 1934 and 1948. They range in date from the sixth century B. C. to the first century A. D. These overwhelming numbers of specimens offer the archaeologist the unique opportunity to study such material statistically. He can dare to make generalizations without the nagging doubts that haunt the less fortunate excavator of a few bits and pieces.

The authors of this study, on the other hand, might well have been choked by the sheer volume of material. Luckily for the reader, the authors have kept their sense of proportion and have somehow effected an admirably simple condensation. Not only in the catalogue, but also in the introductory remarks, they have treated the excavations, the neighboring sites, and all the essential masses of detail in a close-packed but clear style that might well serve as a model to other editors of comparable material. The figures are well-ordered on the plates and access from plates to text is easy. Sufficient, but not overloaded details are recorded in the catalogue. The types are logically arranged: first, the general and miscellaneous categories; secondly, the largest class, the Horsemen, divided into hand-made groups and those that are dependent in varying degrees upon the use of molds.

The results of the study are pulled together into most interesting Conclusions at the end. Here the reader finds details regarding clays and techniques, not only at Kourion, but all over Cyprus. It is strange that the analysis made by a chemist (p. 189) of the white slip that usually covers figurines for the application of color is reported as "essentially of calcium carbonate," whereas R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, p. viii, gives an exactly opposite analysis. This matter should be studied to see if the material varies with locality. Sections on manufacturing methods, on costume and equipment, on cults and dedications will be most valuable to the specialist and even to the historian. The summary on stylistic development gives us for the first time a reliable account of the ordinary coroplast's art in one Cypriote site. Thoroughly masters of their material, the authors rise well above the under-

brush of their intricate subject to show how the types gradually degenerate from careful rendition to the "extremes of abbreviation." They demonstrate how the Kouriotés, though they show little disposition to change for centuries on end, yield to the influences set in action by the campaigns of Alexander and their after-effects. The authors also most ingeniously detect the imported types that were used by the coroplasts, no matter how unsuitable,—heads of women or of Eros or of a satyr,—to grace the awkward bodies of their horsemen. Finally, with a fine sense of values, the Youngs have the perspicacity to appreciate the significance of their material, not only to the historian of Cyprus, but on a larger front, to the historian of art. On page 233, they point out that the ancient Near Eastern tradition that underlay the creation of these provincial figurines is fundamentally that which underlay the creation of Early Christian art. But here, for the first time, by the excavations of Kourion, it is possible to trace the roots of that tradition back to the sixth century B. C. This observation should be of considerable value to those who interest themselves in the composition of Christian iconography.

For the archaeologist, the material also holds more than casual interest. Here he finds the application of a new method of inquiry that has just begun to be exploited, namely, the analysis of types by a study of mold-sequence. The bodies of these figurines were modelled free-hand, but the heads were taken from molds. Since few molds were at hand and creative imagination even rarer, the coroplasts often made new molds from old figures. Because baking the clay shrank the mold and, again, the figure made from it, the next generation of figurines was smaller than the first. Though the study of mold-sequence, like that of die-sequence, has already been made, the number of available examples from many molds is so much greater at Kourion than has hitherto been discovered elsewhere that the method can now be used to determine chronology. The mind can easily follow the logic of this method, but it probably cannot conceive of the amount of labor and the fund of patience required for its competent undertaking. The results are startling. Chariots of a type that would date in the seventh century B. C. in Athens were still made in Kourion in the second century B. C. Horses of the "Geometric" style are little different from those of the latest Hellenistic period on the island. In coroplastics, the local situation is of paramount importance and should never be forgotten. But, as the authors point out (p. 195), only "long and intimate knowledge of the figurines themselves" can prepare one for the proper interpretation of the material from any one site. The reader must therefore be cautioned against applying the results offered in this volume to any other site, even on Cyprus itself.

Bowing, therefore, to the superior knowledge of the authors, we find it difficult to comment in detail on their chronology. But we might express a feeling that though the dating by mold-sequence may well be correct for the cruder types, it is not sufficient for the few more sophisticated specimens. The book would have been enriched by more comparative material. For example, Mold 12 A, though ultimately derived from fourth century prototypes, certainly shows the most characteristic features of an Egyptianizing work of the early third century. The upper eyelid, extending far beyond

the eye, the markedly triangular nose, the dimple in the chin—all these appear on Greek works from Alexandria. (Cf. *J. E. A.*, 1925, p. 184; *A. J. A.*, LIV [1950], p. 384; Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, II, 2 [1934], pl. LXIII, 323.) It seems unlikely that a face so characteristic of Alexandria in the third century should have existed in the fourth century in Cyprus. We might venture to predict that the dating of the Hellenistic figurines in this book would, by more comparative study, be found to be rather too early.

The piece that will be most interesting to the general reader is one of a horseman (Pl. 49) mounted on a prancing steed and in a style that certainly does not look local. The authors suggest the bold interpretation that he is Alexander himself. The careful style makes it possible for us to compare the features with others of the late fourth century B. C. The long face with pointed nose, long jaw, and jutting chin find parallels on sculpture (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.*, I, 2, C179) and on coins (cf. Head, *Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 28, Nos. 19, 20, 30; pl. 30, No. 20) and indeed for the equestrian type itself (*ibid.*, pl. 28, 28) at just the very period. Though the authors feel the danger of referring to copies of portraits of Alexander, they could have used contemporary types of no particular personality to undersecrete and support their identification. Conversely, nothing from the first century B. C. confirms the authors' suggestion that the figurine is a product of the copying phase of Alexander portraits. Likewise the technique cannot be paralleled at that period. We see how a wider range of knowledge might have strengthened the intuition upon which the Youngs so often rightly depend.

The historian could also go more into detail regarding the fascinating subject of trade and interrelations between the cosmopolitan centers and the provincial villages. The archaeologist notes several instances of Alexandrian influence. On one Alexandrian identification, however, one cannot feel too happy. No. 1013, pl. 17, is called "Arsinoe II." The comparison with the coin of Ptolemy which is cited scarcely seems so convincing as that with certain Trajanic terracotta heads. On Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb: Terrakotten*, II, pl. 108, 1; on Breccia, *Monuments*, II, 2, pl. LX, 302; on Vagn Poulsen, *Cat. des terres cuites grecques et romaines* (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg), pl. XLIII, No. 74, we see the same long narrow face, the same tilt to the head, the same coiffure of curls pulled up to a loop of hair over the forehead. This all seems so typically Trajanic that it is difficult for me to see any connection with Arsinoe. It is not impossible that this bust was inspired by certain Alexandrian types, such as are shown in Breccia, *Monuments*, II, 1, pl. XXIV, Nos. 2 and 9.

The authors of this book, then, win thanks and praise. The publishers, however, cannot be offered any commendation, save that they have kept the price within the purse of scholars. The excessive cost of such beautiful books as Higgins' *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* has driven publishers to try cheap techniques. But there are more acceptable forms of the offset process that should have been used for this study of source-material that will be consulted for many years to come. The paper cover curls, the pages dog-ear, the small, dense print blinds the most

devoted eyes. Worse, one cannot follow all the arguments because the plates are so dull (e.g. Molds 14, 18, 42). We cannot see "Arsinoe" plain; had I not handled the piece, I could not have spoken of the style. This is not a question of editing; the editor, indeed, must be warmly commended for the remarkable accuracy of the proof-reading of an intricate text. She has made the best possible job of a difficult manuscript with the antiquated and amateurish equipment at her disposal. The University Museum Press must bear the onus of this disgrace to American scholarship. How can we expect the devotion of young scholars to research if an ambitious excavation, well financed for many years, is accorded as its publication in final form a book so shabby as to be unworthy of the labor of its authors and the honor of sponsors?

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON.

MICHAEL GRANT. *Roman Literature*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. viii + 297. \$3.00.

Of making histories of Latin literature there appears to be no end. In English alone there have appeared, during the past six years, a second edition of H. J. Rose's comprehensive and accurate *Handbook of Latin Literature* (London, 1949); W. A. Laidlaw's brief but interesting *Latin Literature* (New York, 1951); Moses Hadas' useful but uneven *History of Latin Literature* (New York, 1952); Andrew Oliver's naïve, college-outline-like *History of Latin Literature in Graphic Form* (Boston, 1952); a third edition of J. W. Duff's monumental and tasteful *Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age* (London, 1953); and now Grant's little volume. The Italians have been equally prolific: there are Ettore Bignone's lively *Storia della letteratura latina*, 3 vols., the first in a second edition (Firenze, 1945-50); Augusto Rostagni's unusually careful *Storia della letteratura latina*, I: *La Repubblica* (Torino, 1949); the second edition of Vincenzo Ussani's learned, yet Duff-like *Storia della letteratura latina nell'età repubblicana e augusta* (Milano, 1950); the eighth edition of the first of the two volumes of Concetto Marchesi's dry, Schanz-Hosius-like *Storia della letteratura latina* (Milano, 1950); and Ettore Paratore's long and uneven *Storia della letteratura latina* (Firenze, 1950, reprinted in 1951). The French and Germans have produced fewer works: the fourth edition of Eduard Norden's excellent little *Römische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1952) is the sole German effort; the French have produced no systematic account since Georges Cagnac's dull, annalistic *Petite Histoire de la Littérature latine* (Paris, 1948) and Philippe Poulain's *La Littérature latine* (Paris, 1948).

Certain of these—most notably Rose, Norden, Cagnac, Poulain, and Marchesi—are mere handbooks of reference in the Schanz-Hosius *multum in parvo* tradition, bulging with facts and summaries of the scholarly literature, though they may include (especially in Rose) critical comment. Others—most notably Laidlaw and the present work—offer brief syntheses for the general reader. Hadas, the

majority of the Italians, and, to a most successful degree, Duff, occupy an intermediate position.

Perhaps there is no further need for factual histories, but there is room for fresh interpretations. Grant, who is Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh and a distinguished authority on Roman coinage, had previously shown his ability in discussing a large subject for a general audience in his recent *Ancient History* (London, 1952) in the Home Study Books Series. Similarly, this book, though clearly addressed to the general reader who knows no Latin, does not talk down to him: it challenges him to consider such vital questions as the reasons for the shift from the Augustan to the Silver Age (p. 11 and *passim*), the conditions of production of a comedy in Republican Rome (pp. 25-9), the reasons why comedy declined in Rome after Terence (p. 31), and the differences between ancient and modern poetry (p. 145). Grant is to be commended for his broad outlook on literature: thus, for a example, he gives (pp. 73-6) an excellent account of Roman legal literature. Finally, the author tries, so far as possible, to present Roman literature through the words of those who created it: his quotations are numerous, lively, and typical, and he is not afraid to present long passages (e.g., the ghost story in Petronius, p. 124) where necessary to impart the flavor of the original work.

The translations of the poetic selections that are quoted are unusual in that they are for the most part by poets famous in their own right and are successful in conveying the mood, in contrast to the literal meaning of the Latin. The anonymous Scotch version of Catullus' *Lugete* (pp. 163-4), Housman's *Diffugere nives* (p. 214), and Tennyson's version of Lucretius, III, 17-22 (pp. 154-5) are perhaps best. There are other translations or adaptations by Lord Dunsany (Horace), Ezra Pound (Catullus and Propertius), Byron (Horace), Matthew Arnold (Lucretius), Landor (Catullus), Ben Jonson (Catullus), Swift (Catullus), Shelley (Virgil), Andrew Marvell (Horace), Christopher Marlowe (Ovid), Dryden (Ovid and Juvenal), Samuel Johnson (Juvenal), Tom Brown (Martial), and many others who are somewhat lesser known. No other history of Latin (or, for that matter, Greek) literature, of whatever scope, can offer as many famous names among its translators; in fact, Grant's book serves almost as an anthology of translations by famous English poets from Latin literature. This alone might serve as the book's *raison d'être*, though its dangers are obvious: Ezra Pound's "large-mouthed product," with such a line as "Virgil is Phoebus' chief of police" (p. 172), was composed, it would appear, *per intervalla insaniae*; Swinburne's adaptation of Lucretius (p. 155) is very far from the stately hexameter: its style is more suitable for Gilbert Murray's romantic versions of Euripides' choruses; and Day Lewis' translation (p. 199) of *proice tela manu* as "You be the first to bury the hatchet!" is hardly appropriate when we consider that these words were spoken by Anchises in the awesome circumstances of the Lower World. And it is hard for the novice who is trying to form a unified conception of, e.g., Lucretius *qua* poet to "shift gears" from Tennyson to Swinburne to Gray to Matthew Arnold within two pages (pp. 155-6). On the other hand, Grant's occasional practice (e.g., pp. 127-8) of giving two different translations of the same passage helps the reader to appreciate

divergences in interpretations of classical authors during the various periods of English literature.

An outstanding feature of this book is that far more than other popular histories of Latin literature it is concerned with the *fortleben* of the various authors considered. In this respect it shows the profound influence of such a work as Gilbert Highet's *The Classical Tradition*. Grant is especially good on the influence of Cicero (pp. 48-50, 67-8), Virgil (pp. 181-3, 190, 202), and Horace (pp. 215-16, 222). He helps to explain the modern vogue of Propertius, whom he aptly describes (p. 171) as "the first young neurotic of European poetry." The only accounts that are too vague or skimpy are those of Plautus (pp. 23-4), Terence (p. 31), Livy (p. 107), and Suetonius (p. 120). Moreover, Grant is to be commended for indicating, as he does, e. g., on p. 147, what the classical virtues generally can mean to our contemporary society. Indeed, it is to be hoped and expected that future histories of classical literature will follow Grant's lead in discussing the influence of the various authors.

Most histories, especially the brief ones, stop with the Age of Hadrian. Grant has an excellent epilogue in which he shows the continuity of Latin literature through the Middle Ages and even the Renaissance. He also appends (pp. 269-73) a brief history of classical scholarship down to our own day, though it is perhaps questionable whether such a survey has a place in a book on Latin literature. Its justification lies, it would seem, in the fact that it will explain to the general reader what classical scholarship, as epitomized by a Bentley or a Wolf, is trying to do.

Histories of literature must adopt either a chronological arrangement or one by genre, or, and this is almost always the case, a compromise between the two. Grant has adhered more radically to the classification by genre than any of his predecessors. After his introduction on earliest extant Latin literature (comedy) he divides Latin literature into prose and poetry. Grant can consequently consider the development of the genre in a unified discussion. Thus, in considering Roman philosophy, he does not have to interrupt his account of Cicero to describe the *Philippics* which Cicero was delivering or the letters which he was writing at the same time that he was discussing philosophy so prolifically. And he does not have to stop to discuss Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, *Naturales Quaestiones*, and tragedies. Of course, this has its drawbacks: it is sometimes hard to see the Latin writers as integrated personalities when discussions of their works are scattered throughout the book. If Seneca indeed suffered from paranoiac abnormality, as E. P. Barker in *O. C. D.*, s. v. "Seneca," p. 828, indicates, there is an even further fragmentization in Grant. For we read of his philosophical essays on pp. 68-71, of his moral letters on p. 80, of his tragedies on pp. 237-9; there is no discussion of the *Apocolocyntosis* or the *Naturales Quaestiones*. In some cases, Grant has departed from his practice of treating literature by genre: satire is found on pp. 217-22 (Lucilius, Horace), again on pp. 239-40 (Persius), and finally on pp. 246-51 (Juvenal). Epic is found on pp. 190-204 (Naevius, Ennius, Virgil), and on pp. 240-3 (Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, the last three being dismissed in two sentences). (Grant rightly argues [p. 229] that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is not a true epic.) Again, we have a discussion of Tacitus' *Dialogus* on pp. 59-60, but we do not meet Tacitus the historian until pp. 108-16. In

general, the section on post-Augustan poetry (pp. 235-51) is a *farrago* of names, with all the genres being mixed. And from Grant's arrangement one would have difficulty realizing that Cicero and Catullus, Livy and Virgil, Petronius and Lucan, Tacitus and Juvenal are, as it were, complementary pairs. Grant was prevented by his method from discussing the Ciceronian or Augustan or Silver Ages as periods: he is interested only in the literature *qua* literature and devotes little attention to the political, social, and economic conditions which helped mould that literature. Moreover, especially for the modern reader, the omission (except for a mere footnote, p. 81, n. 1) of a discussion of Roman science and scientific writings is unfortunate.

Grant has included four helpful appendices: a discussion of the tenets of the major schools of Greek philosophy, an explanation of the chief metres employed by the Roman poets (unfortunately lacking in examples except for Horace's lyric metres), a list of Roman emperors through Alexander Severus, and a "Who's Who" of Latin literature. The inside front cover has a map of the Roman Empire, and the inside back cover contains a chart listing the principal surviving Latin writers by genre.

A careful check of this book against the handbooks, Pauly-Wissowa, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, etc., reveals that Grant is definitely independent in his judgments and that where he has borrowed he follows what Housman calls the "superstitious" practice of making acknowledgments. Here and there is a phrase redolent of *O. C. D.* (e.g., with p. 102 cf. A. Momigliano, *s. v.* "Monumentum Ancyranum"; and with p. 168 cf. H. E. Butler, *s. v.* "Elegiac Poetry") or of H. J. Rose's *Handbook of Latin Literature* (cf. "an epic poet in prose" on p. 104 with Rose, p. 296) or of Highet's *Classical Tradition* (with p. 239 cf. Highet, p. 198). Appendix IV ("Who's Who") seems to be dependent largely on *O. C. D.*, but this is all right in such a catalogue, except that it has led Grant into several minor errors.

Unfortunately, the book, in its attempt at brevity, is marred by a number of generalizations that, without added provisos, are misleading. Here are a few of the many examples which I have noted:

P. 5, lines 19-23: "They [i. e. the Romans] possessed the capacity . . . of putting the Greek ideas . . . into effect over vast areas of the globe—an opportunity of which the Greeks had deprived themselves by constant warfare." But the Romans likewise engaged in almost incessant warfare: the difference may be, in part, that the Greeks fought among themselves and did not, as did the Romans in the case of the *socii*, bestow privileges on those whom they conquered.

P. 5, lines 24-5: "It is only because of the Romans, and through them, that Greek thought has survived at all." But some Greek thought survived independently of the Romans in the East and in Egypt among the Jews, for example. Cf., e.g., Saul Liberman's *Greek in Jewish Palestine and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*.

P. 6, lines 5-9: "Many of the most characteristic aspects of Roman thought and genius are embodied in the actual Latin language. It is extremely forcible and expressive, very precise and at the same time very compact; capable of saying much and of saying it well in a brief space." This is, I believe, a common fallacy. The same

might be said of Greek and Hebrew. And these qualities may be found in Roman inscriptions and in Cato and Caesar but not always in Cicero. In fact, the Atticist-Asianic controversy in Cicero's day was concerned with just such questions of style.

P. 89, lines 16-19: In concluding his consideration of the famous letter to Luceius (*Fam.*, V, 12) Grant says that this reflects the general ancient tendency not to place truth as the foremost aim of history. I have discussed this point at length in my Ph. D. dissertation, *Cicero's Conception of Historiography* (Harvard Univ., 1951), pp. 180-94, and have concluded that the standards set forth in this letter apply only to a *monograph*, not to a full-length historical work.

A few samples of the many actual errors of fact which I have noticed are the following:

P. 12, lines 27-8: To say that Apuleius is the only ancient novelist of whom we have a complete work is to ignore the complete Greek novels by Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Heliodorus, Longus, and Xenophon of Ephesus.

P. 21, lines 24-5: Grant says that Plautus' poetical successors never scanned by stress-accent. But Terence sometimes did, though he is more observant than Plautus is of quantity.

P. 74, lines 5-7: "This [i. e. the Law of Citations] stipulated that, if ever there was a difference of opinion between lawyers on a committee and neither side obtained a majority, then the view of Papinian should be decisive." Actually, this law stated that failing a majority of *jurists* cited on one side or the other, Papinian's view should be decisive.

P. 121, lines 22-3: It is not correct to assert that Roman adaptations of Milesian tales are not extant. Specimens do exist in Petronius' story of the Widow of Ephesus, as Grant himself notes on p. 122, lines 29-30, and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, which Apuleius himself calls a Milesian composition.

P. 157, line 14: Cicero was an older, not a younger contemporary of Lucretius.

P. 234, lines 8-10: Shakespeare's Cleopatra shows the influence of the Dido who appears in Ovid's *Heroides*, not the *Metamorphoses*.

P. 244, line 23: The total number of poems in the twelve books of Martial's epigrams is 1172, not 1561. We must add the *Liber Spectaculorum*, the *Xenia* (now Book 13), and the *Apophoreta* (now Book 14) to make a total of 1561.

P. 259, line 20: Augustine was not born of pagan parents: his mother Monica was a Christian.

P. 280, lines 7-8: A syllable is long by position before, not necessarily after, a double consonant.

Even in a book of such narrow compass there are a number of obvious omissions, of which the following are representative:

P. 51, lines 8 ff.: In discussing the history of Greek rhetoric Grant should make mention of the Sophists, particularly of such figures as Protagoras and Gorgias.

P. 53, lines 16 ff.: In citing the influence of the Rhodian school on

Cicero, Grant mentions Apollonius Molon but omits the more famous Posidonius.

P. 57, lines 24-7: In listing the great literary critics of the early Principate, Grant omits Horace and Persius.

P. 81, note 1: In listing Roman scientists Grant has omitted Seneca the Younger, author of the *Naturales Quaestiones*. Similarly on p. 237, lines 22-3, he has omitted this work from the list of those by Seneca.

P. 87, lines 1 ff.: In mentioning the treatment of speeches by Greek and Roman historians, Grant should make note of indirect discourse. On the whole subject, cf. A. S. Pease, "Indirect Discourse in Caesar," *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana, 1943), pp. 154-6.

P. 291: Tibullus, who is given somewhat extended treatment in the text, is here omitted from a list of Roman writers that includes many figures of far less importance.

Table of "Some Principal Surviving Latin Writers" (inside back cover): Lucretius deserves to be included among the writers on philosophy; Seneca the Younger is omitted from the list of poets despite the fact that Grant himself in the text fully recognizes the importance of his tragedies; Ammianus Marcellinus ought not to be omitted from the canon of historians.

Occasionally Grant's language is misleading. A few examples may be cited:

P. 10, line 30: The general reader, who thinks of Rome as being in Italy, may have difficulty understanding the statement: "They [i. e. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy] were also not Romans, but Italians." The same criticism can be made of the statement on p. 193, line 22 with respect to Naevius and Ennius.

P. 13, lines 32-3: In its context "This was the age . . ." seems to imply that Jerome and Augustine belonged to the Age of Constantine, who is mentioned in the preceding sentence.

P. 51, lines 32-3: "They [i. e. Cicero's rhetorical treatises] also give us insight into the Middle Ages." Rather, it is the fact that these treatises were popular in the Middle Ages that gives us insight into that period.

P. 147, lines 21-2: "Balance is one of the classical virtues; and balance between the classical and romantic is also good." This sentence contains a verbal fallacy, for it says, in effect, that balance between balance and lack of balance is good.

There is a definite need for books of this sort in presenting to a wider audience the values and importance of classical literature. Though there is hardly a page in my copy that is unmarred by corrections or suggestions for improvement, these are usually of minor significance. A thorough revision of the book, when completed, would make it an excellent *vademecum* for the general student of literature.

LOUIS H. FELDMAN.

R. S. BLUCK. *Plato's Phaedo*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1955. Pp. x + 208. 21s. (*The International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method*.)

The present work contains a general introduction; a translation broken up into the natural phases of the argument, each preceded by a brief résumé offering some commentary; nine critical appendices on special problems; a number of supplementary notes; and four indexes. This arrangement—a proliferation of Cornford's method—is not without its disadvantages. However, many students will welcome the thoroughness of the treatment.

The introduction is reasonable, succinct, and well-proportioned. Though it anticipates many findings argued at greater length in the subsequent discussion, it presents a lucid and generally sound exposition of the thought of the *Phaedo*, with useful references to the *Republic* and the *Symposium*. It may come as a surprise to some that even in the introduction some knowledge of Greek is required of the reader. Actually, this is not just another rendering of the dialogue for the Greekless. It amounts to a fresh interpretation, based on much learning and ingenuity. That is not to say that novices may not gather the necessary information from the introduction; but the bulk of the book will appeal largely to specialists.

The translation aims at literalness rather than smoothness, but it often succeeds in communicating the ring and the cadences of the original. This is the more gratifying because Bluck tells us (p. vii) that he is interested in the *Phaedo* more as philosophy than as literature; he feels that Plato the artist has been sufficiently dealt with by others. This may be true of works in French, Italian, and German, but not of English language publications on the *Phaedo*. In any case, his distinction is unfortunate, and un-Platonic. By choosing not to notice the "poetry" of the work, he deprives himself of a substantial tool in the uncovering of Plato's purposes. Still, with this important reservation, Bluck's *Phaedo* is an eminently successful volume. If in what follows I shall take exception to some details, my criticism should help to stress the fresh and venturesome quality of the book.

As a philosopher, Bluck is prone to use such terms as "theory" and "doctrine" in characterizing Plato's thought. Often, what he calls a "doctrine of" is more likely to be a "concern with." Actually, his own treatment of Plato is rather more elastic than these terms would warrant. However, there are some unfortunate results: p. 67, note 3, e. g., Bluck argues that because we do not hear much in the *Phaedo* about mathematics, therefore Plato had as yet no theory of them. Similarly Bluck operates too readily with the concept of schools. He seems to feel that he must associate as many statements as possible with Orphics, Pythagoreans, Philolaus, Socrates, etc. As for Socrates, Bluck's picture of the difference between the philosophical positions of Plato and his teacher is both too simple and not quite clear. On the one hand, Socrates is for him the dialectical manipulator of *λόγοι*, i. e. universals and definitions; on the other, he has "faith in ideals." Apart from the inadmissibility of the term "ideal" in this context, which is the true account? Or are ideals and universals coextensive? Of one thing Bluck is sure: Socrates did not subscribe to Plato's substantial

Forms. Nor was he a scientist: in suppl. 10, Bluck is at pains to demonstrate that 96 A ff. need not indicate a scientific period in the life of Socrates or, for that matter, of Plato.

Given his tendency to affix labels, it is natural that Bluck makes much of the Orphics. Even the three lives of *Phaedrus* 248 E ff. are understood as part of an Orphic eschatology (p. 47). In Bluck's view, all popular notions concerning the soul are to be regarded as Orphic. Similar credit is extended to the later Pythagoreans. Philolaus here functions as a Pythagorean philosopher with a recognizable system of thought, in spite of the uncertain nature of our tradition about him. As for Simmias and Cebes, Bluck seems to know precisely what their relationship to "orthodox" Pythagoreanism is. Following Burnet, he claims that Simmias' comparison of the soul with attunement is inconsistent with Pythagorean transmigration theories. All this is bound to suggest too firm a picture of what the Pythagoreans represented.¹

Moreover, this thinking in terms of schools and movements may distort the proper understanding of the argument. Bluck assumes that Simmias started out a conventional Pythagorean and then formulated a "theory" concerning soul-harmony in deliberate opposition to his teachers; cf. Bluck's "having come to believe," p. 88, note 1, which is nowhere warranted by the text. Actually, Simmias' suggestion is part of the dialectics of the argument, and grows from the discussion itself. It is really—falsely—based on what Socrates had said concerning the influence of the body on the soul, 83 D. Nor is it an objection, much less a heresy, but a hypothesis, something that Simmias proposes to further the argument. The *αἰτί* and *προϋδέδοκτο* of Echeerates, 88 D, are dramatic devices to emphasize the force of the proposition, and not, *pace* Aristoxenus, the confessions of a historical character. It follows that 92 D *ὅθεν καί . . .* should be understood along the lines proposed by Lorimer (*C. R.*, 1938, pp. 165-6), in spite of Tate (*C. R.*, 1939, pp. 2-3); read: "which is what prompts most people to have their beliefs." It further follows that *ὑπολαμβάνομεν*, 86 B, refers to the participants in the discussion, primarily Simmias and Socrates. Hence Bluck's suppl. 8 carries little conviction.

"The *Phaedo*, as I have interpreted it, is concerned with the Forms as metaphysical 'causes' and as objects of moral inspiration that are 'real,' and hardly touches upon logic at all" (p. 184). Regarding the Forms, Bluck follows Cornford (cf. note on *Timaeus* 50 D) and distinguishes between Form-causes and Form-copies; to these two he adds, as a third, our notions of Form-causes. He emphasizes the substantiality of the Form-causes (app. 7), and is sceptical of the view that to begin with the Forms were restricted

¹ It is perhaps worth mentioning that Aristotle in his discussion of the theory of soul-harmony (*De Anima* A, 3, 407 b 27 ff.) does not refer to the Pythagoreans, though he had mentioned them earlier (407 b 22) in connexion with the relation between body and soul. The only authority cited in the passage on soul-harmony is Empedocles (408 a 19). Nor do the ancient commentators, in their paraphrases and analyses of this passage, refer explicitly to the Pythagoreans, except for Simplicius who mentions them only to state that the Pythagorean theory of harmony is not relevant to the discussion: ed. Hayduck (Berlin, 1882), p. 53, line 30.

to the spheres of ethics and mathematics (p. 185). On various occasions he remarks, more emphatically perhaps than we find it stated in the *Phaedo*, that Plato places the Forms "in another realm" (cf. app. 8 on χωρισμός). As for the last part of the statement cited above, Bluck performs a curious *volte face* when, on the question of the indestructibility of the soul, he complains that scholars have not taken Plato's arguments seriously enough as logic. On the one hand he objects on R. Robinson for looking for too much logic in Plato, on the other hand he argues that Plato is logically right to find that the indestructibility of the soul must be proved for the argument for immortality to be complete (app. 9).

In any case, Bluck's vindication of Plato's logic is not convincing. He rightly sees that for Plato, the statement "soul does not admit death" means that soul must either withdraw or perish at the approach of death. He fails to see, however, that the statement "soul does not admit destruction" permits the same disjunctive conclusion. Evidently, Plato here uses the term δέχεσθαι ambiguously—1) logically, and 2) ontologically—without perhaps becoming fully aware of the ambiguity. Bluck's interpretation would leave little enough justification for the apories of the *Parmenides* and the *Sophist*. Thus app. 9 fails to upset the conventional view that the demonstration of indestructibility is not a logically argued proof; and, ironically, it confirms Bluck's own perception that the *Phaedo* "hardly touches upon logic at all."

Undoubtedly the most important section of the whole book is app. 6 in which Bluck states his reasons for a new interpretation of the hypothesis passage 99 D ff. advanced in the translation. As W. F. R. Hardie (*A Study in Plato*, pp. 66 ff.) has said, the account of method "does not seem to be free from obscurity and confusion." First, concerning the δεύτερος πλοῦς of 99 D, Bluck's "second line of approach" is not a happy translation. Burnet's note (his edition, p. 108) had explained the origin of the term; Burnet thinks that the phrase is ironical and that Socrates does not believe for a moment that the method he is about to describe is a *pis aller* or makeshift. Bluck, pp. 112-13, differs: the δεύτερος πλοῦς is precisely that because it is not teleological, i. e. takes no account of the Form of the Good. In app. 6, p. 167, this view is further modified: the procedure sketched 99 D-100 A, i. e. the recourse to λόγος, really constitutes a δεύτερος πλοῦς as far as Plato is concerned, but what follows, 100 B ff., the hypothesis passage, is made to look like one for dramatic and formal reasons only. What Bluck wants us to understand is that in 100 B Plato is trying to indicate to his readers that his Socrates is progressing from Socratic thought (λόγοι) to Platonic thought (Forms). The transition is toned down to minimize the difference between the historical Socrates and the Socrates of the dialogue; but actually the hypothesis passage implies a reference to the Forms, hence ultimately to the Form of the Good, and thus by no means involves a δεύτερος πλοῦς.

This is a rather daring attempt to reject Burnet's pan-Socratism, and yet preserve a clear-cut image of the historical Socrates, distinct from the Socrates of the dialogue. The *double entendre* which Bluck discovers in the passage surely exists only for modern ears. For one thing, we should have to assume that Plato would wish, at one and the same time, to distinguish between the thought of Socrates

and his own contributions, and to hide this distinction from his readers. The reason for such a procedure is not apparent. To separate the λόγοι- from the ὑπόθεσις-phase of this passage raises the further question in what sense λόγοι could be considered causes. Bluck, pp. 167-8, answers that a definition may stamp a thing as ἀληθής in relation to cause; and further, that the definition itself is a cause of things conforming with it!

It remains to consider Bluck's chief suggestion, that the hypothesis passage refers, not to a logical process, but to the "theory of Forms" itself. According to Bluck, a hypothesis in this context is not an existential or any other kind of proposition but "a provisional conception of a Form-cause"; and τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀρμηθέντα are not deductions from a proposition, but effects, i. e. our notions of things to be explained as caused by Forms (pp. 162 ff.). Thus, where Taylor (*Plato*, p. 201) speaks of postulate and implications, Bluck speaks of notion of Form and phenomena. In this manner, Bluck hopes to eliminate the difficulties which R. Robinson had recently brought into sharp focus. The hypothesis passage, we are told, deals not with logic but with ontology. I am not sure that I fully understand everything about this suggestion, but certain doubts will present themselves. Bluck does not take account of 92 C where Socrates uses συνάσεται and συνωιδῶι in what cannot be anything but a propositional context. Once more, I am not entirely convinced that it is possible, in this dialogue, to distinguish between metaphysics and logic, between descriptive and existential statements (surely for Plato these are always ultimately identical), between notions and propositions, as clearly as Bluck proposes. His account of what he has in mind is at times obscure (notably p. 116, note 3). How do we test the validity of a provisional conception of a Form-cause, with respect to the explanation of lower Forms or phenomena? How can manifestations of a Form be said to be consistent, i. e. how can phenomena or the notions of phenomena be said to stand in a measurable relationship to each other? Bluck himself seems to sense that the hypothesis passage involves neither metaphysics nor logic but a more complex science; his translation of ἀληθής (100 A) shifts back and forth between "true" and "real" and "genuine": pp. 114, 164, 168. There is a further argument against Bluck's narrow conception of the hypothesis passage: his rendering of ὀρμηθέντα. In view of Plato's avowed difficulty how to describe the relation between Forms and things, whether absolutely or conceptually, it is unlikely that he would use ὀρμάω without further explanation. Usually the verb denotes a traceable movement, real or psychological, and it is more apt to refer to the progression of an argument than to the dependence of things on their causes. ὁ λόγος ὀρμαῖ is a common enough figure in Plato (cf. *Statesman* 264 E, 274 B; *Republic* II, 366 D), and even ὁ λόγος ὀρμηται is found (*Theaetetus* 184 A).

For the rest, there are some μικρολογίαι concerning individual passages. P. 34, line 6 (cf. also p. viii, line 9): Robin first published his edition, including his suggestion concerning the age of Phaedo, in 1926.—P. 37, 58 A and p. 38, 58 C: for "prow" read: "stern."—P. 43, 61 C: "deserves" is a misunderstanding of ἀξίως.—P. 43, 61 D: "sat up" is wrong for καθεζόμενος.—P. 44, 62 A: "Goodness knows" is far too pretty for a Boeotian oath.—P. 54, 68 D: the sentence beginning καίτοι ἀλογόν γε is omitted.—P. 61: the

reference to Keats is out of place in this severely non-literary treatment; why not cite an ancient variant, such as Cicero, *Tusculans*, I, 92?—Pp. 78-9: Bluck's long note on 80 C is unnecessary. R. G. Bury gave the right interpretation in *Ph. W.*, 1936, col. 1134. This also serves to support G. F. Forsey (*C. Q.*, 1926, pp. 177-8), against Burnet, in his rendering of *ώρα* = age.—P. 86, 84 C: *σμικρόν* means: "a little while."—Pp. 91 f., 87 D ff.: I am not convinced by the juggling of quotes. Bluck is to be commended for paying detailed attention to this difficult passage (cf. app. 5, pp. 157-9). But he expects a degree of syntactical logic which is not to be asked of Plato in this conversational piece. We have here, I suspect, a case of Platonic looseness of grammar, in which Cebes identifies himself with the imagined objector, and the grammar veers between direct and indirect statement. The *δέ*, 88 B—*εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει*—is resumptive; cf. Denniston, *Particles*, 182. Hence eliminate the "and," p. 92, line 13.—Regarding the *σύ*, 88 A, Bluck (p. 92, note 1 and p. 158), following Burnet, thinks it must refer to Cebes. In view of what I have said above about the nature of Simmias' harmony-hypothesis, I believe there is nothing to prevent the *σύ* from referring to Simmias; at 77 A ff. he had already expressed his conviction that soul exists before birth. Thus Heindorf, Stallbaum, Geddes are right.—P. 94, 89 C: "not to grow my hair again" is awkward.—P. 101, 93 D "that no attunement" is a misleading translation if not checked against the footnote which subscribes to Miss Hicken's view (*C. Q.*, 1954, pp. 16-22) that in the *Phaedo* Plato never states whether attunements can vary in degree or not.—App. 1, concerning the date of the *Phaedo*, is too speculative (as admitted by Bluck, p. 145) to be of much service.—App. 3, concerning the translation of 62 A, is not convincing; the translations of Bonitz and Burnet still account better for the text. Bluck inserts an "only" before "on some occasions," thus distorting the sense, on the mistaken assumption that the company is already agreed on death being preferable to life.—P. 166, line 16: "no mention" is too strong; see 99 C: *ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀγαθόν*. Cf. p. 199, line 8.—P. 172, note: read "such works as our *Δίῳσσοι Λόγοι*."—Pp. 175-6: there should be a reference to Snell, *Discovery of the Mind*, ch. 10.—P. 202, suppl. 17: the examples given are erratically chosen.

Bluck uses the text of Burnet, with some modifications. This encourages me to make some textual suggestions which should affect the translation in a few cases. P. 50, 66 B: with Viljoen (*Mnemosyne*, 1938, p. 320) change *μετά* into *μέγα* and read: "it looks as if something like a side-lane is taking us far from our goal in the search of our argument." Thus Christ's deletion of *μετά* . . . *σκέψει* is not needed.—P. 51, 66 E: Wilamowitz, *Platon*, II, p. 348 has shown that *φρονήσεως* is a gloss. Hence omit: "even wisdom."—P. 58, 70 A: Schanz' deletion of *οἰχεται* . . . *ἤ* should be adopted in the translation.—With Jachmann, largely taking his cue from the papyrus Arsinoensis, I should also suggest these changes: p. 79, 80 E omit *ῥαϊδίως*; p. 80, 81 B omit *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*; p. 82, 82 D bracket *ἐκείνη*; p. 83, 83 E delete *φασιν* (this changes the sense of the passage; cf. 82 C).

Misprints: p. 5, line 6 read: asceticism; p. 23, note 2 read: 611 B; p. 161, note 2 read: Suppl. No. 16.

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R. LORIAUX. *L'être et la forme selon Platon: Essai sur la dialectique platonicienne*. Bruges, Les Presses Saint-Augustin, 1955. Pp. 227. 145 francs belges. (*Museum Lessianum—Section Philosophique*, No. 39.)

Apparently on the provocation of *L'être et l'essence* by É. Gilson (Paris, 1948) the author wrote the present paper-bound volume, reprinting essentially in the first three chapters his previous article, "*L'être et l'idée selon Platon*" (*Revue Philosophique de Louvain*, February 1952, pp. 5-55). Dividing his study into two parts of four chapters each, entitled *la dialectique ascendante* and *la dialectique descendante* respectively, Loriaux discusses in the first part the *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, and *Republic*, in the second part the *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, and *Laws*, attempting to show that the two methods, which he terms ascending and descending dialectic, are complements to each other.

What the author treats under descending dialectic scholars usually refer to as the method of "collection and division," the relation of the Ideas to one another, and the question of immanence or transcendence between the sensible world and the world of Ideas. These are challenging problems to a Platonist and, in the opinion of the reviewer, are treated more clearly and adequately in other books, especially in *Plato's Theory of Ideas* by David Ross (Oxford, 1953). It is surprising that no mention is made either in the text or in the two-page bibliography of the pertinent volumes by F. M. Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides* (London, 1939), *Plato's Cosmology* (London, 1937), *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1935); R. Robinson, *Plato's Earlier Dialectic* (Oxford, 1953); and N. R. Murphy, *The Interpretation of Plato's Republic* (Oxford, 1951), particularly chapter seven.

The author discusses at length the phrase ὁ ἔστιν in its various contexts, claiming that Shorey (*Loeb Classical Library*), Chambry (*Les Belles Lettres*) and Robin (*La Pléiade*) mistranslated the term in *Republic*, 532 A "par des expressions purement essentielles" (p. 78); Shorey renders the phrase ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὁ ἔστιν ἕκαστον "the very essence of each thing." It is noteworthy that no reference is made to the phraseology either of the third edition of Jowett ("the absolute") or of the fourth edition ("the real"). Loriaux is unduly concerned with the grammatical construction in such expressions as . . . οὐκ αὐτοῦ δεσπότου δῆπου, ὁ ἔστιν δεσπότης . . . and . . . οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ δούλου, ὁ ἔστιν δούλος . . . (*Parmenides*, 133 D-E). He states: "Les deux antécédents étant masculins, les relatifs devraient l'être également" (p. 122). To mitigate the unnecessary concern, one needs only to refer to Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, paragraphs 1022 and 921, and to Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, paragraphs 501, 126, and 130-1; additional examples of "disagreement" of the relative with its antecedent in both Greek and Latin literature are noted and explained in an article by the undersigned, "This Is My Body" (*Concordia Theological Monthly*, XX [1949], pp. 367-73). Plato's use of the neuter relative pronoun (as well as adjectives and demonstrative pronouns) to refer to masculine and feminine nouns is so frequent in his dialogues that its occurrence in

the passages cited should cause no concern to an interpreter; one wonders whether Loriaux would regard the opening sentence of the *Meno*, for example, as ungrammatical: . . . ἀρα διδάκτον ἢ ἀπειρή;

In general, although the volume is provocative of some thought, it should not be listed as "required reading."

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WILLIAM L. WESTERMANN. The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity. Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1955. Pp. xii + 180. \$3.00.

Next to paganism, the institution of slavery is probably the most difficult feature of ancient life for a modern student to understand, and it engaged the attention of Professor Westermann for years. His monumental article "Sklaverei" in the *Real-Enzyklopädie*, appearing in 1935 and extending over almost 200 columns, was the first comprehensive treatment of the subject in this century, and it was followed by a long series of special studies, expanding and enriching his conception. It was only natural that there should have been a demand for a book on the subject, and that goal has now been reached, after his death, through the generosity of various foundations and societies and the devoted skill of John Day, who saw the manuscript through the press. It is a fine accomplishment, one of which all of the author's friends and pupils may be proud. It will remain a standard work of reference for many years. There is a touch of pathos in the dedication "To the Memory of Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff," for this review must be dedicated to the memory of William Linn Westermann, a great scholar, teacher, and friend.

The relation to "Sklaverei" is explained in the preface. That had the relatively simple and strictly chronological form of an encyclopaedia article, and the compactness of long paragraphs with the incorporation of bibliographical references in the text. It was relatively easy to find things in, if you looked over the part devoted to the period that interested you. For book purposes, it was necessary to introduce footnotes and chapters, and categories other than chronological. The result was an arrangement of 24 chapters, as follows: 1) From Homer to the Persian Wars; 2-4) To Alexander, treating in turn supply and numbers, employment and legality, and social setting. Here the text of "Sklaverei" is reproduced with only minor additions, except in 2, where there is an extended treatment of the Aramaic documents from Elephantine recently published by Emil Kraeling. 5-8) The East to Augustus, including recruitment, economic and legal problems, and a comparison of Greek and Oriental practices. Westermann called this section "recast." It is really augmented, by virtue of his extensive study of the manumission documents of Hellenistic times with their bearing on slave origins, the "four freedoms" which distinguish a slave from a free man, and the problem of *paramone*, a restriction

on freedom which he has elsewhere described as a form of service relationship. 9-12) The West, from the Republic to Augustus. This is very little changed from "Sklaverei." 13-19) The Empire of the first three centuries. This section is very close to "Sklaverei" except that the order of topics has been changed to correspond to that above: origins and numbers, prices, and living conditions. The "amelioration" of slavery is discussed in connection with the importance of the "Caesaris servi," "vernae," and "Liberti" of the imperial service, and the attitude toward it by the philosophers, especially the Stoics. The possible contribution of slavery to the "decline" of ancient civilization is discussed and, as in "Sklaverei," rejected. 20-24) These chapters treat of slavery from Constantine to Justinian, and are almost completely new, replacing a mere two pages in "Sklaverei." The treatment is parallel to that of the other periods, and the relation of slavery to the colonate and to Christianity is handled at length, with concluding speculation on the nature and continued toleration of slavery in antiquity, referring particularly to the views of Professor A. N. Whitehead. The volume is completed with a bibliography and index.

Where so much is given, it would be ungrateful to ask for more. A conscientious reviewer, however, must point out that this is not the definitive book on slavery which it, in some way, purports to be. It is not very readable, and retains much of the encyclopaedia manner. It is rather analysis than synthesis, a collection of ancient testimonia than a narrative. The index is not adequate; such important topics as "Education" and "Prices" do not appear, and the topical arrangement of the text is insufficiently clear and systematic to make them unnecessary. The Jewish slavery of Elephantine is discussed at length, but nothing is said about Babylonian or Jewish slavery, and very little about the slavery of Pharaonic Egypt, all of which is not irrelevant, but necessary as the background of the Greek institution, as the author himself clearly states. The Dura material has shown how early customs of the Near East survived in the Seleucid and Parthian kingdoms. Taubenschlag has found such survivals in Egypt, and I myself found a curious continuation or recreation of Babylonian slave adoption in Roman Asia Minor. The legal aspects of slavery come short in general, and the problems raised by Koschaker and Schönbauer about the status of various kinds of bondsmen are not mentioned.

For the problem of slavery is not an easy one. The Romans handled it best, naturally, with their sharp categories, but in Roman law we meet the anomaly that a slave might own other slaves as his *peculium*, and so, through their manumission, become a *patronus* to *liberti*. In the Greek world, there was constant doubt as to what was a slave—although it was normally possible to decide who was a slave. Plato and Aristotle argued that slavery could exist only when an individual was a slave by nature, and Dio devoted two tracts to the proposition that slavery was a matter of the mind: if A owned B by capture or purchase, circumstances might easily reverse the situation so that B owned A, and thus neither could properly be called a slave. In view of the economic necessity of slavery in a civilized but machineless society, no one, not even the Christians, opposed slavery as an institution, although the Stoics reggraded it as *ἀδύνατον* and the Christians held that it did not

affect the soul or a man's position before God. It flourished in antiquity when there were wars and piracy, lapsed in the end with the rise of feudalism, for the slave populations never reproduced themselves. Under the empire, such anomalies as Tiberius' slave Musicius in Gaul with his household of secretaries, cooks, valets, butlers, and attendants defy definition.

The Greeks lacked even an exact terminology. A slave was δοῦλος, but so was a minister of the Great King, and Westermann thinks that ἱερόδουλοι were not slaves (few, however, will follow him in regarding the ἱερούς of *S. I. G.*, 742, 45 as priests). Barlaas of Dura Parchment X was to perform δουλικὰς χρείας, but he was an indentured servant or squire, not a slave. The term ἀνδράποδον is fairly definite but also a little formal. A σῶμα may be slave or free; it is the "body" of Scottish poetry. The usual term for slave is παιδίον, but it may mean free servants, "boys," as well, or even children; no one has suggested that the παῖδιά of Mark 10:14 were slaves, although it is perhaps not an impossibility.

Actually, of course, ancient slavery was several things, and not one; so Westermann writes of "The Slave Systems of Antiquity." In the Near East, as in Greece and Rome, slaves were used in the household as companions and servants of various kinds, where they shared place with children, relatives, retainers, and hirelings. They were used for agricultural work or for making cloth and clothing, like wives, hirelings, and serfs. They were used as skilled technicians of various sorts: doctors, philosophers, scribes, artists and artisans, cooks and mechanics, playing the same role as freemen. They could marry among themselves or with freemen, though this right was often restricted, and posed certain problems in regard to children born of such unions. They might be under the obligation of παραμονή, to stay with the master by day and night, but so had apprentices and other persons, including slaves who had been manumitted on such a condition, or they might be free to live where they pleased. Probably the only common element in their status was that they might be bought and sold, or punished as free men could not, but even these considerations were neither unlimited nor unique; persons often bought and sold children, for example, especially children who had been abandoned by their parents, and such became slaves only by that act, and sometimes could revert to a free status if the parents changed their minds.

A careful reader will find things to criticize in detail inevitably, and there are points on which opinions will differ, but it is a careful book, and the difficulties are those inherent in the subject. It contains much that is new and good. When, if ever, the definitive book is written on this subject, it will draw heavily on Westermann's judgment and insight, and not only on his material.

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ARTHUR E. R. BOAK. *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955. Pp. viii + 169. \$4.50.

The effects of population decline in the Roman Empire have not been properly assessed. Perhaps one reason for this is that the phenomenon is so contrary to our experience. Our problem is overpopulation, and we can hardly imagine a time when the situation was exactly the opposite. Another stumbling block has been the belief that scientific study of population was impossible without exact statistics. These are seldom obtainable; for the Greeks and Romans were notoriously lax in such matters and such statistics as we can piece together from archaeology are based on such inadequate sampling that they are inconclusive without supporting evidence from other sources. Some scholars have tried to calculate the population of the Roman Empire or to work out the life expectancy of its inhabitants by studying tomb inscriptions. Most historians treated their conclusions with the greatest reserve, even if they did not neglect them entirely.

This attitude, Boak believes, is no longer justifiable. It is, he admits (p. 20), "quite impossible to make any even approximately accurate estimates of the population of the Roman Empire as a whole or of the western part of it in particular, at any specific period." There is, however, for certain regions "incontrovertible archaeological evidence of a rise or decline in population, and for other regions, dependable historical evidence of a nonstatistical nature" (p. 8). Demographers have recently devoted much attention to population trends in the Roman Empire; and from the evidence of funerary inscriptions, mummy labels, and even skeletal remains in cemeteries, have begun to develop population patterns, not only for special areas, but for the Empire as a whole. The evidence is still scanty and not wholly reliable;¹ but demographers can control it to some extent by checking it against literary sources and comparing it with population statistics from pre-industrial modern countries. We may still believe that their conclusions should be accepted with caution, but we must agree with Boak that historians can often use them with profit.

Boak finds a downward trend in population in the western part of the Empire from about the time of Marcus Aurelius, which became more rapid during the half century of anarchy following the death of Alexander Severus. The restoration of order in the 4th century might have been expected to reverse this trend, but, except temporarily and in some areas, it failed to do so. Instead, the situation grew steadily worse. Boak describes the problems which this presented to the government and its attempts to solve them; and it is interesting to note that, as so often is the case when a historical trend has begun, the efforts of men to arrest it served only to make it stronger. The Roman Empire suffered from a shortage of farmers, artisans, doctors, teachers, soldiers; above all, it suffered from a

¹ On some difficulties in the use of funerary inscriptions, see the judicious remarks of A. R. Burn, "Hic Breve Vivitur: a Study of the Expectation of Life in the Roman Empire," *Past and Present*, Nov. 1953, pp. 3-5.

shortage of taxpayers. To keep up production and maintain a civilized society, to administer, police, and defend the Empire became harder with each generation. Striving to accomplish its task, the government fixed everyone in his job, collected the taxes ruthlessly, and imposed harsh penalties for evasions; but it only made life harder for the people. They abandoned their farms, fled from their jobs, ran away to become robbers or to join the barbarians. Those who stuck it out simply did not have enough children to balance the death rate. In desperation, the authorities brought barbarians into the Empire to meet the need for manpower; but this remedy only hastened final disaster.

"Did Christianity," asks Boak (p. 129), "with its higher standard of morality and greater stress on family life have any influence upon the downward trend of population?" If so, he says, its effects were small. In fact, Christianity, by glorifying celibacy and the monastic life, may even have helped to decrease population. This indictment is surely far too mild. Christianity not only cast an aura of sanctity upon the ascetic's evasion of social responsibility and made childlessness a positive virtue, but it drew into the Church many of the best men, whose intelligence and moral integrity the struggling Empire could ill spare. Had the Church made any organized effort to reform society, the talents of these men would not have been wholly wasted; but it is all too plain that it made no such effort. The Church must bear a large share in the responsibility for the ruin of the Empire, and the more so if population decline was a significant factor. In its defense it may be said that the Church was itself a victim of an almost universal cultural trend, and that some pagan or heretical sects would probably have done worse.

Boak's study gives no support to the contention of André Piganiol that "Roman civilization did not die a natural death. It was murdered."² The basic cause of the decline of population cannot have been barbarian invasions, internal wars, plagues, or any such catastrophes; for these were always operating. There must have been some new factor; and even without statistics it is not hard to see that this must have been the failure of the people to breed enough children to counteract the checks on population. This reflects a lack of zest for life, a "loss of nerve," an emotional illness among much of the population. Both halves of the Empire were affected, the East, indeed, more than the West; but the East, with its larger population, was better able to resist the disease.

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²I. e., by the barbarians; see his discussion of the causes of the fall of the Empire, *Histoire romaine*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2: *L'Empire chrétien* (Paris, 1947), pp. 411-22. Piganiol seems to think that the population losses of the 3rd century were made up later; but Boak contradicts this.

GILBERT HIGHET. *Juvenal the Satirist, A Study.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954. Pp. xviii + 373. \$4.80.

This book is intended for both the classical scholar and the student in other literary and historical fields. As one would expect of Professor Highet, it is very well written and is a pleasure to read. Only indefatigable industry could produce such a mastery of the technical literature on Juvenal. The book, of course, reveals the extensive knowledge of modern literature that one has come to associate with the author of *The Classical Tradition*. Chaucer, Algren, Roger Bacon, Moravia, Dante, Dickens, Diderot, Dolce, Donne, Dostoievski, Voltaire, Strindberg, Spengler, Shakespeare, Aldous Huxley, Kafka, Kipling, succeed one another in a brilliant display of celestial fireworks, so to speak, to the amazement of the reader. But Highet lets us down by admitting that he cannot read Magyar!

The book is divided into three parts: the life of Juvenal, the individual satires, and the survival of Juvenal's work. The first part covers the same ground as an article of Highet's (*T. A. P. A.*, LXVIII [1937], p. 480) but has been reworked. The third part is a greatly expanded version of some remarks in *The Classical Tradition*.

The life of Juvenal as portrayed in the book does not differ much from that in the earlier article. Formerly Juvenal was "probably born of free parents," "possibly in Aquinum"; now he is definitely born free at Aquinum. The four emperors derided by Juvenal now become five. The reconstruction of the life of Juvenal is plausible, if not new. The emphasis is on dating Juvenal's exile to the reign of Domitian, about 93, before the satires were written, and on explaining Juvenal's gloomy outlook by that exile and the consequent loss of his equestrian fortune.

Juvenal fares better in this book than he has fared in many a long year, and by that token Latin literature, so often openly or covertly sneered at, fares better. That is all to the good. Let us grant that Juvenal's sensational material is the stuff of which headlines are made today and no more depicts ordinary Roman life than headlines portray our culture. Yet, properly interpreted, it does give us an insight. Highet's main concern is literary and cultural, to bring out the vividness of Juvenal's portrayals and his other literary virtues, and to call attention to Roman attitudes and *mores*. All this is done in a rich tapestried style. Here is a sample of Highet's discussion of the first satire (p. 50):

It is a splendid tirade. In two pages it puts us in the streets of the rich, busy, corrupt city, energetic, ruthless, cruel, the stony-hearted stepmother. Juvenal does not make us watch it from a distance. He places us in the crowded thoroughfare where we are shoved to the wall by the dependants of a crooked politician, where we the ordinary public are ignored and dominated by barbers, gigolos, and poisoners; and the thick closely packed sentences, filled with drastic and shocking words, themselves carry us along as though we were being pushed and buffeted by the crowds of Rome.

No writer should be criticized for what he chooses not to cover in a book. Yet I regret that Highet did not include two matters in his

discussion. One is that of reinterpreting a number of passages, or at least presenting the various points of view. Not to mention others, he accepts in passing the "summer-weight" gold ring of 1, 28. The other interpretation seems to me much more satisfactory: "he fans the [heavy] gold ring in summer with his perspiring fingers." The juxtaposition of *ventilet* and *aestivum* favors this view, and the humor is heightened by assuming a heavy ring and by the *paraprosdokian* produced by postponing *aurum* to the end of the line. Highet is carried away by modern parallels to accept the first interpretation. The constant use of apposite modern parallels is, to me, one of the fascinating qualities of this book, but such parallels should not project themselves into the interpretation.

The other matter not covered in detail by Highet is Juvenal's rhetorical development of his theme. Thus at the beginning of the first satire, it is interesting to see the grouping of the four types of literature listed by Juvenal. The second and third (*togatae* and elegies) are Roman, short, and light. The first and fourth are Greek, long (cf. *rauci* and *ingens*), and heavy. For the first and fourth the titles of the works are given; in the second and third they are omitted but *ille* and *hic* are contrasted. The second and fourth items are linked by the word *impune*. The fourth and last item is amplified by the use of two examples. Such rhetorical devices are found by the hundreds in Cicero's Orations and Pliny's Letters.

Highet outlines the several satires and discusses the analyses of other scholars. Yet he does not point out that in the first satire the examples of depravities are divided into six sections, the first ending with *difficile est saturam non scribere* and each of the succeeding ones beginning or ending with a similar, though not always so trenchant, statement. The best, of course, is the last: *si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*.

I cannot agree that Juvenal was the first satirist to blend the past with the present. Horace at times uses examples from earlier generations, not to mention mythological stories. To call this a new invention is contradicted by Highet's own footnote (p. 56 and note 15 on p. 249).

An interesting summary of the first book (p. 89) groups the first, third, and fifth satires as dealing with wealth and poverty in conflict and as written from the point of view of the poor man looking up. The other two present the view of the rich man. Highet's explanation is that Juvenal could speak authoritatively in both guises, as he started out as a rich man and later lost his wealth.

Highet takes up the theories of wholesale interpolation, omission, dislocation, etc., from Ribbeck's day to the present (p. 94). Calmly and sensibly he decides that what we have is essentially what Juvenal wrote. "Juvenal is a poet," Highet well says, "and the arrangement of a poet's ideas is not always governed by logic, but often by emotion."

Highet finds it strange for a Roman like Juvenal to advise another Roman on governing a province (8, 87 ff.), but Pliny the Younger did just that (VIII, 24). I have some reservations about the argument for Juvenal's love of children (p. 145), as far as that argument rests on Virro's gifts to children (5, 141). This is a matter of interpretation which I cannot go into here.

Highet has an interesting theory that the last poem was originally

some five hundred lines long and that a quire or two were lost from the single codex that survived antiquity. But the Winstedt fragments are left unexplained by this view.

The end of Part II consists of an eighteen-page Survey, an eloquent and masterly defense of Juvenal which every student of Latin literature must read. We badly need books of this sort on other notable literary figures of ancient Rome.

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BERTRAND HEMMERDINGER. *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*. Paris, Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1955. Pp. 74. (*Collection d'études anciennes publiée sous le patronage de l'association Guillaume Budé*.)

"Le présent essai n'est pas un inventaire codicologique: c'est une histoire du texte" (p. 12). Hemmerdinger shows, in his "Introduction," how the canon of the *codices meliores* developed, somewhat haphazardly, from Gail (1807) to Hude (1901). He emphasizes that the archetype itself contained variants, that the whole tradition is contaminated, that *codices recentiores* (*non deteriores*) preserve good readings, and that, in consequence, it is impossible to construct a detailed and accurate *stemma codicum*.

The book undertakes to prove these statements by dwelling, in seven chapters, on significant periods in the history of the text's transmission. The reader will find comprehension easier if he keeps open the *stemma* folded into the back of the book.

Hemmerdinger begins ("L'édition d'Aristophane de Byzance") at Alexandria, where Thucydides was edited and divided into the eight books that we know by Aristophanes. Book I, he argues, constitutes the *Προίμιον*, written in the first instance in a single roll; each of Books II-IV encompasses three years of the war. To each year one roll of papyrus was originally devoted, concluding with the words *καὶ . . . ὃν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε* (ν) (except that the second clause is missing after the first and eighth years). Now the first book of Herodotus, which was also edited at Alexandria, consists of three *λόγοι*. Therefore the book-division of Thucydides is Alexandrian. This is neat and simple, perhaps too simple; and it does raise questions. Did the rolls vary so considerably? How does Hemmerdinger explain the exceptions? How does he handle Books V-VIII (he says nothing of them)?

In Book VIII B reports, as readings or variants, the Attic - ττ - (where C has - σσ -), as does Π² (*saec.* I), which suggests that these are early; here and there the textual tradition reflects the dialect of Laconia. We know that Aristophanes compiled Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις and Λακωνικαὶ γλώσσαι; therefore it was Aristophanes who edited and corrected Thucydides, whose text, with its new variants, thus assumed (as the "préarchétype") its definitive character. Again, this may be so. Thucydides was surely edited at Alexandria;

and papyrus-fragments do yield variants and corrections that are accordingly proved to be early. Yet the step to Aristophanes seems a broad one, for the dialectical features and possibilities of Thucydides' work might have appealed to any philologist.

In Chapter II, "L'exemplaire athénien," Hemmerdinger cites cases, especially in Thucydides, in which *dékatos* or *déka* has been mistakenly written for *tétraptos* or *téssapes*. The error stems from confusion between Attic Δ (= 10) and Ionic Δ (= 4). So a manuscript with Ionic figures was transcribed at Athens by a careless Athenian scribe; this, says Hemmerdinger, could not have occurred before the founding of the library at Alexandria. The mediaeval manuscripts, which repeat the blunders, descend from this Athenian copy, the exemplar, in fact, of Aristophanes. It follows that Diodorus, who in I, 103, 1 writes *dekátō* instead of *tetrátō*, did not take his text from Ephorus, but from Thucydides. This thesis assumes that an Athenian might transcribe the acrophonic numerals as ordinals (Hemmerdinger makes no distinction between cardinals and ordinals), that he was peculiarly vulnerable in the case of Δ, and that the learned Aristophanes overlooked the errors.

Hemmerdinger passes to "Les exemplaires de la basse antiquité" (Chapter III). On the basis of reconstructed dittographies he places the uncial archetype before 400 A. D. Its model, a *de luxe* edition, is set in the fourth century because of its (reconstructed) similarity to four Christian *codices* of that period.

"La Renaissance iconoclaste" (Chapter IV) concerns the gathering of classical manuscripts at Constantinople in 814 by John the Grammarian (whose identity is carefully established) and the consequent work done on Thucydides by him and others under the iconoclastic emperors; the iconoclastic renaissance is thus ascribed to an earlier date than is traditional.

Chapter V ("Métochite et Planude à Chora"), in which H, on the basis of water-marks, is moved back into the early fourteenth century, is largely an examination of the activities of Theodorus Metochites and Planudes at the monastery of Chora. Theodorus was the scribe of H and wrote a few folios of M, C, F, and A. The argument is strengthened by six excellent plates illustrating the hand of Theodorus. The second hand of *codex* S of Thucydides is identified as that of Planudes, whose calligraphy is also illustrated, in two plates.

The last two chapters, "Le *Decurtatus*" and "Le manuscrit H," concentrate on B and H, whose peculiar value, from VI, 92, 5, was first observed by Poppo. B, for this section of the *History*, reproduces the readings of what Hemmerdinger calls the *Decurtatus*, adding variants from the main tradition. He adds a list to show the precise manner in which these variants appear. H, asserts Hemmerdinger, is a copy of a lost manuscript based on B but collated against the direct tradition of the archetype (see the *stemma*); H was the original of Valla, whose translation, therefore, after VII, 50, 1 (where H breaks off), has the value of a manuscript.

In an Appendix, "Le commentaire de Marcellus," Hemmerdinger assigns the anonymous commentary of A, F, E, and C to Marcellus, employing the testimony of Gregory of Corinth (before 1125), who specifically ascribes a note from it to this shadowy figure. Partly on this evidence and partly on the evidence of certain scholia to

Xenophon's *Anabasis*, this same Marcellus, rather than Marcellinus, is given credit for the *Life* of Thucydides. On p. 62, the date 1516 is surely a *terminus post quem non*; "postérieur à 1516" is contrary to the facts.

The book has a list of references to Thucydides and a workmanlike index. On p. 7 there is a "Liste des sigles représentant des manuscrits de Thucydide dans cet ouvrage"; it includes the papyri relevant to this study. *Parisinus gr.* 1637, mentioned on p. 59, is absent; the manuscript belonging to D. S. Robertson (p. 46) is omitted from the index.

I have outlined this book, with emphasis on the first two chapters by way of example, in some detail because it teems with provocative ideas. Hemmerdinger is never reluctant to identify scribes, owners, and readers of manuscripts over the long period of the text's transmission. The lack of specific evidence does not worry him (see, for example, p. 20, on Aristophanes of Byzantium). He is clever in reconstruction (see, for example, his passage on the scribe of the archetype, pp. 28-9) and quite sure in his mind. Whether his ideas will win acceptance is a question. I do not dispute his logic; I feel that he oversimplifies, he tends not to face a problem in its entirety (e. g., Chapter II). He may be right, for example, in replacing Marcellinus with Marcellus; yet his case (and he has one) is no stronger than the traditional case for Marcellinus (which is admittedly unsatisfactory), a fact of which he gives the impression of being unaware.

The many notes on readings are for the most part new and of extreme value; they supplement the apparatus of our present book-texts. There is no bibliography, although the author is evidently familiar with the recent studies on the text of Thucydides.

The book is nicely printed and the proof has been competently read. On p. 16 read "*Ancient*," on p. 25 (line 1) read "1836"; the first sentence on p. 43 needs surgery. The *stemma* is admirably simple and a great aid to the reader; it could be improved by the addition of dates.

Hemmerdinger writes clearly and vigorously, and this, combined with his ingenuity, makes reading a pleasure. His book will not always convince; it will always stimulate.

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LAURA OLIVIERI SANGIACOMO. *Sallustio*. Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1954. Pp. vi + 310. (*Biblioteca di Cultura*, 53.)

For many years after Eduard Schwartz's celebrated article on the Catilinarian conspiracy in *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), pp. 554-608, it was the fashion to vilify Sallust; it has now become, apparently, the fashion to defend and extol him. Among those scholars chiefly responsible for this shift of direction in Sallustian studies was Gino Funaioli; and recent Italian works on Sallust—Paladini's unfortu-

nate¹ *Sallustio* (Palermo, 1948), Bolaffi's *Sallustio* (Roma, 1949), and the present *Sallustio*—show clearly the influence of Funaioli's views, as put forward in *R.-E.*, Zweite Reihe, I^A (1914), cols. 1913-55,² in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s. v. "Sallustio" (1936) and in "Nuovi Orientamenti della Critica Sallustiana," *Studi di Letteratura Antica*, II, 1 (Bologna, 1948), pp. 45-70.³

Sangiaco makes much of the "dato autobiografico nell' opera sallustiana," but it is hard to see how this concern has shaped her book in any especial way. She does take Sallust's personal statements in the proems very seriously, and perhaps she speculates more freely than other writers have done on Sallust's life and probable emotions; but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to write a book about Sallust that did not consider his personality. The plan of Sangiaco's book is not unusual: an introductory chapter, a chapter on Sallust's life, successive chapters on the *Epistulae* (which she considers genuine), the *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, the *Bellum Iugurthinum*, the *Historiae*, a long, loosely organized chapter on "Sallustio storiografo," and an appendix on the *Inuectiua*.

Since Sangiaco belongs to the *cohors sectatorum Sallusti*, she everywhere attempts to defend Sallust as an historian and (what is more difficult) as a man. The chapter on Sallust's life depends very much on Funaioli: p. 14 seems to echo p. 55 of the "Nuovi Orientamenti." Sangiaco grants that everything known about Sallust's life is unflattering, but she attributes this notoriety to the astute malice of his enemies. Varro recounted Sallust's scandalous affair with Fausta, the wife of Milo, but Varro was a Pompeian. Leneus wrote a *satura acerbissima* against Sallust, from which the pseudo-Ciceronian *Inuectiua* may derive, but Leneus was a freedman of Pompey. No doubt these men had reason to hate Sallust, and perhaps they wrote nothing but lies, but is it impossible for a man's enemies to tell the hurtful truth about him? Sangiaco treats very briefly the one episode in Sallust's career that has done his reputation most harm: apparently a man of modest means, he governed *Africa Nova* for a few months and then returned to Rome with immense wealth. To say, as Sangiaco does on p. 33 "... forse non è necessario pensare a un eccesso di avidità da parte sua al tempo di quella sua carica" merely evades the ethical issue. Certainly, as Funaioli remarks, many Roman governors enriched themselves in the provinces; but these magistrates did not afterwards write histories in which they deplored the baleful influence of wealth and cupidity.

Sangiaco naturally attacks Schwartz's view that Sallust chose to write about the Catilinarian conspiracy from partisan motives; that his account was, in fact, an answer to the posthumous publication of Cicero's *De consiliis suis*, a sort of secret history which inculpated Caesar. This suggestion may be right or wrong, and Schwartz's position is extreme; but after Caesar's death many Romans must have had some curiosity about his attitude toward the conspiracy, and Sallust could hardly fail to be aware of this interest. Without doubt Sallust gives Caesar more prominence in his history

¹ See *Maia*, II (1949), pp. 146-59.

² Actually published in 1921.

³ First published in *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche della Reale Accademia d'Italia*, Ser. VII, III (1942), pp. 1 ff.

than Caesar had at the time of the actual conspiracy: any historian's vision of the past is refracted by his own experience, and it may have been hard to remember when the *dictator perpetuo* was merely a politician among politicians. Was Caesar really one of the "due personalità dominatrici" (p. 137) in the Senate of 63? H. Last (*Mélanges . . . offerts à J. Marouzeau* [Paris, 1948], pp. 361 ff.) has analysed the odd brevity with which Sallust introduces Caesar into the senatorial debate. Probably Caesar, then praetor elect, spoke only after both consuls designate and fourteen *consulares* had been asked their opinions; but Sallust mentions only one consul designate, then he gives the speech of Caesar, and then Cato's speech in reply. Last conjectures that Sallust was concerned to show, by the sentiments which he puts in Caesar's mouth and by pairing him with the already legendary Cato, that Caesar could have had no part in the conspiracy. Sangiacomo attempts to rebut any charge of bias in Caesar's favor, not so much by examining individual passages, as by considering Sallust's "posizione spirituale" when he was writing about the conspiracy. She refers to the poems, in which Sallust speaks of his old political troubles and his renunciation of public life for good; after writing this, Sangiacomo asserts, it would have been absolutely unnatural for Sallust to revert to his earlier partisan attitudes. This judgment seems too simple, not to say naïve: even though Sallust abandoned political life, he could hardly have abandoned, so suddenly and so easily, the political passions which had animated him for many years. And this is not necessarily to say that Sallust intended to mislead, or was consciously insincere when he wrote "partibus rei publicae animus liber erat" (*De Coni. Cat.*, IV, 2).

Sangiacomo also essays the more difficult task of defending Sallust's objectivity in the *Bell. Iug.*; though she does admit "l'interpretazione alquanto forzata ed estensiva dei fatti" (p. 186). Sallust himself remarks that he chose to write about the Jugurthine War partly "quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obuiam itum est" (V, 1); and even though Sallust makes some effort to be fair to Metellus and Sulla, and can see some faults in Marius, he displays a bitterness and rancor against the nobility of seventy or eighty years before which is intelligible only if one remembers Sallust's own political allegiance. An impartial historian would hardly have accused Aemilius Scaurus, the *princeps senatus*, of refusing to accept Jugurtha's bribes merely because he feared public opinion. Sallust's bias against the nobility in the *Bell. Iug.*, and especially in chaps. VII-IX, has been examined by Kurt von Fritz in a cogent article ("Sallust and the Roman Nobility," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIV [1943], pp. 134-68), which Sangiacomo does not mention. In chap. VII Sallust begins the story of how King Micipsa sent Jugurtha to serve under Scipio Aemilianus in the Roman army then besieging Numantia; and there, according to Sallust, corrupt Roman nobles, telling Jugurtha that everything at Rome was for sale, fired him with the ambition to become sole ruler of Numidia on Micipsa's death; and this ambition eventually led to war. Sallust wished to show that the nobles were ultimately responsible for the war—how could he have known what a few reckless men told Jugurtha under the walls of Numantia nearly a century before?—and that they were thus predisposed to accept bribes, as Sallust

asserts, from Jugurtha. Sangiacomo here, as elsewhere, follows Sallust uncritically, and does not point out the odd compression of chronology in his account: though Numantia fell in 133 and Micipsa did not die for another fifteen years, Sallust refers to this lapse of time as "paucos post annos" and makes Micipsa, in his dying words, speak of Jugurtha's returning from Numantia "nouissime." Sallust distorted the chronology, whether consciously or not, because he wished to render more probable a causal connection between two events that were actually separated by fifteen years.

Sangiacomo's *Sallustio* is not altogether unsuccessful: she discusses many individual problems with care and learning, and she obviously controls the large and difficult Sallustian bibliography. It is rather, as I have attempted to show by several examples, that her partisan attitude vitiates the book: "La presente ricerca si è studiata di dimostrare che la condizione migliore per penetrare nello spirito dell'opera sallustiana è, in ultima analisi, quella di chi, con un atto di fede più che giustificato dalla affascinante potenza dell'opera, giunga a tener per vero quanto l'autore dice o lascia intendere del proprio atteggiamento presente e passato . . ." (p. 249). If this is the new orientation of Sallustian studies, it is an orientation that has become extreme and needs correcting.

I append some sporadic criticisms and comments. P. 14: Sall., *Hist.*, II, 16 (Maur.) is incorrectly cited; correctly on p. 233. P. 20, n. 4: This punctuation and interpretation of Cic., *Ad Quint. frat.*, II, 9, 3, assigned to Malcovati, is already in Tyrrell and Purser. P. 32: Read "per l'anno 46." P. 52, n. 1: The reading of cod. Vat. 3864 is *at herculem catonem*. P. 99: The man condemned with L. Annius Bellienus was not L. Luceceius but L. Luscus. P. 102: E. G. Hardy, "The Catilinarian Conspiracy in its Context," *J. R. S.*, VII (1917), pp. 168-71, has already discussed and refuted the view that the conspiracy began in 64. P. 119: The meeting of the Senate was probably on Nov. 8 rather than Nov. 7. P. 132: Tolckehn, "Zur Behandlung Ciceros durch Sallust," *Phil. Woch.*, XLV (1925), pp. 104-5, might be mentioned. P. 132, n. 1: An essay curiously entitled "Was Sallust said to Cicero" is attributed to C. R. S. Broughton here, and to R. S. Broughton on p. 295. P. 136, n. 2: The reference should be to App., *Bell. Ciu.*, II, 1, 5-6. P. 217, n. 1: The date of cod. Vat. 3864 is incorrectly given here; correctly on p. 38. P. 286: B. Edmar, *Studien zu den Epistulae ad Caesarem senem de re publica* (Lund, 1931), pp. 106-7 gives, in a long footnote, a succinct presentation of the linguistic and stylistic evidence against the authenticity of the *Inuectiva*. Pp. 293-8: This "Elenco degli Autori Moderni Citati" is occasionally misleading; for it includes some works which are not cited in the text, and omits some others which are.

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The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXII. Edited with translations and notes by E. LOBEL and C. H. ROBERTS. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1954. Pp. xiii + 181; 11 pls. £5.

"We started work upon the town," wrote the late Bernard P. Grenfell in his 1897 report on the fabulous finds of his first season at Behneseh (ancient Oxyrhynchus), "on January 11th by setting some seventy men and boys to dig trenches through a low mound on the outside of the site. . . . The choice proved a very fortunate one, for papyrus scraps at once began to come to light in considerable quantities, varied by uncial fragments and occasional complete or nearly complete official and private documents. . . . Since this rubbish mound had proved so fruitful I proceeded to increase the number of workmen gradually up to 110, and as we moved northwards over other parts of the site, the flow of papyri soon became a torrent which it was difficult to cope with. . . . We engaged two men to make tin boxes for storing the papyri, but for the next ten weeks they could hardly keep pace with us. . . .

"The third and by far the greatest find, that of the Byzantine archives, took place on March 18th and 19th, and was, I suppose, a 'record' in point of quantity. On the first of these two days we came upon a mound which had a thick layer consisting almost entirely of papyrus rolls. There was room for six pairs of men and boys to be working simultaneously at this storehouse, and the difficulty was to find enough baskets in all Behneseh to contain the papyri. At the end of the day's work no less than thirty-six good-sized baskets were brought in from this place, several of them stuffed with fine rolls three to ten feet long, including some of the largest Greek rolls I have ever seen. As the baskets were required for the next day's work, Mr. Hunt and I started at 9 p. m. after dinner to stow away the papyri in some empty packing-cases which we fortunately had at hand. The task was only finished at three in the morning, and on the following night we had a repetition of it, for twenty-five more baskets were filled before the place was exhausted."¹

More than fifty years later Grenfell and Hunt's seemingly inexhaustible finds are still unfolding their treasure. With the present twenty-second volume the number of published Oxyrhynchus papyri reaches 2353—the largest series of its kind—and the end is not even in sight. The next volume, incidentally, will contain some new pieces of Bacchylides, Corinna, and Stesichorus.

Like most of its predecessors, the twenty-second Oxyrhynchus volume contains literary and non-literary texts. Included in the former group are twenty texts of Ionic poetry (Nos. 2309-2328), edited with Mr. Lobel's special mastery of this area of Greek literature. Among these fragments, mostly from second-century manuscripts, are:

Archilochus—iambic trimeters, trochaic tetrameters, and two scraps from the fable of the fox and the eagle;
Anacreon—pieces of one, and possibly two, manuscripts, the first

¹ Egypt Exploration Society, Archaeological Report 1896-1897, pp. 6-9.

appearance of this poet among the papyri (one fragment, of thirteen lines, "exhibits a form of three-lined stanza not otherwise exemplified among his remains");

Hipponax—an exiguous fragment mentioning Bupalus;

An anonymous eighteen-line fragment (No. 2317) of trochaic tetrameters very much in the style of, and therefore possibly attributable to, Archilochus.

The remaining texts of the volume are presented by Mr. Roberts, edited with the sureness and finish that characterize his work. He gives us, first, four new literary texts in copies dating from the second and third centuries: part of a scene of New Comedy; a complete column of text of Ctesias' *Persica*, the longest extant piece of this author's work in its original form; thirteen Phalaecean verses (one is inadvertently dropped out in the printed transcription) from a manuscript on the labors of Hercules with colored "cartoon-strip" illustrations;² and 79 lines in three columns, constituting the best of the three known texts of the *Oracle of the Potter*, a Graeco-Egyptian "medley of legend, history, and apocalyptic fantasy." Five texts of known works complete the literary section of the volume—small fragments of Aeschylus' *Septem* and larger ones of Euripides' *Andromache*, *Helena* (the first papyrus manuscript of this play), and *Medea*, all of them with variant readings of some interest.

Among the documents the following may be singled out for notice here. No. 2338 is a list of some 70 poets, trumpeters, and heralds who enjoyed tax exemption in Oxyrhynchus as the result of (victories in) the municipal games in the years A. D. 261/2–288/9. This type of municipal liberality, abundantly attested for athletic victors, is now seen to have been extended to the arts as well. Whether this "may also suggest that Upper Egypt was relatively prosperous in this period" is, however, questionable; a recurrent factor in the chronic financial straits of Hellenistic towns under the Principate—witness Pliny's *Letters* as well as the papyri and inscriptions—was precisely their seeming unwillingness or inability to curtail public expenditures for traditional pageantry. — No. 2339 is an odd fragment, unfortunately much mutilated, of judicial proceedings in which references are made to war (or riots?), crucifixion, beheading, and flogging. Whether this is from a report of a real trial or from a piece of tendentious literature remains an open question. — No. 2340, of A. D. 192, brings the first mention of a *hypostrategos* of a district of Alexandria. It shows too that this office was liturgic, and adds still another detail to the evidence on the exemption of weavers from liturgies. — Nos. 2343 (*ca.* A. D. 288) and 2349 (A. D. 70) contain the names of two hitherto unrecorded Prefects of Egypt, Iucundius(?) Peregrinus and L. Peducaeus Colonus, respectively. — No. 2344 (*ca.* A. D. 336) "is of some interest as one of the earliest documents in which a Christian bishop figures." — No. 2345, of A. D. 224, is a document of a familiar type, an

²The papyrus with its three illustrations is reproduced in black and white in Plate XI. The introduction to this text (No. 2331) includes a two-page commentary on the illustrations by Professor K. Weitzmann, who concludes that "we can without exaggeration say that the Heracles papyrus is the most important illustrated literary papyrus found so far."

application for admission to membership in the gymnasium (*epikrisis*). What is unique in this application is the mention of the applicant's literacy; since there has never been any evidence to suggest that literacy was a requisite for membership, its mention here must doubtless be regarded as an assertion of gentility and status in an age of "middle-class" decline. It is interesting to note, too, that the applicant's family can cite a record of *epikrisis* going all the way back to the reign of Vespasian. — No. 2348 contains the Greek translation made at the opening of a Latin will drawn in A. D. 224; the document acquires particular significance from its proximity to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. — A final detail: the documents of this volume add half a dozen new words to our Greek lexicons (*ἀδωσιδικεῖν*, *διακελεύειν*, *ἐλαιουργικός*, *εὐδωσιδικεῖν*, *κωμέ-δαφος*, *σταυροποία*, *ὑπερλαμβάνειν*, *φλαγγέλλα*), and in No. 2342 the verb *ἐμβολεύειν* occurs in a new, colloquial sense (literally, "to load a ship," here, "to load one's pockets with," "to embezzle").

This is the second volume of the Oxyrhynchus series that has been published with the aid of a subvention from UNESCO (*pace* the American Legion).

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WALTER F. OTTO. *The Homeric Gods*. Translated by Moses Hadas. New York, Pantheon, 1954. Pp. 310.

The real attraction of this book is that it lives up to its sub-title: *The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion*. It begins by stating some of the basic differences between the Olympian and all modern religions: the lack of moral earnestness, of holiness; and, on the other hand, the closer intimacy between the Olympians and their votaries, for all the gulf between them. None the less the author insists, and quite rightly, that the Olympian religion had a deep spiritual significance, which is too often denied, and he bravely attempts to track down this significance.

The interventions of the gods give a supernatural quality to events which yet remain completely natural and free from magic. The gods are obviously responsible, and yet the responsibility of the human agents is in no way diminished. Dr. Otto struggles to explain this paradox, and this is no easy task, as the modern terms which he must needs use have their meanings conditioned by quite different categories of thought. For the most part, he struggles successfully, and there is good reason for Professor Hadas' claim that he found this book "the single most useful help" in communicating to the student some understanding of the gods of Homer. The most useful parts of the book in this respect are the introduction and the chapters on the nature of the gods and their manifestations.

Otto claims that this Greek worship reveals one of humanity's greatest religious ideas and indeed "the religious idea of the European spirit." The first statement is, I believe, justified; if the second is true, however, then Western civilization must be suffering from acute religious schizophrenia. This religious idea is then defined as "the faculty of seeing the world in the light of the divine, not a

world yearned for, aspired to, or mystically present in rare ecstatic experiences, but the world into which we were born, part of which we are, interwoven with it through our senses, and, through our minds, obligated to it for all its abundance and vitality." This somewhat obscure sentence points to a very real difference: the Olympian religion is an imaginative representation of the world as it is, of the forces at work within it and within ourselves, and poetry is at its very core; most religions are the prophetic expression of hopes, ideals, and aspirations, with poetry at the periphery. In these terms we can understand the Homeric paradox: man is the plaything of the gods and yet, within wide limits, he is a free agent—the limits are obvious enough in actual life; the interventions of the gods clearly cause certain events for which, at the same time, man remains himself responsible.

The older Titanic powers of earth and death, here somewhat fancifully identified with the feminine concept of existence, are represented as perpetually in conflict with the Olympians; and this conflict remained unresolved even after the supremacy of the Olympians had been established, for "the new truth does not extinguish reverence for the old." This is true, but not in Homer, and this should have been made clearer, for it is admitted that he kept these older powers very much in the background. The major moral imperatives of the Olympian religion, however, such as the sanctity of the oath and the horror of shedding kindred blood were established under the older dispensation. In this connection, Poseidon and Hermes are said to have close relations with this earlier world.

Five Olympians are made the subjects of special portraits. The picture of Hermes, "the gay master of happy chance," is pleasing and convincing. He is "the god of jolly and unscrupulous profit" and only incidentally, in his capacity as guide, the guide of souls to the underworld. Aphrodite, of course, offers little difficulty, either in her charming or her more terrifying aspects. But the complex of feelings and ideas which became attached to Athena presents a more baffling problem and the author is apt to carry his search for consistency too far. Yet his remarks are enlightening, as when he contrasts the nearness of Athena with the greater detachment of the more contemplative Apollo who shoots from afar. Athena is immediately present in her "bright-eyed vigilance," but it is her good counsel and intelligence, rather than her actions, which give mastery over immediate and present circumstances. That difference is there, but not every incident in Homer or in legend can be made to conform to it. It is true that Apollo refuses to fight Poseidon in the *Theomachia*, but he can hardly be called distant or detached at the death of Patroclus; nor does Athena in the *Odyssey* live up to the nobility and serene poise here attributed to her. "The true Athena is neither a savage nor a contemplative being; she is equally remote from both dispositions," but she is at times untrue to herself; and if we can understand her virginity, the reasons for her feminine nature seem to remain obscure. Something of Apollo's remoteness is also found in Artemis: "This is the divine spirit of sublime nature, the lofty shimmering mistress, the pure one who compels delight and yet cannot love, the dancer and huntress who fondles cubs in her bosom and races the deer, who brings death when she draws her golden bow, reserved and unapproachable, like wild nature and yet, like

nature, wholly enchantment and fresh excitement and lightning beauty."

In the three chapters on the nature of the gods, their manifestations and their relations to men, Otto insists again and again on his main thesis: the identity of the natural and the divine. But, especially in discussing the gods' relations to men, he allows himself to be carried away by his moral earnestness for the cosmic gods into ignoring, indeed denying, the comic gods, and thus he makes the Olympians of Homer more divine, in our sense of the word, than Homer does. He solemnly states, for example, that in the famous love affair of Ares and Aphrodite, in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, "There can be no question of frivolity" (p. 244 and cf. p. 105); and he also takes the Battle of the gods much too seriously. It is quite true that the gods, in a sense, remain mighty powers even when they are laughed at, but the comedy cannot be denied; it is an essential aspect of the Homeric, indeed of the Greek, attitude to the gods.

This is a serious flaw in Otto's presentation of the Olympians. The book has other faults: it is quite unnecessarily repetitive and would have been better had it been shorter; it is also quite heavily rhetorical. The translation reads very naturally, but in these respects it is perhaps too faithful to the original. Nevertheless, it was a worthwhile task to make Dr. Otto's work available to English readers; it will certainly give the general reader a deeper idea of the meaning of the Olympian gods who are so often treated with much less respect and understanding than they deserve, and for the classical scholar it should prove a useful corrective.

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WHOLE No. 308

THE IMAGERY OF ASCENT-DESCENT IN VERGIL'S *GEORGICS*.

To write a poem on the subject of Roman farming in the late first century B. C. Vergil had only to employ the realistic vocabulary of his subject and to arrange a decidedly objective mass of material so as to express its inherent unities, its manifold variety, and its due significance. The subject invited realistic description; it needed only to be set in motion, animated by controlled exposition and judicious embellishment. The vocabulary of names and things was itself extensive and various, naturally "correlative." The stock of rules, lore, technique, procedures was abundant, and abundantly intelligible. Main divisions could fall automatically into place: the soil and crops, orchards and woodlands, animals and pastoral care, and a special product—in this case the bees and their honey. Farming could be easily subsumed under these headings.

Embarking on the project rather under official pressure than out of sheer inspiration, Vergil carried the work through to its completion over a period of some seven years. Modestly, but firmly, the concluding eight lines of the *Georgics* assert Vergil's authorship and graciously indicate the ideal conditions that enabled him to write. Vergil's signature here tells us that he ranks the *Bucolics* as a slighter work, in comparison, and admits none of the legendary dissatisfaction that haunts the "unfinished" *Aeneid*. Nothing in the *Georgics*, furthermore, suggests that it in any way falls short of a poetic ideal, although the author does refer from time to time to the common difficul-

ties besetting the pursuit of such an ideal. Any reader of the text readily infers that Vergil has conscientiously undertaken the task of converting a mass of realistic and diverse material into poetry, has labored faithfully until the perfected work has taken shape, and won the reward of a masterpiece.

I wish in this essay to show, primarily, how the imagery of the *Georgics* serves to verify further the perfection of Vergil's art, and to show in particular, by means of an examination of one main device of imagery, that the literary quality of the *Georgics* is unified, extensive, and unique. By singling out a main pattern of imagery for special study I wish to remind the reader that such a pattern does in fact exist, having come into being when the whole poem was created, that its presence characterizes the imaginative unity of the work, that its singularity reveals the original nature of Vergil's poetic sensibility. Many writers, to be sure, manifest a preoccupation with dominant patterns of imagery, while many others do not, or seem to be moving constantly from one sequence of images to another. Vergil definitely belongs among those who favor certain consistently developed patterns, and I think that much can be learned both about his artistry and about his spiritual outlook on life by the analysis of his imagery. In its consistency and in its extent we see illuminated the unity and the range of the author's thought; in its specific parts we find concrete evidence of the author's disposition to select certain elements as primary to his unique style of composition.

Generations of scholars have regarded the *Georgics* as a masterpiece, but remarkably little work has gone into analyzing and interpreting the genuinely poetic quality of the poem. Commentators have reiterated the whole idea that the poem is a convincing and eloquent statement of a very plain subject. Vergil's power of inspiration has been taken for granted, or duly noted as breaking forth in given lines of great lyric felicity; his imagination has been warmly appreciated, but hardly touched upon. What we still stand to learn, I think, from reading the *Georgics* concerns not farming but the power of the creative will. Vergil's instructions are spiritual, rather than merely manual, indeed much more spiritual than was perhaps first contemplated when he undertook the project. It is obvious that in moulding these 2,188 lines Vergil has miraculously brought to life the

sense of reality and the sense of beauty in simultaneous existence. Hesiod justified agriculture, but Vergil glorified it. What Hesiod had made real, Vergil made desirable. Criticism and scholarship, therefore, may perhaps profitably combine their roles in an effort to discover the unique power this poem manifests and in calculating the consequences of an artistry that serves man in his capacity both as realist and as idealist.

I would preface my main discussion with a few observations about Vergil's imagery as a whole. His way of calling forth vivid pictures and of impressing them indelibly on the reader's mind is a complex and subtle process. The far-ranging power of his mind, which enables him to go from the most general to the most particular conception at will, is perhaps one of the most outstanding attributes of his imagery. In such a famous line as the

sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt

mortalia indicates the broadly implicit general class, *lacrimae* crystalline and explicit reality. A less familiar instance can be drawn from the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid*, in the Palinurus incident. Here Neptune first reminds Venus of the general implication of Palinurus' sacrificial doom:

unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
unum pro multis dabitur caput.¹

The episode concludes, it will be remembered, with:

"O nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena."²

Here again, I would say, the imagery has ranged from the general implication to the explicit vision, although the intervening distance is less than it was in the case of *mortalia* and *lacrimae*. The critic might adduce many such examples from the *Aeneid*, considering the symbolic as well as specific effect of Aeneas' shouldering the responsibility as he carries Anchises out of Troy³ or, much later, lifts his mighty shield,⁴ considering the relation of *irarum* and *curarum* to the context of *matynoque* . . .

¹ V, 814-15.

² V, 870-1.

³ II, 707-25.

⁴ VIII, 731.

fluctuat aestu,⁵ examining the effect of *hoc opus, hic labor est* as climax of the lines picturing descent and ascent. I offer but one further instance:

stantab orantes primi transmittere cursum,
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.⁶

Here the configuration of the departed presents a perfectly specific picture, but also the boundless poignance of their *amor* etches the vision on the mind in an unparalleled manner. Vergil's imagery is in fact very much like those hands: finitely based, it reaches out forever toward the ultimate.

I cite these examples at random merely to indicate the fact that Vergil, in his array of images, tends often to move from broad and generalized impressions to particular and precise configurations. Further examination of the *Aeneid* would, I believe, reinforce this statement. The phenomenon is recurrent in and fully distinctive of his art. Seen from close up in the *Georgics* this tendency will, I maintain, emerge as a customary condition of his art and introduce the reader to a unique device, the polarizing image. Elsewhere,⁷ I have discussed in some detail the fluent transition in imagery from broad implication to precise picture-making in the *Georgics*, and analyzed Vergil's aesthetic habit of evoking total impressions and universal dimensions within his subject while at the same time dealing realistically with its sensuous contours. Whatever his subject, Vergil seldom abandons the lofty, synoptic view. He is always a seer. But his powers include keen eyesight as well as inspired vision, and in the *Georgics*, the subject very clearly requires the adaptation of both powers. It is therefore little cause for wonder that the effect I call polarizing should come into play. One of the universal dimensions of the subject matter of the *Georgics*, for example, is the phenomenon of *transformation*. Throughout the poem we become increasingly aware of it, and of the farmer's mission, which is simply to transform the countryside, to adapt and change life on earth. A multitude of images in the poem picture, over and over again, the varieties of transformation.

⁵ IV, 532 and VIII, 19.

⁶ VI, 313-14.

⁷ *Dominant Themes in Virgil's Georgics* (Columbia Univ. dissertation, 1954).

Ultimately Vergil re-creates as a figure in the concluding epyllion, Proteus, the transformation archetype:

ille suae contra non immemor artis
omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum.⁸

Another universal dimension of the subject matter of the *Georgics* is adumbrated in the relationship of the terms *labor* and *opus*. On the whole, a distinction is observed, while at the same time a connection is preserved, between the complementary visions of effort and achievement. Technique is carefully studied, to be sure, *labor* writ large on the pages of Vergil's alluring almanac, but technique is viewed as having an end, work as having a result, labor as having its fruition. Means and ends are both held firmly in view by virtue of the poet's manipulation of the *labor-opus* imagery.

Finally, a third universal dimension of the subject, that of *regeneration*, takes shape as the poem progresses. Polarization of effect of course inheres in the very concept, and Vergil's many and varied offerings of this reciprocal image fully authenticate the fact that he is deeply concerned with it. From the manifold images of regeneration, and from the total panoply of Vergil's evocation, a kind of massive aesthetic truth emerges and brilliantly illuminates a central phenomenon of life lived on the land. Vergil treats the imagery of regeneration in a truly inspired vein in the *Georgics*, never permitting it to lapse entirely from the reader's attention, ascending through many stages, which are offset by catastrophic elements of contrast, to the climactic book of the poem. There, the scrupulous natural history of the bees is one whole and entire vision of generative and regenerative processes, the supernatural history of Aristaeus a story, of imagination all compact, about the legendary origins of regeneration.

So much, then, for Vergil's imagery as a general subject. I have tried to indicate that larger dimensions are omnipresent in the imagery and that the "polarizing" tendency deserves study.⁹

⁸ IV, 440-1.

⁹ Recent Vergilian scholarship says much about Vergil's poetic art that indicates the need for a systematic study of his imagery. We have the always fertile suggestions of W. F. Jackson Knight, in his several works. We have the incautious but provocative method of R. C. Crutt-

I proceed now to the examination of one particular pattern, the imagery of ascent-descent. I do so not only to simplify procedure but also because, in my opinion, this imagery predominates in the *Georgics*. This appears to be the work wherein the pattern of ascent-descent plays its most effective part in Vergil's poetry. For the *Bucolics*, it is relatively insignificant. In the *Aeneid* it is magnificently evident in the Sixth Book, but as a whole is less important than other patterns, and remarkably less pervasive than it is in the *Georgics*.

The poet uses his device in many ways, to convey the appearance of natural phenomena, to delineate contour, to evoke change, progress, and sequence. He uses it to advantage in transcribing effects from the elusive realm of emotional elevation and depression, of spiritual dismay and uplift. It is to be expected, in fact, that much of the material moulded by the imagery of ascent-descent into poetry would derive almost ready-made from the subject, that the poet would employ it naturally in orchestrating the objective realities of the heavens above and the earth below, that he would seek to reproduce in his poem the vertical oppositions evident in nature. The *Georgics* of course abounds with vertical configurations derived directly from nature, for these form a natural resource of much of the poet's material. The distinctive mark of Vergil's images of ascent-descent, however, is not their static configuration, but the additional element of mobility they contain. To take an immediate example from the astronomy and mythology of antiquity: only once does Vergil trace an exclusively static pattern. The universe is represented in a single vertical sweep.¹⁰ Elsewhere some

well, in his *Virgil's Mind at Work* (Blackwell, 1947). Most recently we find, in V. Pöschl's close examination of aesthetic relationships in the *Aeneid*, a terrain well worth going over inch by inch. In particular, to establish as Pöschl does (*Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis* [Innsbruck, 1950]) a connection between "image" and "symbol" is to frame a most useful hypothesis. We may eventually discover that the reciprocal force of Vergil's imagery, from the particular to the general, or from one aspect to a different and complementary aspect of the same image, is a touchstone of Vergil's genius. Compare, for example, my analysis of dominant imagery in the *Georgics* with Professor Knox's fascinating study of the dominant imagery of *Aeneid* II: "The Serpent and the Flame," *A.J.P.*, LXXI (1950), pp. 379-400.

¹⁰ I, 231-46, esp. 240-3.

element of motion is to be found adhering to the contrasts of upper and lower world.¹¹ I would cite in particular the "sculptured" infernal mythology of Book III:

Invidia infelix furias amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.¹²

A solid prototype of ascent-descent, Sisyphus' insuperable stone weightily terminates the description.

The ascent-descent pattern gains markedly in texture from the mobility Vergil sees in it, and most commonly throughout the *Georgics* takes on an added forward-thrusting dimension that enhances the vertical stroke. The representation in Book II, for example, of the forward-flowing rivers coursing past the ancient walls of steep Italian hill towns graphically completes the picture:

adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
tot congesta manu praeurptis oppida saxis
fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.¹³

Or again, consider the Homeric oak tree of Book II:

aesculus in primis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit.
ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres
convellunt: immota manet multosque nepotes,
multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit,
tum fortis late ramos et bracchia tendens
huc illuc media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.¹⁴

Here, the *immota* conveys the upward thrust of the trunk and stem, the duplicating reach of the roots below ground. The radiating branches, however, add the horizontal dimension and lend great force to the image. We feel the crosscurrents of natural vitality in the tree's size and in its growth. In its outlasting the elements and extension of its "arms" we sense the impulse of time, the length of generations, the forward thrust toward an everlasting duration.

Vergil's practise of incorporating into the imagery of ascent-descent motion forward and a temporal lineament distinguishes

¹¹ E. g. I, 32-9, III, 34-9, IV, 219-27, 466-505.

¹² III, 37-9.

¹³ II, 155-7.

¹⁴ II, 291-7.

his view of nature. For he never merely pictures nature, but rather sees it in action, and is intent on recording the linear rhythm of life itself. The basic imagery, for instance, is easily applicable to elemental forces, sunrise and sunset, the sequence of the seasons, the fluctuation of the tides.¹⁵ Meteorology also comes well within its purview. In particular, the storm episode of Book I orchestrates elemental violence, aptly scored in the ascent-descent pattern.¹⁶ The crops are torn from their roots and hurled skyward while the rain plunges down in cataracts across the land. The poet envisages aloft the battling winds, the marshaling of rainclouds, lightning scoring the heavens. From the apex of the commotion, Jupiter hurls his bolts, and beasts scurry over the earth while men lie crouched in terror. Further on in the same book the premonition of stormy weather provides occasion for another full play of the ascent-descent pattern.¹⁷ Through this passage we become aware, in rapid succession, of the steadily rising winds, the increasing sea swell, the ominous crackling of dry trees on mountain slopes, in an ascending tension. There follows a contrasting vision of the level curve of shoreline and of massed inland forests reverberant in the rising wind. Then, in a descending arc, we see the impending storm, gulls streaking in landward, sea-birds stalking stiffly about on the dry land. Next, Vergil traces the soaring flight of a heron that loses itself in the clouds, the incandescent parabola of shooting stars, the buoyant play of chaff, leaves and feathers on the surface of the waves.

The concluding section of Book I treats the reader to the spectacle of another kind of storm, civil catastrophe, and in recording the descent of war on Italy Vergil has given free rein to the spiritual aspect of his imagery.¹⁸ The weird natural presages of troubled times are seen first taking the form of volcanic eruptions. Inexplicable transformations of nature occur; the Po rages forward in flood tide, sweeping all before it; comets blaze in the sky. The lines are formed at Philippi, the plains fertilized with Roman blood. Ultimately, Vergil observes, the day may come when a foreign farmer will *unearth* traces of the disaster as he works these very fields, clanging his spade against a Roman helmet. The final stage of Italy's precipitous decline

¹⁵ II, 479-80, III, 357-9, IV, 321-5.

¹⁶ I, 316-34.

¹⁷ I, 351-92.

¹⁸ I, 466-514.

into the seething tempest of civil war is visualised in the image of the runaway chariot, sweeping its driver forward in uncontrollable mobility.

At various points, then, in Book I the ascent-descent pattern helps to shape the exposition, and finds its characteristic expression in contexts evocative of movement as well as configuration. Two final examples may suffice. One is, as so often must be the case with the *Georgics*, a simple transcription from the manual of technique.¹⁹ Here, in prescribing irrigation, Vergil, by thread-like manipulation of his ascent-descent pattern, makes the process fully sensuous, presenting to the eye the slender outline of the "brow" of the irrigation ditch, offering to the ear the sound of the water rustling down across the stones, and even impressing upon the taste the sensation of welcome liquid seeping into the thirsty soil.²⁰ The final example is the image of progress as an upstream effort:

sic omnia fatis
in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri,
non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
atque illum in praeceps pronò rapit alveus amni.²¹

Surely this is the author in a most characteristic mood, acknowledging the best that man strives for, recognizing with melancholy candor how often this best is thwarted. The subtle strength of the ascent-descent pattern with its linear motion, here reversed, pictures the idea.²²

In Book II the subject matter plainly invites proliferation of the image. Hybrid plantations soar aloft, astonished at their own novelty;²³ conversely, a dense thicket comes crashing down when the farmer (now an *iratus arator*) clears away ground for

¹⁹ I, 105-10.

²⁰ The irrigation problem crops up again in Book II when Vergil describes the technique for watering the roots of a young tree. Here he appends to the technical transcription of water seeping down through the porous rocks a touch of personification, via a corresponding ascent, as the trees raise their youthful spirits in response—a gracious *sursum corda* for the organic world (II, 347-50).

²¹ I, 199-203.

²² Other vivid representations of ascent-descent may be found at I, 404-9, and I, 401-3.

²³ II, 80-2.

an arable patch.²⁴ A forest fire runs the gamut of the imagery.²⁵ On the whole, however, the tone of the book is distinctly sanguine, optimistic in contrast with the sombre tones of Book I and Book III. Vergil uses his imagery to underscore this mood. The elemental descent of Spring, the seasonal resurrection of life on earth, submits to a spacious treatment, in a passage recording the voluptuous transformation of ascending physical life.²⁶ And in particular, the two eulogies, the *laudes Italiae* and the *laudes ruris*, anchor the book securely in its buoyant mood. Especially, the *laudes ruris* emphasizes the ascent of the human spirit, the demolition of anxiety and despair. The poet's own inspiration soars to new heights as his genius is kindled with the fire of natural philosophy. Should his talent prove unsuited to an exclusively scientific investigation of the nature of things, to the clinical transcendence of fear—

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari²⁷—

he will rest secure in the supremacy of a harmonious imagination. To appreciate, simply to accept those manifestly organic and dynamic facts of man's life in the presence of an ever mobile nature—

caelique vias et sidera . . .
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores;
unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant
obcibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residunt,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet²⁸—

is sufficient. Being in the country is blessing enough for him, and lets him see into the life of things.²⁹ The truth of nature towers far above the frantic obsession with commerce and politics, liberates man from *res Romanae perituraque regna*.³⁰

An autumnal vignette, the hillside vineyard basking in the mellow heat of sunsoaked rocks,³¹ is a high point in the poet's exuberant climax, and combines with the ensuing sketches of

²⁴ II, 207-11.

²⁵ II, 303-11.

²⁶ II, 323-42.

²⁷ II, 490-2.

²⁸ II, 477-82, *passim*.

²⁹ II, 483-94, *passim*.

³⁰ II, 498.

³¹ II, 521-2.

domestic tranquillity³² to evoke a calm euphoria, a vision of life elevated to the plane of conscious, well-deserved pleasure. The year's work has borne its fruit, literally and figuratively as well. Finally, the work with an end, the labor and its consummation, reminds us, in a present image, of ideal development in the past. Vergil's sensuously realistic re-creation of harvest-time has prompted in him some idealized remembrance of things past. Like the climax of the farmer's inordinate annual labors, like the flowering and fructifying of his efforts, Rome herself came into being from a native stock. This was early Rome, towering in height above the Tiber plain, the landscape's crown, when Rome, lofty but compact, was a site distinguished not by its power but by its beauty:

hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.³³

The eulogy climaxing the Second Book, with its contrast between agricultural and commercial enterprises, is a complex image of spiritual ascent. The elevation of spirit balances the desperation voiced at the end of the First Book, and such an alternation of spiritual implications forms part of Vergil's great refrain in the *Georgics*. Catastrophe reigns over the conclusion of the Third Book, confident elevation is restored at the end of the Fourth. As a kind of spiritual refrain, also, the imagery contributes a fundamental unity to the poem, conferring on it a law of interest like the drama's, based on peripety in either direction. The imagery in its spiritual implication well suits human nature, recognizing as it does that no whole impression of human vitality can dwell exclusively in uncertainty, or in absolute confidence. Vergil is not, in the sum total of his poetic message, a melancholy, nostalgic man. His doctrine of human nature realistically appraises man's capacity for progress, and also underlines the difficulties besetting human endeavors. The difficulties cannot be wished away, but must be met and resolved. Progress, on the other hand,—in agricultural economy, or in the state, to adopt Vergil's two main examples—is not an illu-

³² II, 523-31.

³³ II, 532-5.

sion. Rather, it is the consequence of human energy, the supreme test of man's heroic will.³⁴

In the *Georgics*, where Vergil works constantly during the poem to impress upon his readers a new and resolute attitude toward agriculture at the dawn of a new era in Roman economy and world-history, the profound rhythm of ascent-descent endows the matter with a complex vitality. The poem creates a species of true propaganda. The reader is offered no panaceas; he is not subjected to a simple appeal to his better instincts. Instead, he is presented with a clear picture of the demands made on the human spirit by a civilized, productive country existence. The task before the farmer extends its reward, but it is troublesome, often to the point of exasperation and despair. The permanent value for the spirit of choosing such a life includes both rugged discipline and sweet sensation. Vergil's *iratus arator* is a true type. But so is his testy old Corycian *agricola*:

hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver
regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens
nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.³⁵

Book III, the pastoral book, illustrates the attitude I refer to, and indicates further that alternating tensions and resolutions increase in frequency as the subject matter becomes more complex. This is the book of creatures, and of animal behavior, and in consequence new subtleties inform the exposition. Vergil begins confidently enough on a note of artistic aspiration. In a synoptic declaration, paralleling to some extent the sweeping proemium of Book I, the poet avows that he is striking out on a new path in verse, confident of raising his work above the conventional level and of thereby winning new glory for Rome:

temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.
primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.³⁶

³⁴ With Vergil's idea of progress, and the various images of it, we might compare the pungent sentence of George Orwell: "Progress, it so happens, is not an illusion, but it is slow and invariably disappointing" (*Dickens, Dali, and Others* [New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946], p. 27).

³⁵ IV, 130-3.

³⁶ III, 8-11.

In lighter vein, he now envisages himself as paying homage to Octavian, commemorating with spectacle and works of art the triumph of the Princeps. The sculptured group imagined here, as we saw earlier, ranges from Apollo to Sisyphus, whose *non exsuperabile saxum* supplies the climactic descent to a proemium which began in lofty aspiration. To conclude his preface, Vergil uses a hunting image, striking off in characteristic fashion from the vertical to the horizontal plane.

The opening note of confident resolution is challenged throughout Book III by disastrous realities that create a growing tension with it and produce a shifting back and forth from pastoral serenity to brute violence, and the ascent-descent imagery plays its part in enhancing the tension throughout. When a bull is struck down in his traces by the plague, Vergil's lines also sink with the weight of the blow:

it tristis arator
maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvenum
atque opere in medio defixa reliquit aratra.
non umbrae aliorum nemorum, non mollia possunt
prata movere animum, non qui per saxa volutus
purior electro campum petit amnis; at ima
solvuntur latera, atque oculos stupor urget inertis
ad terramque fluit devexo pondere cervix.³⁷

In the "battle of the bulls" earlier in the book, the imagery flashes out in a powerful simile.³⁸ The pattern also works well for Vergil's horses, haughty beings, good for war, tremendously competitive, whose dynamism is not the *labor actus in orbem*³⁹ of the long-suffering ox but victory sheer and total:

nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum
corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
cum spes adrectae iuvenum, exsultantiaque haurit
corda pavor pulsans? illi instant verbere torto
et proni dant lora, volat vi fervidus axis;
iamque humiles, iamque elati sublime videntur
aera per vacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras;
nec mora nec requies; at fulvae nimbus harenae
tollitur, umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum;
tantus amor laudum, tantae est victoria curae.⁴⁰

³⁷ III, 517-24.

³⁸ III, 236-41.

³⁹ The phrase Vergil applies to the farmer's work, II, 401, also fits the poor man's slave.

⁴⁰ III, 103-12.

Here the driver's consuming desire to win mirrors the animal's own competitive drive. The horse is for Vergil rather a weapon than an instrument, and yet in the plague it is the *victor equus* that suffers the most, collapsing in an agony of suicidal violence.⁴¹ The ox inspired no such macabre pathology in the poet, but only pathos.

Impetus to the mounting tension of the book gains further from Vergil's treatment of the sexual instinct. The virtuoso passage, *amor omnibus idem*, is a detonation of that energy that has *amor* as its firing device, *amor*, the civil conflict of the heart where instinct wars with routine. Vergil's examples are flamboyant enough, not entirely in keeping with the plodding pastoral subject: lynxes, wolves, belligerent deer, fierce canines: wild boars, a lioness, bears, the *pessima tigris*. The worst time of all, Vergil observes in passing, to be adrift in North Africa! Midway in the passage we encounter a familiar human duo, Hero and Leander, whose drama is perhaps rather painted than told, in a tempestuous seascape framed in the ascent-descent design: a forward-thrashing lovelorn figure against a precipitous natural backdrop. *Durus amor* has plunged man into the depths:

quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
nocte natat caeca serus freta: quem super ingens
porta tonat caeli, et scopulis inlisa reclamant
aequora, nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,
nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.⁴²

Here Vergil stands unrivalled, in sound effects, in dramatic intensity and compression. The swirling *procellae*, the boy thrashing his way to inevitable doom, the knocking of the thunder overhead, the waters slashing against the cliffs—all comes to *life*. With sombre delicacy, the *moritura* seals the death of Hero.

The clinical case of *amor* is, however, that of horses. The male revolts against all his trained habits, to gallop off wildly on the trail of a pernicious scent, traversing mountains and valleys, breasting rivers. The females are driven interminably up and down the countryside in a nightmare of senseless chase.

⁴¹ III, 509-14.

⁴² III, 258-63.

Then, with the lurid description of a mare running wild in heat, *amor omnibus idem* ends, and Vergil resumes his exposition in tranquil vein. Once more we note the ascending-descending cadence in the poet's reference to his mission, and notice also that "descent" can be a coming to rest as well as a coming to grief:

nec sum animi dubius verbis ea vincere magnum
quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem;
sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.⁴³

The book moves immediately forward into realistic pastoral concerns, with scene after scene illuminating the definitively mobile quality of the shepherd's life. Two exotic panels offset the local subject as Vergil considers the polar opposites, North African nomads⁴⁴ and the uncouth inhabitants of the Scythian steppes. The Scythian way is weird to the Roman mind—up there pastoral life seems reversed. The flocks are penned in, the masters hibernate like bears, dispelling the boredom with dice and drink. The rivers are ice roads; hunting is merely slaughter when the deer are caught floundering helplessly in the massive snow-drifts.⁴⁵ The tensions of the book are well relieved by these two digressions and by the immediately ensuing practical instructions.

The negative note soon re-appears, first in the admonitions about serpents and disease. In the event that his pens are invaded, the shepherd is advised to act swiftly and brutally, although in the poet's re-creation of the scene the snake winds off to safety. Vergil registers a certain academic horror when he thinks of the Calabrian water moccasin, whose advent in the dry season is ominously etched against a pastoral ground, via the ascent-descent design:

ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos
neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas

⁴³ III, 288-93.

⁴⁴ III, 339-48. The remarkable simile in III, 342-8 suggests something interesting about the military: the Roman soldier is a kind of nomad, a marauder ceaselessly on the move, never welcome, unfairly burdened down.

⁴⁵ III, 349-83.

cum positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa
 volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ova relinquens
 arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.⁴⁶

As in dealing with snakes, so in case of disease, the shepherd is urged to take swift remedial action, to counter-attack surgically and not wring his hands in pious distress, leaving it all up to the gods. Like the serpent, disease flourishes best beneath the surface. Its constant threat, furthermore, creates a sombre mood as the book gathers its final force, and at last the plague bursts forth in lines of Lucretian strength. The remainder of the book becomes a kind of *danse macabre*, a desolating series of genre scenes that negate the pastoral care, subject and substance of the book's exposition. The first victims were sacrificial animals, cut down by disease as they stood awaiting their ritual doom. Vergil's irony never scored more brilliantly: it presents a bitter contrast to the ceremonial fantasy of the proemium, where the poet himself stood as priest.⁴⁷ The lower animals died off piteously, calves, dogs, swine. The ranks of animals thinned out so fast that it was no longer possible to find perfectly matched pairs to draw the chariot of Juno: cow and ox stood side by side in the traces. Field workers were reduced to tilling the soil by hand, ploughing unaided, hitching themselves to the wagons.

Unnatural behavior ensued under the onslaught of the plague, as it did under the onslaught of *amor*. Wolves ceased to harass the flocks, having sharper worries of their own; roe and stag consorted with the hounds in the farmyard; the "brood of the vast sea" washed ashore. Even the reptiles were defenceless. The air proved too heavy for the birds, who plummeted lifeless to the earth:

ipsis est aër avibus non aequus, et illae
 praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt.⁴⁸

Food and medicine were of no avail when the ghastly shapes of terror, hysteria, bodily defection, veritable images of despair, emerged from the underworld to overwhelm the pastoral sphere. The very depth of disaster was reached in the burial pit. The

⁴⁶ III, 435-9. For Vergil's preoccupation with the imagery of serpents, see Knox, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ III, 486-93. Cf. III; 21-3.

⁴⁸ III, 546-7.

corpses had been piling up in the stalls, spreading contamination, until men took notice and dug mass graves for the perilous remains, covering over the hulks with the very earth they once helped cultivate.⁴⁹

In the Fourth Book a shaft of light pours back into the poem left dark and desolate by the preceding climax of Book III. Toward the end of the first half of the final book, this illumination in turn dims into disease and death, but in the second half a new luminosity invests the subject as we witness the regeneration of life. The poet's perspective alters, as well: in Book I we were on the earth, digging into it, in Book II fostering the life that springs from the soil, in Book III familiarizing ourselves with the animals that move across the scene. Now we gain an aerial perspective. The bees, with their incessant business, come close to prefiguring perpetual motion. In their life story the relationship of figures to ground is cinematographic, formed of swiftly superimposed panels of action. They represent, of course, a composite figure, not individuals but a species, and demonstrate the collective way of life. The close-knit society, with its dynastic struggles, generic class distinctions and automatic divisions of labor, manifests a stability and equilibrium appropriate to such rigorous natural conditioning. The unit is the swarm. The imaginative impression to be derived from the book as a whole, however, is not of an arrested development, of a stabilized order. It is, rather, one of continual gyration, of a shifting drama within a group dominated by the necessity of perfecting an economy. It is a drama of self-perpetuation, consisting of a rising action—for the life of the bees exemplifies the perfection of a system of labor—of a reversal, annihilation of the swarm by external forces, and of a discovery, of the cause of the disaster and of a means of regenerating the life of the group.

The book is a set piece for the imagery of ascent-descent. The career of the bees describes a parabola of forward flights, returns, withdrawals into the hive, and the ascent-descent pattern is constantly being adapted to the exposition. At one point the Stoic theory of the ultimate ascent of all living creatures to the primordial *aether* transfigures the objects of the poet's exposition.

⁴⁹ III, 471-566.

Disease and death descend on the swarm, presenting the occasion for the fabulous regenerative descent-ascent of the second half of the book.⁵⁰ The bees of the first half epitomize production and productivity. Their routine is a *labor*, their honey an *opus*; the keeper must "harden his hands with work."⁵¹ We see the total phenomenon of creatures expertly equipped to *transform* substance. We see, first, a natural capacity for regeneration, second, a supernatural explanation of it.

The narrative finale of the *Georgics* shows us Vergil turning away from the facts to assess their meaning. The material is no longer authentic, nor literally instructive.⁵² The sole fact offered is erroneous—for anyone who tries to regenerate bees from the bodies of dead cattle will surely come to grief.⁵³ Instead of instruction we are told a story about a person who acquires practical knowledge. So far, Vergil has told us what to do, and how to do it; now he shows us why, psychologically, it is possible. At the end of the poem the poet is transferring his attention from knowledge to learning, from the landscape to the soul, from habits to heroes.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Specific references to ascent-descent imagery in Book IV: 16-17, 21-4, 27-9, 42-4, 51-5, 58-60, 65-6, 77-81, 125-6 (a pictorial reminiscence of II, 155-7?), 152, 185-90, 191-6, 217-18, 219-27, 231-5, 251 ff. (the descent of disease), 295-314 (esp. the final simile). Aristaeus: 315 ff.—ascends to Peneus, descends to Cyrene; 415 ff.—materializes before Proteus' cave; 437-52—pounces on the deity and wrings the secret from him. Orpheus and Eurydice: 457-527. Proteus' disappearing descent: 528-9. Ascent of new swarm: 554-8.

⁵¹ IV, 114.

⁵² The scientific flavor of the first half emanates in part from the use of Lucretian formulae to introduce each of the successive "paragraphs" (see Eduard Norden, "Orpheus und Eurydike," *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1934, pp. 631-5). In the second half Vergil drops these formulae. Only the Lucretian *lucē, carentum*, at 472 appears, seriously as compared with the humorous sobriety of 255-6.

⁵³ Aristotle's error relates to the drone fly. Vergil may have believed this, of course. But he did not investigate.

⁵⁴ I have elsewhere examined in detail the problem of the alleged revision of Book IV. See *op. cit.*, above, pp. 256-63. Eduard Norden's thoroughgoing essay, *op. cit.*, pp. 626-83, refutes the theory that the Aristaeus episode in some way disfigures the unity of Vergil's conception of the *Georgics*. Other scholars, notably W. B. Anderson and L. Richardson, have reinforced this position. Most recently, Jacques Perret has taken a position on the unity of the *Georgics*, and on the integrated

In many ways the plight of Vergil's two "Alexandrine" heroes resembles that of Roman citizens facing the prospect of world empire: Aristaeus is the craftsman, confronted with the problem of continuous production, Orpheus the artist concerned with the value of life itself. Aristaeus' adventure, to be sure, is little more than an escapade. Vergil whisks the pastoral hero from one fantastic situation to the next in a rapid pantomime of uncomplicated energy. The son's difficulties having been disposed of by his descent into his mother's environment, it remained only for him to pounce on the prize unexpectedly (like a Roman legion materializing unlooked-for at the enemy's site). He gratuitously reaps the reward of restored energy and newly applied powers. The action is light, even debonair, the protagonist a silhouette of the Roman practical man. Given an objective problem such as physical disaster or hostile force, the craftsman overcomes it with ease and benefit.

Orpheus' role is more complex. About the legendary fame of the artist-benefactor cluster centuries of associated meanings, for Orpheus is a symbol of man's efforts to secure inner peace by means of art, culture, religious ritual, agriculture.⁵⁵ His music is traditionally known for its power to humanize, to melt the most obdurate heart. But Orpheus is more than a symbol in the concluding episode of the *Georgics*: he is an actor, the tragic

power of Book IV, based on an analysis of structure, that parallels my interpretation based on consideration of the imagery. See *Virgile, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris, 1952), pp. 49-85. E. A. Havelock has explored at some length the symbolic content of the Aristaeus episode, in "Virgil's Road to Xanadu," *Phoenix*, I, No. 1, p. 37; I, No. 2, pp. 2-7, and Supplement to Vol. I, pp. 9-18.

⁵⁵ "The influence of Orpheus was always on the side of civilisation and the arts of peace. In personal character he is never a hero in the modern sense. His outstanding quality is a gentleness amounting at times to softness. . . . He taught men also the arts of agriculture and in this way inclined their natures towards peace and gentleness. Themistios, who lived in the first century of the Byzantine Empire, but was a zealous reader of Plato and Aristotle, writes: 'Even the initiations and rites of Orpheus were not unconnected with the art of husbandry. That is in fact the explanation of the myth when it describes him as charming and softening the hearts of all. The civilised fruits which husbandry offers us have a civilising effect on human nature in general and on the habits of beasts; and the animal passions in our hearts it excises and renders harmless,'" W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), pp. 40-1.

hero, the failure, set off against the *iuvenum confidentissimus*, the competent, successful *pastor Aristaeus*. His descent, his ascent, his sublimation of grief comprise the essence of tragedy when compared with the maneuvers of Cyrene's naive marionette. Orpheus' energy is the substance, Aristaeus' the shadow, of the human will to success.

Orpheus, furthermore, is somehow involved with Aristaeus. Even the ritual technique prescribed by Cyrene for her son parallels the pattern of Orpheus' ordeal in assaulting the depths of Hades. The fact that Orpheus' fate menaced Aristaeus' career brings us, indeed, to the center of Vergil's psychology in the *Georgics*. Orpheus is assigned the role of tragic hero; the lines narrating his disaster are certainly to be ranked with the finest Vergil ever composed. The imagery pivots on the double action of ascent-descent.

I would offer in conclusion two reasons for the climactic power of Vergil's story. One is based on the hypothesis that human energy forms part of the fundamental subject of the *Georgics*. The narrative climax of the poem, therefore, is simply the poet's way of studying this energy, of distilling it. Being no longer under the sheer necessity of imparting technical knowledge, the poet is free to engage in "pure" creation. And Orpheus reveals the true dimensions of human energy. Just as the imagery of ascent-descent projects onto the reader's mind both the fluctuating, visible progressions in life and the parabolic contour, as it were the sine-wave, of human resolution and hesitation, so Orpheus personifies the human will, both at its utmost reach of exertion and at the point of frustration. Orpheus' motive was human, entirely honorable, Vergil observes,⁵⁶ this side of the grave. But the collapse of his efforts did not result in the loss of his best powers. His greatest moment, in fact, came as the aftermath of ruin, when he immortalized his experience in the music of sorrow. Having failed on one plane, that is, Orpheus succeeded on another, creating an object of transcendent beauty, shaping out of his own life, with his own hands, the image of reciprocal love.

The doctrine, I think, can apply to human endeavor in general. The *Georgics* is of course a document concerned with

⁵⁶ IV, 489.

farming. But it is also an account for farmers. It is an essay on work for workmen. Clearly enough, it is a discussion of a certain type of life, aimed at cultivated readers with the time to ponder it. A decorous, expert poem intended for all with ears to hear, the *Georgics* records the music of labor. And because Vergil understood human nature, he did not hesitate to treat his subject with a full sense of its multiple expressiveness. At the end he turned into sheer objective recitation the fundamental spiritual truth implicit in his whole design. Orpheus represents all who will make the heroic effort to preserve life. His failure instructs all who come after him in the hazards surrounding every individual desire for supreme personal happiness. Every life, Vergil knows, can expect to suffer the agony of some irreparable loss. Nevertheless, Vergil also knows that the psychological basis of human energy is the capacity to begin again, and Orpheus, by renewing his life on another plane, succeeded in immortalizing effort.

Like the anonymous hero of the *Georgics*, the indomitable *agricola* perpetually at work renewing life, committed by main purpose to production, Vergil's tragic hero sets an example for the rest of mankind. Another reason, therefore, for the power of Vergil's climax is the innate nobility of the spectacle. Reading this moving story, we feel instinctively that the poet has now surmounted the problems of his second major work, and is already thinking in terms of the *Aeneid*,⁵⁷ whose epic hero is in some ways disproportionately human. The languid delicacies of the *Bucolics* have been left far behind, the conscientious realism of the *Georgics* disposed of. Vergil is looking forward from the present scene of his poetic labors to the final challenge his creative powers would undergo, the representation of a hero who won success but not personal happiness. Surely, Aeneas is not just a grave and dutiful person, a man with a will of iron and a heart of clay. He is a leader, bent on founding a world-state, on "imposing the custom of peace," on ensuring the continuity of a civilized existence for his descendants. He is working primarily on behalf of others. The chief quality of such a heroism as distinguishes Aeneas will not be its felicitous success, nor even its appeal as a model form of behavior, but its sheer nobility.

⁵⁷ See Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 659-63, as well as this scholar's famous *Aeneis, Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1916).

A second feature of Orpheus' experience is, I believe, of somewhat the same order of heroism. Orpheus' motive in recovering Eurydice was abysmally human, his response to the crucial bereavement supremely human. For Orpheus' song, the remnant of his art, was a conscious formulation of the desirability of another life than his own. The opposition he met at the hands of the traditionally jealous band of "intoxicated" Maenads resulted from their blindness to the importance of other lives than their own—one is tempted to add, of life itself. Because they substituted hate for love, indeed, it may well be that ultimately it was they who failed, not Orpheus, whose song eluded them and survived. In a frenzy of self-regarding aggression, they sought to destroy the artist's vision by dismembering the artist. And Vergil abides by tradition in relating that Orpheus' head floated off down the Hebrus, still articulating the exquisite sound of Eurydice's name. But this is the image of a more profound truth: no matter what measures the "jealous band" had adopted, the reality would survive the hostile impact, and would rise above all who might wish to tear it down. For the music dwelt not in the instrument, but in a heroic soul.

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THE VETERANS AND *PRAEFECTUS CASTRORUM*
OF THE *II TRAIANA* IN A. D. 157.

Dr. Abdullatif Ahmed Aly has recently published one of the most important Roman military documents to appear in the last decade or more, a Latin inscription from the Roman camp at Nicopolis near Alexandria.¹ The text, preserved practically complete, is engraved on three sides of a marble base, on which presumably once stood a statue of Antoninus Pius. It is a dedication to that emperor made by veterans of the *legio II Traiana fortis* who were discharged in A. D. 157. Their names, arranged by cohort and century, cover two sides of the base. The *origo* follows each name, as is the rule in texts of this kind.² It will suffice at this point to note that the inscription gives the origins of more legionaries serving in Egypt than do all other sources for the entire period from Augustus to Diocletian. Dr. Aly has edited the text with skill and competence and deserves the gratitude of those who will make use of it. Nevertheless, as is not surprising in an *editio princeps*, he has found it necessary to pass over some questions with brief comment, and certain of his conclusions require re-examination. I will discuss three points: the origins of the veterans, the *prae-fectus castrorum* in Egypt, and the rank of the officer with this title named in the present inscription.

1.

The inscription preserves the origins of all but three of the 136 veterans, the complete roster of those discharged in 157 after having served twenty-five or twenty-six years.³ In his

¹ *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University*, III (1955), pp. 113-46. For the heading and extracts see *Ann. épigr.*, 1955, no. 238.

² There is one other from Egypt: *C. I. L.*, III, 6580 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2304 (A. D. 194). R. P. Wright has presented an improved text in *J. R. S.*, XXXII (1942), pp. 33-8.

³ This was the most common length of service at this time; see G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (Milan/Rome, 1953), pp. 38, 143-4. The number of those released is much smaller than one would expect. At about the same time as our text, possibly in A. D. 159, 239 legionaries who had enlisted in 134 and 135

recent work on the recruitment of the legions G. Forni could assemble this information for only 54 legionaries of the Egyptian garrison during the nearly two centuries from Hadrian to Diocletian.⁴ But much more striking than a simple increase in the data now available is the fact that the new evidence does not agree at all with the old. Of Forni's 54 men, 7 are from the Western provinces (including 5 from Africa), 35 are from Egypt, and 12 are from other areas in the East, chiefly Syria and Palestine. In the Nicopolis inscription, however, at least 107 men are from the West⁵ and only 25 are from the East, including at most one from Egypt.⁶ Of the veterans from the West 89 are from Africa,⁷ 15 from Italy, and one each from

were discharged from the *VII Claudia* (*C.I.L.*, III, 8110 = Dessau, 2302), and this figure would seem to be nearer the average. For the scanty evidence see F. Ladek, A. von Premenstein, and N. Vulic, *Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst.*, IV (1901), Beiblatt, cols. 82, 93-4 and Forni, *op. cit.*, p. 30, n. 1; apparently not quite half of those enlisting in legions ordinarily survived to receive a regular discharge. Naturally the number of recruits would vary from year to year; e.g. over 240 men who enlisted in the one year 169 were discharged from the *VII Claudia* in 195 (*C.I.L.*, III, 14507). Because of the situation in the East in 132 and 133 it seems more probable that the low figure in our inscription is the result of heavy losses, suffered in combat or through natural causes, rather than that of curtailed enlistments. The possibility that men recruited from Egypt itself were not released with the others does not seem attractive.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 219-20. The *II Traiana* was the only legion in Egypt during all but the first few years of this period. Another 57 *origines* are known from the period from Augustus to Trajan (*ibid.*, pp. 220, 221-2, 234-5), making Forni's total 111 for the first three centuries.

⁵ I omit Bas(ti?), which Aly lists under Spain in his summary, *loc. cit.*, p. 127. As he states (p. 124) many other expansions are possible. Perhaps slightly more probable is Bassiana in Pannonia Inferior, which is found abbreviated as *Bass.* in military texts; *C.I.L.*, XVI, 132 and VI, 2388, b. 2. The space does not require the abbreviation of a name only five letters long.

⁶ Ptolemais may very well be the Phoenician city, as Aly takes it to be, but the possibility that it is the city with this name in upper Egypt should at least be considered. For Ptolemais in other military *laterculi* identified as that in Egypt see Forni, *op. cit.*, p. 185 and J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo, 1918), p. 206, n. 3.

⁷ Only two are from the later province of Numidia. More than half are from Carthage (34) and Utica (16). There seems less reason to query Oea (Aly, p. 123) than some other names. On the distinction

Gallia Narbonensis,⁸ Germania Inferior,⁹ and Dalmatia.¹⁰ Those from the Eastern provinces include 17 from Syria and Palestine, 5 from Pontus and Bithynia, and one each from Galatia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and perhaps Egypt.¹¹

Not only is the distribution of origins in the new text quite different from that found in other sources, it is in sharp conflict with the principle of local and regional recruiting, which since the time of Mommsen has been generally accepted as that regularly followed in the second century.¹² The policy of local recruitment is in fact commonly associated with Hadrian, who was of course emperor when the men enlisted. One's first reaction may be, quite reasonably, that this is another warning against making far reaching conclusions on the basis of scattered and fragmentary evidence and, in particular, against assuming that the imperial government was invariably rigid and unchanging from decade to decade in its administrative practices. However, there is an explanation for the non-conforming data in our text, which has the virtue of enabling us

expressed by the spellings *Leptis* and *Lepeis* (Aly, p. 123) see also J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome/London, 1952), pp. 73-6; and P. Romanelli in De Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigraf.*, IV, 657-8, 668, s.vv. "*Leptis Magna*" and "*Leptis Minus*."

⁸ If Aly is right in identifying *Seleuco* in the inscription as the Mons Seleucus in the itineraries (p. 121), this should not be listed in the totals under Italy (p. 127).

⁹ Aly proposes the expansion *Ara* (*do?*). There would have been space for the last two letters. *Ara* (Cologne) is a short form of the German city's name often found in military inscriptions which include the *origo*; e.g., *C.I.L.*, VIII, 2769, 2785, 2907, and XIII, 6304, 6305, 6894, 6917, 8696.

¹⁰ The Liburnian town Varvaria. Forni (*op. cit.*, p. 171) places Varvaria in *regio X*, presumably on the basis of Pliny, III, 130. On the question of these boundaries see R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion* (Copenhagen, 1947), pp. 26-31; A. Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana. Ricerche storico-topografiche* = *Diss. Bern.*, I, 6 (Bern, 1954), pp. 94-100. Forni's citation of *C.I.L.*, III, 7008 is a mistake; possibly XIII, 7008 is meant.

¹¹ I have followed Aly in listing as Syrian several cities that might be any of a number of homonyms located elsewhere. See also n. 6 above. It is also not entirely certain that the *Néapolis* of the inscription is Naples.

¹² Forni's book, several times cited, provides an excellent collection and analysis of the evidence, as well as a survey of earlier studies.

to retain essentially intact the accepted, and actually quite solidly established, view of the policies followed in the recruitment of the Roman army.

The veterans enlisted in A. D. 132 and 133. These were the years in which the great Jewish revolt under Bar Kochba broke out in Palestine. Little is known about the details of the war, but it is clear that it required a difficult and costly campaign.¹³ It is generally believed, e. g., that an Egyptian legion, the *XXII Deiotariana*, was so badly cut up during the rebellion that it was disbanded.¹⁴ The seriousness of the emergency must have required that the Eastern units most immediately involved be brought up to full strength and that recruits be drawn from more distant areas than usual if necessary. Evidently it was decided for some reason not to enlist men from Egypt in the *II Traiana* during these years.¹⁵ But whether or not the legion took part in the campaign either as a unit or through detachments, there would have been need to strengthen it both during and after the revolt, since part of the province's garrison presumably was withdrawn and there may well have been serious danger of disorder in Egypt with its large Jewish population.¹⁶ It appears reasonable therefore to connect the men from the

¹³ For short summaries see H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 162-3 and W. Weber in *C.A.H.*, XI, pp. 313-14. Twenty-two veterans of the *X Fretensis* who had earlier been sailors in the Misene fleet were very likely transferred to the legion during the war; *P.S.I.*, 1026 = *C.I.L.*, XVI, p. 146, no. 13. See C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 B.C.-A.D. 324* (Ithaca, 1941), p. 188. These men may be added to Forni's list, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁴ See e. g., Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, cols. 1292, 1795, s. v. "Legio"; and the first two references in n. 13. However, the legion may have left Egypt ten years or so before 132; cf. below, n. 28.

¹⁵ The complete or practically complete absence of Egyptians is even more strange than the presence of men from the West. Possibly those recruited on the spot and immediately available in 132-3 were sent to the *XXII Deiotariana* or other legions actively engaged in the campaign. The inscription unfortunately does not inform us how many enlisted in each of the two years. Since occasionally at least Eastern legions were in poor condition at the outbreak of war and required support from other areas, the possibility may be worth considering that Africans and Italians were sent to the *II Traiana* to stiffen the legion and improve its quality (cf. n. 17).

¹⁶ There had been a serious Jewish revolt in Egypt in 115-17. Cf. also n. 28.

West in our inscription with the Jewish war. It should be added that though the dates of enlistment suggest that they were sent directly to the legion as recruits, some at least may have come to the East from Africa as part of a vexillation of the *III Augusta*, being later transferred to the *II Traiana*.¹⁷

The fifteen Italians are doubly surprising in Egypt, but such a comparatively large number would deserve comment if found serving in a legion anywhere at this time. Italians still did enter the legions in the second century, but it was unusual for them to do so. Forni gives only eighteen instances in all legions from Hadrian to Diocletian.¹⁸ Further, it is remarkable that of the fifteen in our group only one comes from the northern four *regiones*, *VIII-XI*, from which by far the greater part of Italian legionaries were drawn even under Augustus.¹⁹ He is from Brixellum in *regio VIII*. Three are actually from Rome. Hitherto only one Roman legionary below the rank of centurion was known to have come from Rome itself during the three centuries after Actium.²⁰ Four others are from within the *lapis centesimus*: Ameria²¹ in Umbria, Blera and Sutrium in Etruria, and Sora in Latium. Three other Etruscan and Umbrian towns are represented: Pisae, Perusia, and Iguvium. Men were also furnished by three towns in Campania: Neapolis (two), Nuceria, and Abell(a) or Abell(inum). The presence of Italians from such districts as these in an Egyptian legion indicates clearly how critical the emergency was felt to be in 132 and 133. One may regard the levy which our men represent as a precursor of the *II* and *III Italica*, raised under Marcus Aurelius during the Marcomannic War.²²

¹⁷ There appears to be no evidence that the *III Augusta* took part in the campaign; see Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, col. 1500. For an instance of men being transferred from the *III Augusta* to an Eastern legion under Hadrian, see *C. I. L.*, VIII, 18042 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2487.

¹⁸ Forni, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8. One of the inscriptions, *C. I. L.*, VII, 1095, is a dedication in Britain made by *cives Italici et Norici*. It is of course uncertain how many Italians there were in the group.

¹⁹ See e.g. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 456-8 and Forni, *op. cit.*, p. 159-63.

²⁰ Forni, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, col. 1571.

²¹ Aly (p. 127) takes this to be the temple-village in Pontus, which is known only from Strabo, XII, p. 557; see Dr. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 182, 1073.

²² For these legions see Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, cols. 1300-1 and Parker *op. cit.*, p. 167.

Before leaving the list of veterans, it should be noted that fifty-two of the sixty centuries in the legion are represented, with the names of all but two centurions being preserved. In two of the three cases where the adjectival form of the centurion's name is used the century is the last in its cohort.²³ It shows how poorly informed we are that apparently one or two of the centurions at most may be known from another source.²⁴ A study of their names, however, might be rewarding. It is an interesting illustration of the process of Romanization that a

²³ The adjectival form of a centurion's name, e.g. (*centuria*) *Corbutioniana*, seems to mean that he no longer commanded the century but had not yet been replaced; see E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal, 1953), pp. 128-9 and R. O. Fink, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIV (1953), pp. 210-15. In our text the adjectival form is found within the cohort once in the fifth place, twice in the sixth. In another Egyptian inscription, *C.I.L.*, III, 6627, it appears three times in the sixth place and once each in the third and fourth. In *C.I.L.*, III, 6580 (see above, n. 2), the six centuries are listed and preserved in only one cohort, but the pattern there seems different. However, of ten occurrences of the form, three are in the last century given. It appears possible that centurions commanding the last century in a cohort (the *hastati posteriores*) may have been transferred more often than others. If so, this is of interest for the still obscure question of the promotion of centurions; see e.g. E. Birley, *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Paris, 1953), p. 233. Without going into a complicated and difficult subject, one may conjecture that many of the centurions transferred were younger men whose qualifications for promotion were under consideration. It is possible, but nothing more, that Torius Victor in *cohors II* is the centurion formerly in command of the *centuria Victoriana*, being made *secundus hastatus posterior* after having been *sextus hastatus posterior*.

²⁴ Iulius Gemellinus in *coh. VIII* may be the centurion of the *II Traiana* with this name who appears in an undated inscription from Iconium, the tombstone of a slave; *Ann. épigr.*, 1912, no. 271. Possibly he was in Asia Minor because of Verus' campaign. Lesquier identified the centurion at Iconium with an ordinary soldier who was discharged in 194 (*op. cit.*, p. 535) and is evidently followed by Aly, who does not mention the text. A Volusius Seneca appears in the Latin fragment, *P.S.I.*, 1308, which belongs roughly to the same time as the Nicopolis inscription; for the date see *C.P.*, XLVII (1952), p. 31. There is a centurion with this name in *coh. V*.

In Aly's text on p. 119, in *coh. VIII* for IVLI GERELLANI read GEMELLINI. One can verify this reading, given elsewhere (pp. 141, 144), on Plate III. Letters are transposed elsewhere in the text, but no instance noted by me will cause difficulty.

centurion named Hannibal (his *nomen* is Iulius) should be serving in Alexandria. Only one of the legion's approximately sixty centurions was discharged, though presumably others had served at least twenty-five years.

2.

On the front of the monument it is stated that the veterans were: *missi honesta missione sub M. Sempronio Libérale praef(ecto) Aegypti et L. Iulio Crescente praef(ecto) castror(um)*. Before considering this new evidence, it will be useful to summarize briefly current views on the *praefectus castrorum* in Egypt. Two eminent students of the Roman army, A. von Domaszewski and J. Lesquier, have presented quite different explanations of his rôle and status, and scholars who have had occasion to touch on the problem more recently have usually followed one or the other.

Domaszewski gave the following reconstruction in his invaluable "Rangordnung."²⁵ From the time of Augustus a *praefectus legionis* commanded each Egyptian legion. In both the first and second century he was a *ducenarius*, and before being promoted to his high post had been *primipilus iterum*. After the two legions remaining in Egypt were united in the camp at Nicopolis under Claudius, they shared a common *praefectus castrorum*, a "Platzcommandant" of lower rank. When in the second century the *II Traiana* became the only legion in Egypt, it also had in addition to its commander, the *praefectus legionis*, a subordinate *praefectus castrorum*. For the latter, as for his predecessor, the simple primipilate was sufficient qualification. A quite distinct officer was another *praefectus castrorum*, who appears in inscriptions at various dates from Domitian to Marcus Aurelius. He had the same rank as the legionary commander and was in charge of a number of auxiliary units. C. W. Keyes is among those who have accepted Domaszewski's reconstruction, and it is repeated without modification in Kromayer and Veith's volume in the *Handbuch*.²⁶

²⁵ "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXVII (1908), pp. 120-2.

²⁶ C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1915), pp. 25-8; J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Munich, 1928),

The conclusions of Lesquier are essentially the same for the period through the concentration of the two legions at Nicopolis under Claudius.²⁷ But in the second half of the first century, so Lesquier argues, the *praefectus castrorum* replaced the *praefecti legionum* and became the commander first of both legions then in Egypt, the *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana*, and, after Hadrian, of the *II Traiana* which took their place.²⁸ Fur-

pp. 509-10, 513-14. W. Ensslin also agrees with Domaszewski, against Wilmanns and Ritterling (see nn. 27, 30) rather than Lesquier who is mentioned only in passing, in believing that the Egyptian *praefectus legionis* and *praefectus castrorum* were two distinct officers; *R.-E.*, XXII, 2, cols. 1287-8, s. v. "Praefectus castrorum." The volume, which contains several important contributions by Ensslin, became accessible to me after this article was in the hands of the editor; otherwise I should have cited him more prominently and more often.

²⁷ J. Lesquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-32. Both he and Domaszewski are indebted to earlier studies by Mommsen, *Arch. Zeitung*, XXVII (1869), pp. 124-6 and especially G. Wilmanns, *Ephem. Epigr.*, I (1872), pp. 81-105. Legions in other provinces were of course commanded by senatorial legates, and *praefecti castrorum* elsewhere remained their subordinates, at least until well into the third century.

²⁸ The movements of these legions in the first quarter or so of the second century still present problems. The *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana* were at Nicopolis in 119; *B. G. U.*, 140 = Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 373. The latter is not recorded after 122/3; *I. G. R. R.*, 1200 (cf. above, n. 14). Cf. also *Ann. épigr.*, 1951, no. 88, which is probably to be dated a few years before 119; see Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, pp. 23-4. The *II Traiana* was in Egypt by 127; *C. I. L.*, III, 42. The date A. D. 109 (Aly, p. 128) is based on an old reading of *C. I. L.*, III, 79, which has been corrected to give A. D. 128; *ibid.*, 14147^a, p. 2300. It is perhaps more likely that the *II Traiana* replaced at least one of the other legions than that it was an addition to the garrison. One might think first of the *III Cyrenaica* which was transferred to Arabia under Hadrian. However, the *II Traiana* provided a joint vexillation with it around 123, which would suggest that the two legions were then stationed in the same province, possibly Egypt; see Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, cols. 1290, 1486-7 and *P. I. R.*, II², pp. 240-1, no. 990. Claire Préaux recently presented a valuable discussion of some of these points, but her conclusions are weakened by her use of the date of 109 for the arrival of the *II Traiana*; *Phoibos*, V (1950-51), pp. 127-30. For the older evidence see Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, cols. 1486-8, 1510; cf. also G. Lopuszanski, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, LV (1938), pp. 140-2. If H. A. Sanders' readings are right (the papyrus is in poor condition), the *II Traiana* and *III Cyrenaica* also appear together in *P. Mich.*, 435 and presumably were then both in Egypt. His date for the papyrus, ca. 109-19, depends again in part on the uncorrected reading of *C. I. L.*, III,

ther, there was only one *praefectus castrorum* in the province after Claudius. During the second century his title gradually changed to *praefectus legionis*, to the confusion of modern students. H. M. D. Parker prefers Lesquier's interpretation,²⁹ and E. Ritterling also does not believe that after Hadrian at any rate there were two distinct officers in Egypt, a *praefectus legionis* and a *praefectus castrorum*.³⁰

The new inscription from Nicopolis provides the clearest and most decisive evidence that we have, if not for settling these questions, at least for reducing the area of controversy. To be sure, Dr. Aly still maintains essentially the position taken by Domaszewski and refuses to accept the *praefectus castrorum* in our text as the legionary commander, largely because he believes that Crescens had held the primipilate only once.³¹ But it is quite incredible that if there had been a separate *praefectus legionis* at this time, he would not have been named along with the other two prefects in a formal inscription erected in the legionary camp. There is nothing to suggest that the post existed but was temporarily vacant. One must conclude that in 157 the *praefectus castrorum* commanded the *II Traiana*.

With the help of this new evidence it will be profitable to take up again two closely related problems: the command of the *II Traiana* during the rest of the second century and the position of the *praefectus castrorum* in the Egyptian garrison as a whole from the time of Claudius.

At least four second century texts give the title *praefectus legionis* to the commander of the *II Traiana*.³² The earliest two,

79; Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 64 is cited. A date of *ca.* 120 or a little later would be more likely.

²⁹ *Roman Legions*, pp. 194-6. So also, for the most part, do Lopuszanski, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, LV (1938), pp. 148-58 and A. Passerini in De Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, IV, pp. 579-81.

³⁰ *R.-E.*, XII, col. 1490.

³¹ The point will be discussed in part 3 of this article. *Praefecti castrorum* in other provinces regularly held their office after being *primipili* once.

³² For an Egyptian *praefectus legionis* of the early first century see *C. I. L.*, IX, 5748 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2687 and *P. I. R.*, II², p. 160, no. 740. An inscription from Noricum of the time of Antoninus Pius has been taken to refer to the *XXII Deiotariana*; *C. I. L.*, III, 5328. It contains the sequence *p.p., praef. leg. X[XII?], proc. Aug.* Those who accept this restoration and interpretation also assume that *bis* is omitted after

from Aquileia, present the *cursus* of Ti. Cl. Secundinus L. Statius Macedo, who after having been *p(rimi)p(ilus) iterum*, became *praef. II Tra(ianae) f(ortis)*, and finally *a rationibus* under Antoninus Pius.³³ He commanded the legion either earlier in the same reign or toward the end of that of Hadrian. The third, from Tibur, concerns L. Cominius Maximus, who was successively *p.p. bis*, *praef. leg. II Troianae* (sic) *fortis* (*ducenarius*), and *proc(urator) M. Antonini Aug.*, i. e. Marcus Aurelius.³⁴ The fourth, the only one from Egypt (Alexandria), is a dedication by T. Voconius, *praef. leg. II Tr(aianae) fortis*, which is to be dated in 185.³⁵ The point to be stressed is that our text from Nicopolis falls approximately in the middle of this series. It gives stronger support consequently to Lesquier's interpretation of the title in these texts as *praefectus (castrorum) legionis II Traianae*, the full version of which is probably to be restored in an inscription from Rome.³⁶ The contracted form, it should be added, is found in other provinces in the second century.³⁷

The problem of what the position and duties of the Egyptian *praefectus castrorum* were in various periods is larger and more

p.p. and that such a cryptic version of the legion's title would be used when the *XXII Primigenia* was stationed nearer. For references see *P. I. R.*, II², p. 89, no. 370 and Domaszewski, "Rangordnung," pp. 120, 141, 142. H. G. Pflaum, rightly I believe, accepts the simple primipilate of the inscription; *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris, 1950), p. 179. Fewer difficulties arise if one assumes that the *primipilus* became *praefectus (castrorum) legionis* of a non-Egyptian legion. A possible prefect of the *XXII Deiotariana* of unknown date is found in *C. I. L.*, XI, 2704; see Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*, p. 120 and A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (Munich, 1927), pp. 151-2. The doubts expressed by Lesquier about the supposed Egyptian *praefecti legionum* in *I. G. R. R.*, III, 1015 and *C. I. L.*, XIV, 191 seem fully justified; *op. cit.*, pp. 55, n. 1, and 124. See also Ritterling, *R.-E.*, XII, col. 1795.

³³ *C. I. L.*, V, 867 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1339 and *Ann. épigr.*, 1934, no. 232. See *P. I. R.*, II², p. 245, no. 1015.

³⁴ *C. I. L.*, XIV, 3626 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2742. See *P. I. R.*, II², p. 301, no. 1268. For the date cf. also Pflaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13.

³⁵ *C. I. L.*, III, 14137 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8998. See A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern, 1950), p. 101.

³⁶ *C. I. L.*, VI, 31871: *praef.] kastr. leg. II Tr[ai]anae f(ortis)*. The text is very fragmentary.

³⁷ See Keyes, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and Lopuszanski, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, n. 3.

difficult. Our text's chief contribution in this connection is the support which it gives to Lesquier's view that the *praefectus castrorum* at Nicopolis is the officer found in texts from other parts of the province. This is perhaps clearest if we compare four dedications from Syene made in the names of auxiliary units and dating from A. D. 98/99, 138, 139, and 162, in all of which appears the formula *per . . . praefectum Aegypti et . . . praefectum castrorum*.³⁸ The last three are quite close in date to the text from Nicopolis. All four link the two prefects, as it does, and seem to show that the latter was the highest ranking military officer in Egypt next to the governor. Whether the *praefectus castrorum* had the same position in 98/99, when there were two legions in Egypt, as he did later would be more uncertain if there were not other evidence. But the careers of two men who held the office a generation or more earlier indicate that the rank of the prefect was as high in their time as in the second century. One, Liternius Fronto, who probably was *praefectus castrorum* in 70, became prefect of Egypt by 78/79.³⁹ The other, Suedius Clemens, had apparently passed through the regular *cursus* of the *primipilus iterum* before serving as *praefectus castrorum* in 79.⁴⁰ Neither could very well have been a legionary quartermaster or "Platzcommandant" of the type known in other provinces.⁴¹

The wide jurisdiction of the *praefectus castrorum* even earlier is explicitly stated in an inscription in honor of Anicius Maximus, which was dedicated by the city of Alexandria shortly after A. D. 43.⁴² He is described as *praef. exercitu qui est in*

³⁸ *C. I. L.*, III, 14147² = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8907 and *P. I. R.*, IV², p. 31, no. 167; *C. I. L.*, III, 14147² = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8910; *C. I. L.*, III, 6025 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2615 and *P. I. R.*, III², p. 180, no. 395 (cf. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 87); *C. I. L.*, III, 14147⁴ and *P. I. R.*, II², p. 160, no. 739.

³⁹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VI, 4, 3. See Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Lopuzanski, *loc. cit.*, pp. 151-5; Pflaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 145. For the date when he became prefect of Egypt, see Pflaum, *Latomus*, X (1951), p. 473 and Aly, p. 134.

⁴⁰ Stein, *R.-E.*, IVA, cols. 579-80. The case of Castricius Proculus who may have become a *procurator* after serving as *praefectus castrorum* is more doubtful; see *P. I. R.*, II², pp. 124-5, nos. 538 and 544 and Aly, pp. 135-6.

⁴¹ See above, n. 27.

⁴² *C. I. L.*, III, 6809 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2696 (Antioch in Pisidia).

Aegypto. It is probably true, as nearly everyone has assumed, that Maximus was *praefectus castrorum*. But the common view that his duties, though discharged throughout the province, involved installations and services rather than the command of units seems more uncertain. The chief reason, and it is a weighty one, for this narrow interpretation of the phrase in the inscription is that Maximus had been *primipilus* only once. But aside from the possibility that the system of promotions remained somewhat more flexible in Claudius' early years than it became later, Maximus had been decorated during the British campaign immediately before being sent to Egypt, and quite possibly Claudius himself or his staff had selected him for rapid advancement because of direct knowledge of exceptional abilities.

A recently discovered inscription from Capena (Lucus Feroniae) may possibly be relevant here.⁴³ It reads: *C. Musano C. f. primo pilo bis, tr(ibunus) mil(itum), praefecto strato-pedarci, II vir(o) quinquen(nali) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublice)*. The editor, G. Foti, quite properly assigns the text to the first half of the first century because of the lettering and the absence of a *cognomen*. One may add that Musanus' *cursus* suggests the period before Claudius.⁴⁴ His title *praefectus strato-pedarc(h)es* is rather remarkable. The second part of course is the regular Greek version of *praefectus castrorum*, and though Foti assumes that Musanus held the post in Egypt, *strato-pedarches* in itself merely limits the possibilities to legionary camps in the East. The use of this exotic term by an Etruscan town council may have been intended to suggest that Musanus had been something more than an ordinary camp commander.⁴⁵ Unfortunately it is not clear whether he held his second *primipilate* before the prefecture, and perhaps this is the less likely

See, e. g., Lesquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 129; Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6; *P. I. R.*, I², p. 99, no. 604.

⁴³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, ser. 8, VII (1953), p. 15 (fig. 4) = *Ann. épigr.*, 1954, no. 163.

⁴⁴ See Domaszewski, "Rangordnung," pp. 112-15, 119-20 and Stein, *Ritterstand*, pp. 139-40, 142, 148-51.

⁴⁵ Cf. the quite different use of *Arabarches* by Cicero, *Ad Att.*, II, 17, 3 and Juvenal, I, 130. For the latter see E. G. Turner, *J. R. S.*, XLIV (1954), p. 63.

possibility.⁴⁶ But if he had done so, the post at Nicopolis would seem to have offered the most suitable employment for a man of his rank.⁴⁷ We should then have not later than the early years of Claudius a *praefectus castrorum* in Egypt who was not only a *primipilus bis* but who also very possibly had the same high position as his successors later in the first century.

However this may be, there is other evidence, over a long period, that the *praefectus castrorum* did not limit his activities to Nicopolis or the legions. Possibly under Claudius again, in a document unknown to Lesquier, one of these prefects assigned a legionary centurion to decide a case which involved auxiliary soldiers and a veteran and which was heard somewhere in the interior of the province.⁴⁸ Another is named between the *praefectus Aegypti* and the *praefectus Berenicidis* in an inscription at Coptos (A. D. 90/91).⁴⁹ In a later text also from Coptos (A. D. 151/52) a *praefectus castrorum* is mentioned in a dedication made by an auxiliary cohort,⁵⁰ and in an inscription from near Apollonopolis Magna of the time of Commodus an auxiliary soldier seems to have employed the formula ἐνὶ . . . ἐπαρχῶ κα[στρων].⁵¹ The last known appearance of the title in Egypt, sometimes ignored, is in 194.⁵²

To sum up, the Nicopolis inscription shows that in 157 the

⁴⁶ See the references in n. 44. A second primipilate is not found in them before the prefecture. However, there is very little evidence to show the relation of the two posts before Claudius or even the significance in that time of holding the primipilate twice.

⁴⁷ It would seem to have been the most important such command in the East. The two legions may have been united in the camp there as early as Gaius; see Philo, *In Flaccum*, 13, 111 and the references collected by H. Box on p. 112 of his edition (Oxford, 1939).

⁴⁸ *P. Mich.*, 159 = V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, III (Florence, 1943), pp. 190-1, no. 64. The emperor's name, which includes Germanicus, shows that it belongs to the reign of Gaius, Claudius, or Nero.

⁴⁹ *C. I. L.*, III, 13580.

⁵⁰ Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, no. 69. See Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 83, n. 4 and p. 123, n. 1; *P. I. R.*, II², p. 31, no. 162.

⁵¹ *I. G. R. E.*, I, 1275.

⁵² *C. I. L.*, III, 6580 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2304 (Nicopolis). This names a *b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti) cas(trorum)*. Aly, p. 140, does not include this in his list. Keyes in a summary places it among non-Egyptian texts; *op. cit.*, p. 22. For two *praefecti* of this legion in the third century see *P. Oxy.*, 1511 and Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9479.

praefectus castrorum commanded the *II Traiana* and, when combined with other evidence, that he was the only officer with this title in the province. Consequently it supplies strong confirmation for the whole reconstruction of Lesquier. Other texts prove that from the time of Claudius the jurisdiction of this prefect extended beyond the camp at Nicopolis. By the time the legionary garrison was reduced to the *II Traiana* under Hadrian, he had almost certainly replaced the *praefectus legionis*. Probably he had done so under Nero, and possibly even earlier. In the period of our text the situation in Egypt was not much different from that in a praetorian province, whose one legion had no separate legate. The *praefectus Aegypti* in all periods of course commanded the provincial garrison, and orders even in matters of detail were issued in his name. But in view of all his other responsibilities there was a pressing need for a deputy to take over routine matters. The Egyptian legions and other units seldom took part in campaigns, and were essentially an army of occupation rather than one defending a frontier. One may assume that the *praefectus castrorum* was chiefly concerned with the paper work and administrative details arising in a garrison which was broken up into dozens of detachments and which was largely employed in duties of a non-military character. As deputy-commander of the whole provincial army, his connection with the legion was not emphasized in Egypt. Even in an inscription erected by legionary veterans he is called simply *praefectus castrorum*.

3.

Though the inscription throws some light on one problem, it seems to create another. The centuries under which the veterans are listed within cohorts are identified by their centurions, as was the most common practice. The first in *cohors I* is (*centuria*) *Iuli Crescentis p(rimi)p(ili)*. No title follows any other centurion's name.⁵³ Dr. Aly quite naturally takes it for granted

⁵³ In the first cohort veterans are listed from only five centuries, but as Aly states (p. 123), there may have been a sixth century which had no men eligible for discharge. One or more centuries are not represented in three other cohorts. It is a more disturbing coincidence, however, that the missing centurion in *cohors I* is a *primipilus*. The thesis is widely accepted that only one *primipilus* in a legion actually commanded a century and that there were only five centuries in the first

that the *primipilus* is L. Iulius Crescens, the *praefectus castrorum* named on the front of the monument, and further assumes that he held the two posts simultaneously. However, he does not cite any parallel for this combination of duties, nor in fact does he discuss the point. Apparently no one has ever suspected that a *praefectus castrorum* of any type was at the same time a *primipilus* commanding a century, and there seems no evidence for such a situation and much against it. There are instances, it is true, in which a man was *primipilus* and *praefectus castrorum* in the same legion, and conceivably at the same time, one might contend if he ignored other evidence and other considerations. But in the less ambiguous cases in which a *primipilus* in one legion became *praefectus castrorum* in another, it is quite clear that he did not continue to be *primipilus*.⁵⁴ Without arguing at undue length against a proposition that has not been defended, one can say that the prefecture was a quite distinct rank, not a post combined with the *primipilate*.⁵⁵

There are at least two ways to avoid the difficulty caused by Iulius Crescens appearing twice with different titles. The name is not an uncommon one, and possibly the *primipilus* and the prefect were not the same man.⁵⁶ Moreover, if the men are identical, and one must feel uneasy denying that they are, the posts may still have been held in succession, not simultaneously. In the first line of the dexter side, one of the legion's centurions, Domitius Maternus, is listed at the head of those who were

cohort; see, e.g., Domaszewski, "Rangordnung," pp. 38, 92, 114-15 and Parker, *Roman Legions*, pp. 197-8. However, to the arguments advanced for two *primipili* and six centuries by Th. Wegeleben, *Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 36-50, one can now add the evidence of *P. S. I.*, 1026 (see n. 59). On the whole, it seems more probable that a second century commanded by a *primipilus* existed but was not represented in our inscription.

⁵⁴ For inscriptions giving the careers of these prefects see Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*, p. 120. There are at least two *primipili* of the *II Traiana* who were not *praefecti castrorum*; *C. I. L.*, X, 1593 and 3733 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2083, and possibly also *C. I. L.*, IX, 5840 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2085.

⁵⁵ In addition to the inscriptions, see Tac., *Ann.*, I, 20: . . . *diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus* . . .; *Hist.*, II, 89: . . . *praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum*. . .

⁵⁶ Four centurions with the name Iulius Crescens are listed by L. R. Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (Princeton, 1916), p. 162.

discharged,⁵⁷ but he is found still giving his name to his century in *cohors VIII*. Perhaps Crescens was promoted to *praefectus castrorum* at the time when the veterans were discharged, and though appearing with his new title in the heading of the text, still gave his name to his century.

However this may be, there is a related question to be considered. Aly concludes from the absence of *bis* or *iterum* after (*centuria*) *Iuli Crescentis p.p.* that Crescens was holding the primipilate for the first time, and bases much of his discussion on this assumption. But it would appear rather that *p.p.* was sometimes added to names in texts such as this to distinguish *primipili* from lesser centurions without regard to whether it was their first or second tour of duty. In an African inscription in which all the centurions of the *III Augusta* are listed under their cohorts, the names of the first two in *cohors I* are followed by *p.p.*, exactly as in the case of Iulius Crescens.⁵⁸ Similarly, in a Latin papyrus of A.D. 150 *p.p.* is found after the names of the two *primipili*, while nothing follows those of the other centurions.⁵⁹ It seems entirely possible in both texts that one of the *primipili* was holding the post for the second time, despite the fact that this is not indicated. There also seem to be cases where *bis* or *iterum* is omitted even in a soldier's *cursus*, where there would be rather more point in adding it than in our inscription.⁶⁰ We cannot assume therefore that Crescens was not *p.p. iterum*. He almost certainly must have been if he became the *praefectus castrorum*.

In conclusion, a Iulius Crescens, as Aly notes, was the *praefectus classis praetoriae Misenensis* named in a diploma of 166.⁶¹

⁵⁷ He is the only centurion discharged. His name is followed by those of a *cornicularius Semproni Liberalis pr[ae]f. Aeg.* and an *evocatus ballistarum* [. The relative rank of the last two deserves note; cf. Domaszewski, "Rangordnung," p. 78, who was able to cite no such evidence. He does not include this assignment among those listed for the *evocati*, *loc. cit.*, p. 77; cf. Seeck, *R.-E.*, II, cols. 2831-2, s. v. "Ballistarii." For the interest of the fact that the *cornicularius* is not listed within a century see E. Sander, *Historia*, III (1954), pp. 96-7, 102.

⁵⁸ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 18065 = Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2452.

⁵⁹ *P. S. I.*, 1026 = *C. I. L.*, XVI, p. 146, no. 13.

⁶⁰ For some examples, not all of them necessarily valid, see Stein, *Ritterstand*, p. 147, n. 7; p. 151, n. 7; p. 152, n. 4.

⁶¹ *C. I. L.*, XVI, 122.

It seems very probable that he was our *praefectus castrorum* of 157. If so, the high rank of the naval prefect almost requires that Crescens should have been *p.p. iterum* before becoming *praefectus castrorum*,⁶² and provides another argument for the view that the latter commanded the *II Traiana* and, under the provincial prefect, was the chief military officer in the province.

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⁶² For the rank of the prefect of the Misene fleet see Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, p. 33; Pflaum, *Procurateurs équestres*, p. 254.

THE LEGISLATION OF SPURIUS THORIUS.

Cicero, *Brutus*, 136: *Sp. Thorius satis valuit in populari genere dicendi, is qui agrum publicum vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali levavit.*

The meaning of this passage and its relation to other evidence is a problem all too familiar to students of the Gracchan and post-Gracchan agrarian legislation. If at this date it is not likely to be finally solved, it is still, I believe, possible to rule out some commonly accepted interpretations of the evidence, and to produce what I think are new arguments in favour of an old view.

A. Chronology of the *Brutus*.

First we should note that, as D'Arms pointed out,¹ there exists evidence—of a sort—for dating Cicero's *Lex Thoria* in the *Brutus* itself. D'Arms appears to have been the first to draw attention in this context to the chronological structure of the *Brutus*. This is an important contribution, but I believe that its originator has overlooked one significant possibility presented by his method.

As is well known, it was primarily the publication of Atticus' *Liber Annalis*² which both inspired and made possible the composition of the *Brutus*, one of the purposes of which is *oratorum genera distinguere aetatibus* (74). When Cicero makes a major departure from the chronological order, he draws attention to the fact, as he does when the assignation of a *floruit* to some long-lived orator presents him with a problem, e.g. L. Gellius (174), Hortensius (230).

On this basis D'Arms argues that Thorius' tribunate belongs to the years 105-95 B. C. He is mentioned after the consuls of the period of 110-99, and immediately after C. and L. Memmius, the former tr. pl. 111, killed 100, the latter *flor. ca.* 90. Hence Thorius belongs "near the end of the century," and the long

¹ A. J. P., LVI (1935), pp. 231-45.

² *Brutus*, 11-15. On the nature of the work in general see Münzer, "Atticus als Geschichtsschreiber," *Hermes*, XL (1905), pp. 50-100; Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus* (Bryn Mawr, 1920), pp. 40-51.

controversy over the connection of his law with the *Lex Agraria* of 111 and the three laws mentioned in Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, I, 27 has very likely been a vast waste of time, since no such connection need or should be postulated. On the basis of the other mention of the *Lex Thoria* (*De Orat.*, II, 284, cited below), D'Arms speculates as to the nature of the law, and suggests that it may have been a short-lived measure dealing with pasturage. According to him, Cicero's reference in the *Brutus* must be translated "... from a tax by a useless and irregular law." But while I regard his employment of chronological analysis as sound, as a method, his historical conclusions are not compelling.

It might at this stage be objected that Cicero knew far too much about this period to be limited by a chronological framework provided by Atticus. It is, I think, particularly difficult to assess Cicero's information for these years, which lay just outside his own lifetime and experience, but within the range of written history and abundant oral tradition.³ It is obvious that even before the *Brutus* Cicero could construct dialogues set in the days of Scipio Aemilianus, or Antonius and Crassus, with a remarkable wealth of anecdotal information and freedom from anachronism. But Münzer has shown an undoubted increase in Cicero's *chronological* information in dialogues composed from the time of the *Brutus* onwards as compared with its predecessors.⁴ Queries on chronological points become frequent in the letters. There is no need to doubt that Cicero found Atticus' compendium as valuable as he says he did (*Brutus*, 15, 74),⁵ and that he relied on it throughout the *Brutus* where it gave the information he needed (though on controversial matters of literary history, as in §§ 60, 72-4, he cites other sources). That Cicero was very much concerned with following the chronological order except where special considerations supervened, has already been stated and hardly calls for

³ No writing known to me on the sources of the *Brutus* deals in detail with this period.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-4.

⁵ Of Ciceronian citations from works earlier than the *Brutus* in Greenidge and Clay's *Sources for Roman History 133-70 B. C.* (Oxford, 1903) only two give an exact date—both are from the lost *Pro Cornelio*! The same result emerges from a study of the relevant passages cited in R. Schutz's thorough survey, *Ciceros historische Kenntnisse* (Diss. Berlin, 1913).

further demonstration. There are many explicit allusions to points of chronology; the word *aetas* in the sense of an historical period occurs fifty times in the dialogue. I should thus maintain that while Cicero had of course a wide knowledge of the period, for exact chronology he relied on Atticus, and his interest in the subject was such that we are entitled to look for chronological patterns in all parts of the *Brutus*, and even where our knowledge of a period is less full than we could wish, to expect to be able to explain minor adjustments where Cicero himself makes no comment. Thus in my view, D'Arms is not over-schematic: he is not schematic enough. He argues from whole careers. I maintain that we should seek to define more closely, bearing in mind in particular that *tribunes* who achieved no further great distinction tend to be placed in obvious relations to their year of office (cf. §§ 108-9, 221; and note the closely chronological arrangement of the somewhat undistinguished group of *consuls* of the late 90's in §§ 165-6). This was natural with orators the high point of whose careers was so easily determined.⁶ In the light of what we know of Thorius and Memmius, I suggest that for Thorius certainly, and Memmius probably, Cicero had in mind the tribunate dates. From this supposition what follows?

C. Memmius was tribune in 111 B. C., and made a great stir by his opposition to the *nobiles* over the conduct of the Jugurthine War.⁷ It is not unreasonable to suppose that Lucius (his younger brother?) is mentioned with him for brevity and convenience: in oratorical method the two were indistinguishable.⁸ At all events his presence here tells us little about the date of Thorius. Even if he is the L. Memmius prosecuted in 90 B. C.

⁶ As Münzer saw, tribunes were not as such in the *Liber Annalis*, but they would be there under *leges* (cf. *Nep., Att.*, 182) if as with Thorius legislation was their chief claim to fame, and information would be available, whether from Atticus or elsewhere, about tribunes otherwise notorious. [About tribunes less well-known we find Cicero addressing special inquiries to Atticus in the years following the appearance of the *Liber Annalis* and *Brutus*. Cf. *Ad Att.*, XII, 5b; XVI, 13c, 2 and Münzer, "Der Fanniusfrage" (*Hermes*, LV [1920], pp. 427-42, esp. 429).]

⁷ *Sall., B. J.*, 27 ff.; cf. Greenidge and Clay, *op. cit.*, 52.

⁸ For other pairs of brothers and relatives cf. *Brutus*, 94, 99, 169, 242, 247.

under the Varian Law (and this, assumed by D'Arms, is doubted by Münzer⁹), this date is probably not the one Cicero had in mind in determining his chronological position. L. Memmius could have been tribune earlier. He is mentioned in connection with the year 90 (if the two *are* the same) simply because he had to speak in his own defence, and Cicero was thus able to hear him, in that year.¹⁰ Those orators whom Cicero felt to "belong" to that year and the years around it appear at § 182. Similarly the mention *after* Thorius of L. Cotta (tribune between 103 and 95)¹¹ and of Marcellus *Aesernini pater* (legate of Marius in 102, of Sex. Julius Caesar in 90)¹² affords little evidence for Thorius beyond a vague *terminus ante quem*, while it is the *terminus post quem* which here concerns us. They are followed by Antonius and Crassus, whom for obvious reasons Cicero takes together and dates to the consulship of the latter in 95. We might have been better informed if Cicero had mentioned Glaucia and Saturninus in their proper place instead of postponing them to § 224, where he makes a hostile digression at their expense, and mentions the chronological dislocation, the implication being that it is only with reluctance that he discusses the oratory of such *seditioni* and *improbi* at all. As it is, the upper limit for Thorius remains at about 111. This date should not be allowed to exert an hypnotic effect, yet it does seem difficult to accept that Thorius was, as has often been held, tribune *ca.* 119-18, while it is plainly possible that he was tribune in 111, a year famous in the history of agrarian legislation. I cannot agree with D'Arms that this view is made untenable by other evidence; I regard it rather as a possibility made more probable by that evidence. But before discussing such other relevant points as he raises, it is necessary to meet certain possible objections to the arguments so far adduced. This will incidentally throw further light on Cicero's methods in constructing this part of the *Brutus*.

⁹ *R.-E.*, s. v. Memmius, no. 12.

¹⁰ *Brutus*, 304.

¹¹ Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951), I, pp. 563, 565.

¹² *R.-E.*, s. v. Claudius, no. 226.

B. Objections.

(i) Even if my advocacy of the view that Cicero used a precise chronology is accepted, it will be objected that in seeking the most appropriate place for Memmius, Cicero must surely have had regard to the highest office he attained—the praetorship. As Münzer observed, the grounds for dissociating the tribune Memmius of 111 from the would-be consul killed in 100 are weak:¹³ Memmius was therefore praetor presumably *ca.* 104 (we have no direct evidence), and Thorius' tribunate should fall near and probably just after that date. This at first sight confirms D'Arms (who does not however mention Memmius' praetorship). But it can be shown that the *Liber Annalis* did not give praetorship-dates.

(a) As we have seen, Cicero in the spring of 45 (a year after the publication of the *Brutus*) was showing interest in a number of chronological problems. In the letter already cited (n. 6), he is seeking information to help him in the composition of *De Finibus* (II, 16, 64) and writes: *Tubulum video praetorem L. Metello Q. Maximo consulibus*. This is taken by Münzer¹⁴ as a reference to information contained in the *Liber Annalis*, but elsewhere, as references given by Münzer himself show,¹⁵ Cicero seems to have depended on the *Annals* of Libo, and not on Atticus, for praetorship-dates. The identity of this Libo and the date of his work are uncertain, but it is generally agreed that Cicero's acquaintance with it was recent at the time of writing the letter:¹⁶ it was thus unknown to him at the time of writing the *Brutus*.

(b) The *floruit* of T. Albucius seems, as we shall see, to have been arrived at without reference to his praetorship.

(c) All the praetorships mentioned in the *Brutus*, rather like the tribunates, are in various ways special cases, for which other sources of information can without special pleading be conjectured. They are:¹⁷ (i) the praetor who presided at the

¹³ *R.-E.*, s. v. Memmius, no. 5, col. 607.

¹⁴ *Hermes*, LV (1920), p. 428.

¹⁵ *Ad Att.*, XIII, 30, 2; 32, 3.

¹⁶ Cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. Scribonius, no. 20; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rel.* (Leipzig, 1914), I, pp. ccclxxvi ff. .

¹⁷ Refs. to *Brutus*, 78, 89, 180, 224, 321.

festival at which Ennius in the year of his death produced his last play. This could come from a source which dealt with the dating of dramatic performances, e.g. Accius or Varro, or the *veteres commentarii* (*Brutus*, 60, 72) which as Naumann¹⁸ pointed out are only cited in connection with *res scaenicae*. (ii) the praetorship of Ser. Galba (his governorship in Spain) which led to a famous prosecution, the date of which was to be found in Cato's *Origines*: Cicero does not indicate whether he knew the date of the praetorship itself. (iii) a praetor designate condemned for *ambitus* before taking office—again a *cause célèbre*, and manifestly nothing to do with praetorship dates as such. (iv) the notorious praetorship of Glaucia—the defender of Rabirius could date this. (v) Cicero's praetorship. (Probably the L. Cotta *praetorius* of *Brutus*, 137 is also dated by his tribunate, the adjective serving merely as a distinguishing mark.)

Thus there is every reason to suppose that praetorships did not appear, at least systematically, in the *Liber Annalis*.¹⁹ Memmius' praetorship left no mark in history; if Cicero used an exact date, he must have used the tribunate.

(ii) So far I have argued (a) that D'Arms is right in adverting, with reserve, the chronological structure of the *Brutus*, (b) that his conclusion that Thorius belongs later than 111 lacks force, and that the juxtaposition of the tribune of 111, Memmius, and the agrarian legislator Thorius may be significant. But how, it may be asked, is the assumption of chronological precision to be reconciled with the facts that (i) the consuls of 111 are named as far back as § 128, and (ii) at least one orator active *after 106* is mentioned in the group discussed in §§ 129-31? Hereabouts would seem to be a more natural and appropriate place for Memmius. Surely we must admit that the orators of the years 121-100 are distributed almost at random? I do not think so, for (i) there are special reasons for the appearance of the consuls of 111 at their place, and (ii) the group in §§ 129-31 could probably not be easily dated at all. But Memmius and Thorius *could* be dated and there are no discernible reasons why they should appear out of position.

¹⁸ *De fontibus et fide Bruti Ciceronis* (Diss. Halle, 1883), *ad fin.*

¹⁹ Cf. too Byrne, p. 45, n. 178, who also sees the use of Libo in the chronology of *Acad.*, II, 137.

The chronological structure of *Brutus*, 127-37.

The consuls of 111 are named as far back as § 128, because Cicero has here grouped together the victims of the Quaestor Mamilius of 110. Starting with C. Galba (quaestor 120), part of whose speech on the occasion of his trial was extant in Cicero's time, Cicero passes naturally to the consulars who shared Galba's fate. In point of fact he first mentions P. Scipio (cos. 111) who died in office. Then come the victims of 110, Scipio's colleague Bestia, briefly described, C. Cato (cos. 114), Sp. Albinus (cos. 110)—on these two Cicero makes no comment—then L. Opimius. He had been consul in 121. He is placed last apparently because Cicero wishes to reserve him for honourable mention, in explicit contrast to the next orator on the list, a tribune C. Licinius Nerva. There is some chronological dislocation, but the motives are plain. Without attributing high elegance to the passage, we may at least claim that no other ordering would so briefly and effectively have made the points which Cicero wishes to make. If Scipio were placed later, the sequence of Mamilian consular victims would be broken; if Opimius came earlier, the contrast with Nerva would have to be sacrificed.

Nerva is the first-named of a group who flourished between 121 and 100. But while at least one member of this group was certainly active *after* 111, it is probable that they were not to be found in the pages of Atticus' work, nor—unlike the tribunes of § 136—could they easily be pinned down by other means. They include T. Albucius, who never attained the consulship. He was praetor possibly in 105, and prosecuted for misgovernment in 103,²⁰ but at least as famous for his encounter with

²⁰ Cf. Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 560. In fact this dating is uncertain, being based on a combination of assumptions of which one may be unsound. The prosecution of Albucius was transferred from his quaestor Cn. Pompeius to C. Julius Caesar Strabo. The date cannot be later since Pompeius was presumably not quaestor at less than the minimum legal interval before his consulship in 89. An earlier date is impossible if Caesar's irregular candidature for the consulship of 87 was illegal because he was under age, for he must then have been born after 130 and would hardly appear in a big case much before *aet.* 25' (though there were instances of earlier debuts—see Quintil., XII, 6, 1 with Austin's notes). But there is no evidence that the irregularity had anything to do with age; we know only that Caesar had not been praetor (Mommesen, *Röm. Staats.*, I, p. 539, n. 1; cf. Afzelius, *Classica et*

Q. Scaevola in Athens in 121, and his prosecution of Scaevola in the following year. This prosecution is probably the clue to his placing here.²¹ Cicero refers specifically to his stay in Athens, and that excessive absorption of Greek culture which led to his brush with Scaevola. This *prosecution* may besides be a link with the two orators who are named before him, both *accusatores*, L. Caesulenus, not otherwise known, and M. Brutus—is *magistratus non petivit sed fuit accusator vehemens et molestus*.²² Preceding these there are a tribune C. Licinius Nerva, a C. Fimbria, and a C. Sextius Calvinus. Of the first we know nothing. Fimbria is admitted by Cicero to be a chronological problem on account of his long life. Whether or not he is the consul of 104,²³ the description of him as *lutulentus asper maledicus* suggests that Cicero is thinking of him also as a prosecutor, though he goes on to give him faint praise as senator, defending counsel, and jurisconsult. Sextius Calvinus suffered from rheumatism, had lost an eye, and probably therefore was disabled from achieving high political rank. Cicero depicts him as a jurisconsult who occasionally appeared in the lawcourts when his health allowed.²⁴ In short, the whole group, though it overlaps with the group of §136 which includes Memmius and Thorius, appears to be distinct from it in that its members were difficult to date precisely.

Memmius and Thorius also follow a group of consuls of the years 109-99, namely Q. Catulus (cos. 102), Q. Metellus Nu-

Mediaevalia, VIII [1946], p. 267). It is thus impossible to determine when Caesar appeared as *adulescens* (cf. *De Off.*, II, 49-50) against Albucius, and Albucius' praetorship and subsequent prosecution may fall earlier than is usually supposed.

²¹ D'Arms appears to think so (p. 242).

²² He was active after 106, against L. Crassus (*De Orat.*, II, 220 ff.).

²³ I doubt the identification. The cos. 104 was killed in the Cinnan riots. If he is the Fimbria mentioned in *De Orat.*, II, 91, the use of the past tense *habuit* there is an anachronism in *De Orat.*, the dramatic date of which is 91. But if the orator of *Brutus* and of the *De Oratore* are the same man—as from their descriptions appears likely—but not identical with the cos. of 104, and he was in fact dead before 91, there is no anachronism in *De Orat.* and he fits naturally as an undateable non-consular into this part of the *Brutus*.

²⁴ Münzer (*R.-B.*, s. v. Sextius, nos. 20, 21) may well be right in thinking that this was not the cos. of 124. He was still alive in 91 (*De Orat.*, II, 249).

midicus (cos. 109), M. Aurelius Scaurus (cos. 108), A. Albinus (cos. 99) and Q. Caepio (cos. 106).²⁵ This I take it is because the consuls of 111, who could equally have appeared here, had already been "used up" by Cicero hurrying forward to the victims of the *Quaestio Mamilia*, while of course the carry-forward to the year 99 is quite natural because Cicero normally arranges consulars and non-consulars in separate groups.

Thus the structure is, I suggest: post-Gracchan consuls down to the *Quaestio Mamilia* (§§ 127-9); a miscellaneous group all seemingly active, mainly as prosecutors, in the period 121-100 (§§ 129-31); consuls of the years 109-99 (§§ 132-5); non-consulars of 111-95 (§§ 136-7).

To summarise the position reached so far:

Cicero's method is flexible and dogmatism is not justified. But so far as we can assess the evidence likely to have been at Cicero's disposal in a case such as that of Thorius, it seems reasonable to assert that Cicero's basic date for him was his tribunate, as it was also for Memmius, and that unless reason can be shown why Cicero should have made a departure from chronological order at this point, we should admit that (i) Thorius can hardly have been tribune as early as 119-118, the limits being between 111²⁶ and 95, but (ii) there is on the other hand no compelling reason for accepting D'Arms late dating—nothing in fact to prevent us from yielding to the temptation to associate Thorius with the very year in which the *Lex Agraria* was passed.

C. Procedure under the *Lex Agraria* and the *Lex Thoria*.

D'Arms tries to show that the *Lex Thoria* and *Lex Agraria* cannot be identical on further grounds which seem to me invalid. From the passage in the *De Oratore* in which the *Lex Thoria*

²⁵ The slight chronological eccentricities of their ordering might be explained on the grounds that Cicero has placed first the orator who was at least in the literary field the most important of the group (for other instances cf. Naumann, *op. cit.*, p. 26) while Albinus is inserted parenthetically as, like Scaurus, an accurate speaker of Latin. His colleague was the great Antonius.

²⁶ This is not rigid. A slightly earlier date is not excluded, as will be obvious, by Cicero's practice, but there are other cogent reasons, given below, for rejecting the suggestion.

is mentioned (II, 284), he deduces that appeals under this law were heard by the senate, whereas the *Lex Agraria* specifically provides that appeals under it shall be heard by a court appointed by a consul, praetor, or censor (vv. 33-6). I cite in full the relevant passage of the *De Oratore*, since we shall need to refer to it again:

Sed ex his omnibus (*sc.* forms of wit or humour) nihil magis ridetur quam quod est praeter expectationem; cuius innumerabilia sunt exempla, vel Appii maioris illius, qui in senatu cum ageretur de agris publicis et de lege Thoriana et premeretur Lucilius (*v. l.* Lucullus) ab iis qui a pecore eius depasci agros publicos dicerent, Non est, inquit, Lucili (*v. l.* Luculli) pecus illud: erratis . . . ego liberum puto esse; qua libet pascitur.

D'Arms deduces altogether too much from this passage. It need refer only to a general discussion of the Thorian Law, whether before or after it was passed. Nor indeed does there appear to be ground for supposing that the Senate ever acted as a court of appeal in this way during the Republican period.

D. Terms of the *Lex Agraria* and the *Lex Thoriana*.

If the identification of these two laws is after all to be accepted—and despite the powerful advocacy of Mommsen and his followers, not all scholars have been willing to abandon it—Cicero means that Thorius relieved the public land by abolishing a rent paid by the *possessores* (i. e. he relieved the *possessores*—the phrase can mean nothing else). This corresponds well enough with vv. 19-20 of the *Lex*.

At first sight there is force in the objection of Hardy²⁷ that this is an odd way of saying that the *ager publicus* still held under *possessio* became fully *privatus*, as the inscribed law expressly tells us that it did (vv. 1, 10-13). But it was the abolition of the rent which mattered from the practical and political point of view, since the rent was the only practical respect in which the relevant lots of *ager publicus* were distinguishable from *privatus*.²⁸

²⁷ *Roman Laws and Charters* (Oxford, 1912), p. 47.

²⁸ The rent in question was presumably that imposed by Appian's Second Law, when the commission was abolished and the possibility of resumption and redistribution by the State thus ended. For a discussion

E. Appian's account of post-Gracchan legislation.

If the Lex Agraria is identical with the Lex Thoria, there is then no objection to identifying it with the third law in Appian. On this assumption, Appian, like Cicero, provides evidence that it was the abolition of the *φόροι* which was the controversial feature of the law. It should again not surprise us that this is the only feature he mentions. Appian's account, generally sympathetic to the Gracchi, largely reflects the popular attitude to the laws he describes—and we should in any case beware of exaggerating the “liberal and intelligent” and “statesmanlike” character of the law of 111. On the popular view, each measure, even if outwardly innocuous, was in fact a *σόφισμα*, part of a subtle plot to destroy the Gracchan settlement.

But this popular view was retrospective, and unjust to the second law, which by abolishing the land-commission and imposing rents, gave something to both sides; and if we accept the usual modern view that by then there was little land available for distribution, the popular side had the less cause for discontent—it was only in 111 with the abolition of the *φόροι* that the people found that they had lost everything and could begin to regard the second law as the thin end of a long-prepared wedge. At the time of its enactment, the apt comment was that which in fact Appian preserves for us, that the law was of some assistance to the poor, but no solution for the basic economic problem, the depopulation of rural Italy, *ἔφελος δ' οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν*.

The law was a compromise, and may well have pleased nobody for long. The popular party resented the abolition of the commission and came to regard the law as a *σόφισμα*: the *possessores* resented the burden of rent. In this latter fact lies, I suspect, the clue to Cicero's *vitiosa et inutili lege*. Cicero in 46, when he wrote the *Brutus*, was “on the side of” the wealthy.²⁹ If Thorius' law was the law of 111, he is hardly likely to have described it in these terms. He must be referring to the law from which Thorius relieved the public land. This bad law can

of the detailed problems connected with this law see Note A. It will already be clear that I do not think Thorius *in fact* proposed it, whether or not we accept the emendation which makes Appian say that he did.

²⁹ Cf. *De Off.*, II, 78 for Cicero's views on agrarian legislation in his last years.

well be the second of those enumerated by Appian, which both sides disliked. The original *Lex Sempronia* is hardly relevant since it could not be characterised as dealing with rent,³⁰ and it had in all essentials been repealed by the first two laws in Appian. As D'Arms hints, Cicero would probably not have alluded to it in this anonymous fashion.

It is true that D'Arms attempts a comprehensive argument to show that *none* of the laws in Appian could be described as *vitiosa et inutilis*. He writes "If Appian's main thesis . . . is correct—namely that a series of reactionary laws overthrew the achievements of the Gracchi—then no one of these laws could accurately be described as useless and invalid." But (i) a law could be passed and operated, and still be stigmatised by its opponents as useless (or damaging) and irregularly passed ("invalid" is somewhat ambiguous); (ii) more important—even if Appian's main thesis is as described, there is as we have seen a secondary thesis as to the popular appeal of parts of the second law, which helps to explain what has to be explained, namely *Cicero's* disapproval. Neither in Appian nor in Cicero are we to look for impartiality.

F. General Conclusion.

D'Arms brought much fresh air into the controversy by questioning the almost universal assumption that Appian's three laws, Cicero's *Lex Thoria*, and the extant *Lex Agraria* must be fitted into a pattern of three laws only. He believes that we are concerned with six distinct laws³¹—and he cannot be proved wrong. But he is unjust to earlier views in supposing that none is tenable without "wholesale emendation and rejection of sources." He as it were "adds up" the different difficulties of the various theories and argues that in view of the resultant impasse all must be abandoned. My own restatement of a very old view rests on neither rejection nor emendation. I further differ from D'Arms on the necessity for a particular interpreta-

³⁰ Hardy's view, which is in effect that Cicero referred to the rent when he ought to have alluded to the abolition of the commission, is a reflection of this difficulty.

³¹ (1) (2) (3) Appian's three laws, the last belonging to 119-18, (4) *Lex Agraria* of 111, (5) the anonymous law imposing a *vectigal* removed by (6) *Thorius'* "useless and invalid" law (*ca.* 100 B.C.).

tion of *Brutus* 136.³² But his introduction of the chronological evidence of the *Brutus*, cautiously though it must be handled, is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to the problem, disposing as it does of all theories which depend on dating Thorius' tribunate to *ca.* 118, and pointing the way back to a more probable solution.

Note A. The proposer, date and terms of Appian's Second Law.

(i) It is well known that the attribution to Thorius of the second law in Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, I, 27 is based on an emendation. The MSS give the name of the tribune who passed this law as Βόριος or Βούριος. This is almost universally emended to Θόριος, and is frequently so quoted without any indication that a change has been made. Schweighäuser³³ expressed doubts, but bowed to "tot ac tanti nominis doctorum virorum auctoritati." While the name Borius is unknown, alternatives are hard to find. Schweighäuser suggests (a) that Spurius may be a *nomen*, and Βόριος, etc. corruptly represent e.g. Burrus, or (b) that the correct form is Βάριος = Ούάριος (Varius). D'Arms suggests Φούριος as a possibility.

At all events the emendation to Θόριος is open to objection.

³² "From a tax by a useless and irregular law." Those who render otherwise "seem to do so only to secure a hearing for their own interpretation of the facts." But these remarks of D'Arms are less than fair to earlier students of the question. In my view, linguistic arguments cannot be decisive towards establishing the facts. One can only ask if on a given interpretation of the whole evidence the situation could have been described by Cicero in the words he has used. Such at least is the basis of the version I prefer: "... from a useless and irregular law which imposed a tax." It may be claimed that this provides *levare* with the Privative Ablative by which it is often accompanied, and as is natural, describes in uncomplimentary terms that from which, not that by which relief is given. Mommsen objected that such a sense of *vectigalis* is unparalleled, but adjectives attached to *lex* often have vague or unusual meanings.

D'Arms urges that *satis valuit*, etc. is faint praise due to Cicero's political bias against a popular tribune. But perhaps here, as elsewhere in the *Brutus*, Cicero awards an orator higher praise than he merited purely as orator, because of his correct conservative politics, the implication being that Thorius' competence in addressing popular audiences is shown by his persuading the people to adopt a measure not to its own advantage.

³³ Edition of Appian (Leipzig, 1785), III, Pt. II, pp. 687 ff.

Appian is not infallible, but even Appian is entitled to benefit from the principle that one does not emend an author and then on the basis of his emended text pronounce him guilty of error. Yet all those who put Thorius in 111 or later, and still emend, are doing precisely this. There is, it may be added, no record of a name Θόριος, though Θόριος³⁴ appears on coins,³⁵ and probably also in Cicero, *De Fin.*, II, 20, 63: *potantem in rosa Thorium*! The probability that this is a double-cretic clausula is high.³⁶ Cicero is very fond of this form of hyperbaton in which a *nomen* in *-ius* is placed last to give a cretic close.³⁷ The fact is palaeographically unimportant, but the traditional emendation is suspect.

(ii) Carcopino³⁸ and Gelzer³⁹ introduced into the controversy Fabricius'⁴⁰ conjecture that the Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Aliena Fabia, which has some not altogether clear connection with the legislation of Julius Caesar,⁴¹ was in fact an important agrarian law of the year 109. Hardy's arguments against Fabricius seem sound.⁴² There is, besides, complete absence of agreement (as might be expected where there is no limit of conjecture) among the adherents of this view as to what the law said to have been passed in 109 might have contained in addition to the three extant clauses, which deal with the establishment of the boundaries of new administrative units. Its relation to our subject, if any, is pure guess-work. Yet these critics have done a useful service in pointing out, as D'Arms also does, that the conventional dating of Appian's second law shirks the issue. It is arbitrary to argue that because we can

³⁴ Cf. Schulze, *Lateinische Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1933), p. 98 with refs.

³⁵ E. g. *B. M. Pont. Bith.*, 139, 5.

³⁶ Statistically it is between 3 and 7 times as likely to be — — — — as — — — — (De Groot gives the latter 2.8% against 8.3% for the former: Zielinski 1.6% against 11.1%).

³⁷ A preference for a cretic in the last place, as I hope to show on some other occasion, is the most marked peculiarity of Cicero's clausula-rhythm. It has of course nothing to do with the "cretic-base," which is a myth.

³⁸ *Autour des Gracques* (Paris, 1928), pp. 230, 266, n. 1.

³⁹ *Gnomon*, V (1929), pp. 648-60, esp. 657-60 (review of Carcopino).

⁴⁰ *Sitzb. Heidelb. Akad.* (1924-5), pp. 1 ff.; cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. *Limites*.

⁴¹ Cf. Bruns, *Fontes* (7th ed., Tübingen, 1909), 95.

⁴² *C. Q.*, XIX (1925), pp. 115 ff.

date the third law to 111, Appian's allusion to fifteen years must refer to the date of the second law. This is about the one thing which our obscure and corrupt text of Appian does not permit us to assert. It is not demonstrable that the reference of the fifteen years is to the preceding words rather than to those which follow: if it is, the period must then include the loss of the γῆς πρόσοδοι, a manifest allusion to the third law.⁴³

Thus the date of the second law is uncertain. To bring it nearer to 111 would help to meet an objection of D'Arms who criticises the conventional view as assuming that the phrase οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον twice used by Appian refers first to a period of a few months, and in the second instance to the seven-year gap 118-11. At the same time it should not be urged that since a date a little earlier than 111 for Cicero's Lex Thoria is not positively excluded by Cicero's methods, a later date for the second law removes much of the objection against associating it with the name of Thorius. For in that case Cicero would be commending Thorius for legislation which was repealed almost as soon as passed. To make Thorius propose the second law say in 113, we should have to suppose that Cicero ignored the real achievement—the abolition of the land-commission—and preferred to mention the rent-imposition which was abolished in 111. This objection seems to me nearly conclusive against making Thorius propose the second law even in 119 or 118.⁴⁴

But if it be hazardous to deduce the date of the second law from Appian's text as we have it, there is evidence, not I think often cited, which suggests the year 118 as a suitable context for the law. This was the year when Narbo Martius was founded

⁴³ It is thus plausible that Appian means to date the third law to 119-18. If this could be proved, I should still maintain that Thorius is not to be associated with any legislation as early as 121-18, nor could the Lex Agraria then be the Lex Thoria—the law of 111 would allude to rent only as a confirmation of an existing situation incidentally to the process of transferring the land in question to private ownership. Cicero's description could not refer to this. Thorius would have either to propose a new law imposing a rent, or repeal some unknown law which imposed one (the latter being D'Arms' view). This reconstruction does no violence to the evidence, and I regard it as the only likely alternative to my own.

⁴⁴ Broughton, *op. cit.*, p. 542 also appears to make this point, but something is amiss with the structure of his sentence!

against the wishes of the senatorial right-wing, thanks to the advocacy of the young L. Crassus. Though he became more "senatorial" in sympathy as he grew older, he was never an extremist. The second law of Appian, if I interpret the political situation correctly, fits in a period when the extremist passions of 133-21 were spent, and greater equilibrium existed, partly perhaps because of the emergence of a stabilising element in the shape of a more clearly defined and self-conscious Equestrian Order. But we know too little to assert that the year 118 is more suitable than others in this decade for the passing of Appian's second law.

(iii) I have agreed with those who hold that the φόροι imposed by Appian's second law and abolished by the third were identical with the rent removed by Thorius and referred to in the extant Lex Agraria. What were these rents? The most natural interpretation of Appian's words τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι is that the law imposed rent on land in excess of 500 iugera retained by the possessores on the abolition of the commission, as a *quid pro quo* for the abolition. These rents may have been substantial in amount, since they were used ἐς διανομὰς. But although we should not underestimate the significance of these charges and the opposition they could have aroused (sufficient, in my view, to colour later views of the legislation as a whole), we need not follow D'Arms when he argues that the wealthy would not have tolerated such exactions for more than a short time, and that therefore their abolition must have followed closely on their institution, and cannot have waited till 111, i.e. Appian's rent-abolishing third law cannot be the Lex Agraria of 111. The wealthy are often docile in the face of fiscal depredations, especially if the only alternative is a resort to the methods of a Nasica or Opimius.

The view that the rent paid under the second law was charged on the excess over 500 iugera is obligatory on those who hold that the effect of Ti. Gracchus' legislation was to enforce the payment of rent on the first 500 iugera from 133. This conclusion is reached by equating Appian's statement (*B.C.*, I, 11, 5) that Ti. Gracchus offered freedom from rent on land retained, as a μισθός for improvements effected on land resumed, with Plutarch's vague allusion (*Ti. Gracch.*, 9) to a τιμή, and accept-

ing Plutarch's further statement that Gracchus, exasperated by recalcitrant opposition, later withdrew this concession—a point on which Appian is totally silent. But (i) it is of course not certain that Plutarch and Appian were referring to the same thing. Both accounts might be true, and we should not then accuse Appian of a significant omission.⁴⁵ (ii) Perhaps Plutarch made a mistake. Fraccaro⁴⁶ has produced arguments for doubting his account. I believe it possible that Plutarch, or an intermediate source, mistook some allusion to *μισθός* or *τιμή* of the kind Appian mentions as referring to actual compensation-payments, and finding no trace of these in the law as passed, deduced therefrom the whole idea of a change of plan—an idea which would appeal to the moralist in Plutarch, but which was perhaps based on a misapprehension. It follows from either view that Gracchus' abolition of rent remained unaffected by the troubles associated with the passage of the law.

This opens up the possibility that the second law of Appian actually reimposed rents on the 500 *iugera*, but perhaps the possibility is hardly more than theoretical. It departs from the more natural interpretation of *τὴν γῆν* and *ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς* in I, 27 as referring to land technically available for allotment and therefore surplus to the 500 *iugera*. Further Appian's account of the terms of Gracchus' law, which this view accepts as his last word, suggests full legal ownership of the 500 *iugera*. This could hardly have been rescinded by anyone less radical than the Gracchi.

Note B. App. Claudius in *De Orat.*, II, 283.

Broughton⁴⁷ has attempted to reinforce D'Arms arguments for a late date for Thorius by asserting that the Appius in this passage (cited above) must be either the cos. 143, died 130, or the cos. 79. The former being irrelevant, it must be the latter, and the discussion in the Senate here alluded to falls not long before the dramatic date of the dialogue, 91. The description of Appius as *ille maior* must be regarded as an anachronistic style of reference made from Cicero's own point of view.

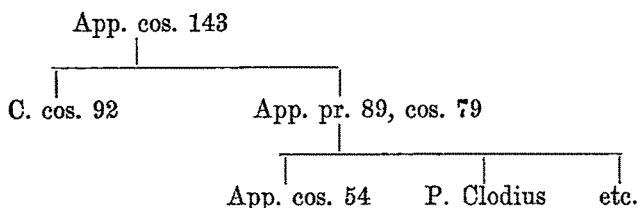
⁴⁵ My attention was drawn to this by Mr. Russell Meiggs, to whose searching and helpful criticisms of earlier drafts of this paper I am immeasurably indebted.

⁴⁶ *Studi sull' età dei Gracchi* (Città di Castello, 1914), pp. 96-8.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 542.

But first, it is quite uncertain that Cicero is referring to discussion on the Thorian bill before it became law. D'Arms himself, as we have seen, assumes an appeal to the Senate under the terms of the law, so, logically, he is not concerned to date the debate in which Appius took part: it could not help to date the passage of the law (except as *terminus ante quem*).

Secondly, the argument is based on a stemma for the Claudii Pulchri for this period which, though commanding much acceptance,⁴⁸ cannot be regarded as certain. It is as follows:—



This is extremely economical compared with other attempts, but as I show below, the economy puts some strain on the evidence. Even if it is correct, the son of the cos. 143 could have taken part in a debate in the Senate *ca.* 111 on the Lex Thorina at the time of its passing, or subsequently.⁴⁹

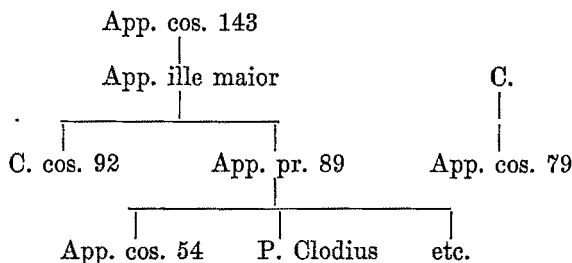
But the evidence for the Claudii in this period merits brief reconsideration. We have to accommodate the following: (a) App. cos. 143, (b) C. App. f. cos. 92 (*Verr.* II, 2, 202), uncle of P. Clodius (*Har. Resp.*, 26), (c) App. App. f. praetor 89, father of Clodius, (d) App. C. f. cos. 79 (following MSS of *Pro Planc.*, 51), (e) *ille maior* Appius, in the Senate presumably between

⁴⁸ Cf. Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* (Berlin, 1899—), II, pp. 155 ff.: implicit in *R.-E.*, s. v. Claudius, nos. 295-7, 302 (Münzer).

⁴⁹ Münzer (*Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* [Stuttgart, 1920], p. 304) argued that the cos. 79 was the son of the cos. 143 by a second marriage, since it is unlikely that he reached high rank late in life. But the assumption that members of the *nobilitas* were guaranteed a smooth and punctual progress to a consulship is open to many objections: here it is enough that, if Münzer's own simplified stemma is correct, this Claudius certainly proceeded but slowly. As we shall see, it requires us to believe that he failed at the aedilician elections, and later redeemed that failure; eventually praetor, he had to wait ten years for his consulship, largely on account of the political situation of the intervening years. He died in 76, conceivably of old age. We need postulate no second wife to account for the long gap between his consulship and that of his presumed "father," the cos. 143.

121 and 95, and presumably to be distinguished from Appius iste (probably the cos. 79) in *De Orat.*, II, 246.

If we assume that *ille maior* was the father of the cos. 92, we get something like:—



The first step in producing the simplified stemma is to identify the App. pr. 89 with the cos. 79. The evidence that the latter's father was Gaius is disposed of by emending the text of *Pro Plancio*—*vivo patre suo, potentissimo et clarissimo cive, C. Claudio* becomes *vivo fratre*, etc.⁵⁰ We also ignore *ille maior*, or with Broughton assume an anachronism in *De Orat.* and identify with the cos. 79 and then make the cos. 143 father of C. cos. 92 and App. pr. 89, cos. 79.

But the simplicity is bought at a price. (i) Although the emendation in *Pro Plancio* has won acceptance on prosopographical grounds, the resultant sense is somewhat unlikely—the Loeb edition has tried to smooth things over by mistranslating. (ii) We are also required to believe that the App. who failed to achieve election as aedile (*Pro Planc.*, *loc. cit.*) and later became consul (79) is identifiable with Clodius' father, pr. 89, who as aedile celebrated the Megalesia (*Har. Resp.*, *loc. cit.*), i. e. he was successful at a later election. This conjecture was known to George Long, who observed with for once justified asperity: "This is very poor." It is indeed difficult to believe that Cicero can be interpreted thus.

Without pursuing the matter further, it is enough to have shown that the shorter stemma is deceptive in its neatness, and that there may in fact have been between the consuls of 143

⁵⁰ Borghessi, *Oeuvres*, II, p. 178. Cf. with the language of *Pro Plancio*, Cic., *Brutus*, 166: (C. Claudius cos. 92) *propter summam nobilitatem et potentiam magnus erat*—perhaps the strongest argument for the emendation, but hardly decisive.

and 130 and those of 92 and 79 a generation of Claudii which did not achieve a consulship. The 19th-century commentators on *De Orat.* such as Piderit and Wilkins seem to be right in distinguishing the Appius *ille maior* of the Lex Thoria passage from the Appius *iste* of II, 246. This avoids the necessity of postulating an anachronism in the *De Oratore*. Such anachronism cannot perhaps be ruled out, but Hirzel⁵¹ in discussing the matter adduces only one plausible instance—*habuit* in I, 117; and even here the text is doubtful, some MSS reading *habet*.

It would be natural to suppose that *ille maior* flourished in the last two decades of the first century,⁵² a time when the main strength of optimate support might well have been behind candidates less volatile in their political loyalties than the Claudii could produce. After all, the consul of 143, perhaps the father of *ille maior*, had been progressive enough to support the legislation of Ti. Gracchus, at least in its initial stages.

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⁵¹ *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), I, p. 485.

⁵² The MSS of *De Orat.*, II, 284 vary between Lucilius and Lucullus as the victim of Claudius' witticism. The former is generally preferred. If this is correct, and the reference is, as seems not unlikely, to the satirist, his death in 102 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the debate. If it is implied that he was actually present at the debate, his retirement from Rome (ca. 106), would also have to be taken into account. The elder Lucullus was praetor 104 and went into exile in 100, so that again we have a likely date in the last decade of the century.

THE ORIGINS AND SURVIVAL OF A LATIN NEGATIVE PATTERN.

Every period of Latin literature offers examples of the itemizing or strengthening of general introductory negatives by subjoined elements introduced by two or more *neque*'s. Compare Cicero, *Sen.*, 57: *agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius*. This pattern is interesting and important not only as a feature of syntax and style but also as one of the points of relationship between Greek and Latin.

I

First to be determined is whether the pattern was of Latin origin or was borrowed from the Greek: a standard Latin grammar calls attention to the similar usage of Greek;¹ and both from one published statement,² and from the principle followed in restoring one very corrupt Latin inscription,³ it can be inferred that some scholars consider this usage normal or original in Greek but abnormal or at least derived in Latin.

Since the form of the Latin pattern is subject to a restriction of which the Greek writers knew nothing, it is misleading for

¹ M. Leumann-J. B. Hofmann, *Stolz-Schmalz Lat. Gramm.*⁵ (Munich, 1928), p. 832.

² R. G. Kent, Loeb edit. of Varr., *L. L.*, I, p. 344, on the instance of this pattern used by Pacuvius: "the double negative is . . . intensifying, as in Greek . . . instead of canceling as is regular in Latin." Of the early Latin *neque* . . . *haud* combination, whose resemblance to our pattern will be explained below, R. W. Moore, *Comparative Greek and Latin Syntax* (London, 1934), p. 171, without apparent good reason writes, "possibly imitated from the Greek."

³ E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb, 1935-40), IV, pp. 293 ff. The inscription is "Part of a Treaty of Alliance between Rome and Callatis on the west coast of the Black Sea." The restoration accepted is that of A. Passerini, *Athenaeum*, N.S. XIII (1935), pp. 57-72, who on the analogy of the Greek pattern used in similar treaties restores:

[neue hostes neque armis neque plequ[n]ia adioua[n]to . . .

To introduce our pattern by *neue* is good archaic Latin legal idiom, but it is begging the question to justify restoring the pattern in a Latin document by the fact that the Greeks used a comparable pattern.

Hofmann⁴ to imply the practical identity of Latin usage to Greek by comparing to the Latin pattern *der auch im Griechischen ganz geläufige Fall, dass eine allgemeine Negation in ihre Teile zerlegt wird*. In ancient Latin the general negative precedes the disjunctives; but in ancient Greek the relative order of general and disjunctive negatives is absolutely immaterial, and a compound general negative may follow the disjunctives.⁵ The disjunctives precede the general negative at least as early as Semonides of Amorgus (7, 22 f.):

οὔτε γὰρ κακόν
οὔτ' ἐσθλὸν οὐδὲν οἶδε τοιαύτη γυνή.

In twenty public orations of Demosthenes (1-11, 13-21), there are fifty-five instances of the preceding general negative and nine instances of the preceding disjunctive negatives.

As for early Latin, we note first that with one exception the instances in the plays of Plautus show the unmodified typical Latin word order.⁶ The one exceptional passage (*Trin.*, 281 f.) seems to begin with one general negative and end with another: *nolo ego cum improbis te uiris, gnate mi, neque in uia neque in foro nec ullum sermonem exsequi*. Exactly the same pattern is citable from the Greek of Pherecrates (*C. A. F.*, I, p. 147): οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότ' οὔτε Μάνης οὔτε Σηκίς οὐδὲν / δοῦλος.⁷ But Plautus' usage here can and will be explained otherwise than as a Grecism.

The fragments of Pacuvius provide one example of our pattern, with the familiar Latin order;⁸ and this same order appears in the seven instances in Terence,⁹ as well as in the tantalizing example in the earliest document of Latin prose, the *Epistula Senatus ad Teuranos de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B. C. (line 12), which contains the indicated unchallenged restoration of *neque*:

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 832.

⁵ H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York, 1920), pp. 628 f.

⁶ *Capt.*, 76, 405; *Curc.*, 402; *Epid.*, 110; *Most.*, 263, 451; *Stich.*, 256; *Trin.*, 134; *Truc.*, 571.

⁷ Also cf. Demosth., 12, 161 (*Ep. Philippi*).

⁸ Ap. Varro, *L. L.*, VII, 91; Ribbeck, *T. R. F.*³, frg. 26, p. 148.

⁹ *An.*, 563; *Haut.*, 140, 976; *Eun.*, 147, 305, 722; *Ad.*, 291.

neue magistratum neue pro magistratu[d], neque uirum
[neque mul]ierem quiquam fecise uelet.¹⁰

Here we pass to the general likelihood of borrowing from Greek, regardless of word order, for the case for Greek influence upon the syntax of this last passage might well be built upon the possibility of Greek influence upon Latin legal language. We recall the familiar accounts of Roman consulting of Greek sources preparatory to composing the laws of the Twelve Tables,¹¹ and the patent possibility of Greek influence from Magna Graecia.

There is evidence that Roman scholars themselves were interested in the negative usage of the Twelve Tables (on which the extant fragments of the Twelve Tables throw no light); for the *Digest* (L, 16, 237) contains a pertinent statement by Gaius, who claims support from Servius Sulpicius Rufus: *duobus negatiuis uerbis quasi permittit Lex magis quam prohibuit: idque etiam Seruius animaduertit*. Of course this statement may simply mean that the Twelve Tables contain nothing like Petronius' (*Sat.*, 42, 7) *neminem nihil boni facere oportet*. But it is also possible that there were in the Twelve Tables no instances of the pattern under discussion, so that this possible lodgment for a pattern imported from Greek is eliminated.

Stylistic criticism of early Latin prose in general and the *Ep. de Bacch.* in particular impliedly discounts the influence of Greek. A. Meillet concludes that the language of serious life fixed in the third century B. C. was that of the conservative landed proprietors, whose vocabulary was predominately Latin;¹² and he says¹³ of the Twelve Tables: *On y voit que le*

¹⁰ The restoration was first published by M. Aegyptus in his *Senatus-consulti de Bacch.* . . . *Explicatio* (Naples, 1729). It was commended by Th. Mommsen in *C. I. L.*¹, I, 196: . . . *neque potuerunt ibi alia supplementa excogitari*.

The pertinent parallel passages in Livy, XXXIX, are 14, 6-7, . . . *iubent; sacerdotes eorum sacrorum, seu uiri seu feminae essent* . . . *conquiri*; and 18, 9, . . . *ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne . . . neu . . . neu quis magister sacrorum aut sacerdos esset*.

E. Fraenkel, *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), pp. 368-96, argues that lines 1-21 of the *Ep. de Bacch.*, which include the passage interesting to us, are an exact copy of a portion of the original letter approved by the Senate.

¹¹ Cic., *Leg.*, II, 59; Dion., *Hal.*, X, 57; Strab., XIV, 1, 25; Plin., *H. N.*, III, 21.

¹² *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*⁵ (Paris, 1948), p. 126. .

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

droit avait des formes linguistiques arrêtées. . . . He speaks similarly¹⁴ of the language of the *Ep. de Bacch.*: *On observe ici un usage linguistique fixé, mené à maturité grâce à un emploi prolongé dans la langue officielle.*

There is, then, presumptive evidence that our negative pattern did not occur in the earliest Roman legal documents, since outside the *Ep. de Bacch.* examples introduced by *ne* or *neue* are found only in Cicero's *Leg.* (II, 67; III, 11). But since Cicero (*Leg.*, II, 18) explains that the archaic legal style which he employs is not of so ancient stamp as that of the Twelve Tables, but is archaic in comparison with the idiom of his own day, it is possible that the *ne-* or *neue-*introduced pattern came into Roman legal language after the time of the Twelve Tables but before the time of the *Ep. de Bacch.*

The usage of Cato bears on the likelihood of Greek influence, for our pattern is found not only in one of his orations, where there are two instances in the same paragraph,¹⁵ but also in his *Agr.*:¹⁶ *nulla res tam bene purgabit, neque elleborum neque scamonium.*¹⁷ Whatever may be the possibility of Greek influence on the style of Cato's orations, a heavy burden of proof rests on anyone maintaining that Cato here turned a stylistic Grecism to use in his Roman farmer's handbook, written in "the lapidary style of the old inscriptions."¹⁸

The foregoing examples of itemized negation citable from early Latin can be laid to Greek influence only on the *a priori* assumption that any Latin usage similar to the Greek must

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁵ *Ap. Fronto*, II, p. 44, Loeb = Malcovati, *O. R. F.*, p. 198.

¹⁶ 157, 12.

¹⁷ A most thorough study of interpolations in Cato's *Agr.* was made by P. Weise, *Quaestionum Caton. Capita V* (Göttingen diss., 1886), quoted and discussed *passim* by G. Goetz in his preface to the latest Teubner edit. of the *Agr.* (1923). Weise (*op. cit.*, pp. 112 and 170) finds both original and interpolated material in *Agr.* 157, from which this instance of our pattern is quoted. The two instances of this pattern in Cato's speeches make it seem quite likely that the sentence containing the pattern in *Agr.*, 157 is genuine.

¹⁸ H. A. Strong and A. Y. Campbell, *Language and Character of the Roman People*, tr. from the German of O. Weise (London, 1909), p. 72.

The conclusion of R. Till, *Die Sprache Catos*, *Philol.*, Suppl. XXVIII, 2 (1935), p. 69, is that *Syntaktische Graecismen lassen sich kaum finden.*

come from the Greek. They show that the pattern was very early used in literary, legal, and didactic language, with a design consistently different from that of the Greek pattern. But Roman literary men were acquainted with the Greek pattern, and there are instances in which Latin authors used their pattern after a Greek original.

Epicurus (*apud* Diog. Laert., X, 39-40) provides the model for Lucretius, I, 419-20 . . . 445-8: τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ <σώματα καὶ τόπος> . . . παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐθὲν οὐδ' ¹⁹ ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναται οὔτε περιληπτικῶς οὔτε ἀναλόγως τοῖς περιληπτοῖς. . . .

omnis ut est igitur per se natura duabus
constitit in rebus; nam corpora sunt et inane.

.

ergo praeter inane et corpora tertia per se
nulla potest rerum in numero natura relinqui. . . .

And Plato, *Apol.*, 41 D is translated by Cicero in *Tusc.*, I, 99:
. . . οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι . . .
*nec enim cuiquam bono mali quicquam evenire potest nec uiuo
nec mortuo.*

Both Lucretius and Cicero recognized the strengthening of general negatives before the occurrence of the disjunctives to be peculiarly Greek: i. e., Epicurus strengthens οὐθὲν by οὐδέ; Plato, οὐκ by οὐδέν. Lucretius and Cicero translated the expressions of their Greek originals as literally as Latin idiom would allow, shunning peculiarities of Greek idiom.

What is apparently a rendering by Livy (XXXVII, 53, 20) of a passage in Polybius (XXII, 2-4) shows how a Latin writer, having found in his source the basic Greek pattern of general negative strengthened by compound negative, with no disjunctives involved, rendered this Greek idiom skillfully and forcefully—though quite freely—by the Latin pattern familiar to him, combined with the regular Latin cancellation of *nulli* by *non*: περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας καὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀπλῶς οὐδέπορ' ἂν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκχωρήσαιμι κατὰ δύναμιν. *ego nulli omnium neque populorum neque regum, quos in magno honore habetis, non ausim me comparare.*

¹⁹ The text is that of Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887). He reads οὐδ' here for the first οὐτε of the MSS. The text of the passage quoted by H. A. J. Munro, ed.⁴ of *Lucr.* (London, 1886), II, p. 69 omits this important negative altogether.

But although Latin authors in this respect carefully eschew Greek peculiarities, the fact that the Greek pattern in many cases accidentally coincided in design with the familiar Latin pattern, may have increased in the eyes of some Latin authors the prestige of their native Latin pattern and have influenced them to greater use of it.

II

Although by the Classical Period our negative pattern had won a secure place in formal writing denied to pleonastic negation in general, there is evidence that this pattern originated in the natural piling up of negatives to strengthen a negative idea. We may use an analogy drawn from English. That the English pattern *negative: neither . . . nor* is now much more rarely used than is *negative: either . . . or* the Oxford *New English Dictionary* attests. Yet, in an American country newspaper I recently read the following: "They (*sc.* sports) are not pleasure, neither for the coach nor for the team." We may be sure that the writer of this sentence gave no thought to the relative idiomatic characters of patterns *negative: neither . . . nor* and *negative: either . . . or* in contemporary English, but instead was influenced by negative *not* to continue with *neither . . . nor*. In early Latin there are a number of negative-packed passages in which our negative pattern plays a part not significantly different from that of the other negatives except that, at most, it occasionally concludes the negative complex with emphasis.

Half of the ten instances of the type in Plautus belong here, and these two are typical: *me hic ualere et . . . / . . . inter nos fuisse ingenio hau discordabili. / neque te commeruisse culpam (neque me aduersatum tibi) / / neque me umquam deseruisse te neque factis neque fide (Capt., 401-5); nolo ego cum improbis te uiris, gnate mi, / neque in uia neque in foro necullum sermonem exsequi (Trin., 281 f.).*²⁰

It is probable that in such passages the negative pattern is simply an extension of normal pleonastic negation, seen still further extended in the last passage quoted (*Trin.*, 282) where the pattern seems to be strengthened by *necullum*. Here Bergk read *necullum* (= *nullum*) for the *nequ. ullum* of the Ambro-

²⁰ The other pertinent Plautine passages are: *Curo.*, 402 f.; *Stich.*, 256 f.; *Trin.*, 133-5.

sian and the *ullum* of the Palatine MS. But I follow Löfstedt²¹ in reading *nec ullum*, on the ground that there is no reason for regarding *nec ullum* as a compound in the face of the MS evidence. The final *nec* of the passage, coming just before *ullum*, appears to be a part of a pattern of spontaneous pleonastic negation: the preceding disjunctive *neque*'s have produced one more of their kind, to be regarded as equivalent to either *non* or *ne* . . . *quidem*. We need not go to Greek for explanation of the negative usage here.

A firmer impression that our pattern is a mere partner in a protracted process of emphasizing negation is conveyed by the *Ep. de Bacch.*, 7-14; for since lines 7-11 contain ten negatives, the reader feels that by the time the writer has reached line 12, discussed above, he is so used to writing negatives that the negative disjunctives *neque* . . . *neque* come naturally to his mind. Then the negative momentum is maintained by five more negatives in lines 13 and 14.

The impression of naturalness in the piling up of negatives in the *Ep. de Bacch.* and in three of the already mentioned Plautine passages (*Capt.*, 405; *Curc.*, 402; *Trin.*, 133) is confirmed by the introduction of the disjunctives by *neue* . . . *neue* in the *Ep. de Bacch.* and by *neque* in the Plautine passages. I am prepared to demonstrate in another article that such use of these conjunctions as general negatives to introduce our pattern is possibly an archaism. It seems that earlier writers added *neque* . . . *neque* to an introductory *neque* or *neue* with no thought that *neque* and *neue*, being of conjunctive character, were not suitable for use as general introductory negatives, but that later writers had their scruples against such usage. Greek writers, from Homer on down, used οὐδέ as an introductory negative; but the contrasting practice of most Latin writers may constitute additional evidence of the independent development of the negative pattern in Latin.

Similarly W. F. J. Knight²² sees Vergil using a standard form of our pattern as an important part of a passage designed to give an early Latin flavor: "I would suggest, however, that Vergil retained some contact with earlier Latin. . . . For Vergil allowed, for instance, personalities with proper names to lead

²¹ *Syntactica*² (Lund, 1942), I, p. 339.

²² "Repetitive Style in Virgil," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXII (1941), p. 219.

and control his creation by repetition . . .; and in this way too Vergil used other words, often small words such as pronouns and negatives, but also sometimes verbs and nouns." One of the passages Knight adduces, *Ecl.*, 4, 50-63, displays all the mentioned forms of repetition. Our pattern appears in vss. 55 f., and to balance it there is repetition of the same negative words in a different pattern in vss. 62 f. (which I do not quote):

aspice . . .
aspice . . .
non me carminibus uincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
nec Linus . . .
Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice uictum.

Knight's analysis makes the origin of our pattern in Latin itself seem even likelier.

Be this as it may, the rhetorical use of our pattern in the following passage from the literature of the Golden and Silver Ages clearly has precedents in the pleonasm of early Latin. In each of the passages the pattern is part of an elaborate negative complex: in the first it occurs in two successive sentences; the second it closes with a rhetorical flourish. Nepos, *Att.*, 6, 2-4, begins with five negatives in six Teubner lines, followed by *nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est. neminem neque suo nomine neque subscribens accusauit*; then we have in conclusion four negatives in six lines. In Seneca, *Q. Nat.*, IV, praef., 1, 16, seven negatives in five lines precede *nihil indecorum nec bono nec uiro feci*.

Finally, my conviction that this pattern is indigenous to Latin is strengthened by an analogy drawn from the one instance we have of the pattern in reverse, in which the general negative follows the disjunctives. In a passage of Petronius (*Sat.*, 58, 5) Hermeros, Trimalchio's freedman friend, belabors the boy Giton: *nec sursum nec deorsum non cresco, nisi dominum tuum in rutae folium non conieci*. "I will not grow an inch up or down until I have put your master's head in a nettle bed" (Loeb).

One possible explanation of the negative usage here is that Petronius makes Hermeros in his jargon mix Greek and Latin constructions (Greek would require a compound negative where

Hermeros uses his first *non*).²³ But it is likelier that our standard negative pattern is not the take-off here, and that Hermeros uses *nec . . . nec* in anticipation of *non* in the same way that other writers of informal Latin use a single *neque*; e. g., Terence, *Haut.*, 64: *meliozem agrum neque preti minoris nemo habet*.²⁴

Having noted the pleonastic *non* in the second clause of Hermeros' speech, we reflect that, if this peculiar reverse pattern arose naturally here in a passage also containing the pleonastic *non*, it is probable that the standard pattern also developed as a phase of ordinary pleonastic negation.

III

Is there evidence that one of the two types of the Latin pattern we are studying, epexegetic (in which the disjunctives are appended to a syntactically complete expression) and intra-colonic, developed before the other? Consider examples of the two from Plautus, who, like Cato, shows no marked preference for one over the other: epexegetic, *non istanc aetatem oportet pigmentum ullum attingere, / neque cerussam neque Melinam neque aliam offuciam* (*Most.*, 263 f.); intra-colonic, *nolo ego cum improbis te uiris, gnate mi, / neque in uia neque in foro nec* (after Löfstedt, as explained above) *ullum sermonem exsequi* (*Trin.*, 281 f.).

I have shown elsewhere²⁵ that Terence uses the epexegetic type exclusively in his seven instances of the pattern, and that the epexegetic type resembles the early Latin combination *neque . . . haud*, which is always so separated by a pronoun as to give the effect of virtual anacoluthon: Terence, *An.*, 205, *neque tu haud dicas tibi non praedictum*, "Nor you, don't say you have not been warned."

²³ Cf. W. Waters, ed. of *Cen. Trim.* (New York, 1902), p. 135: ". . . Hermeros speaks in anger and shows that he is a Greek by his use of negatives."

²⁴ The explanation of D. Norberg, *Beiträge zur spätlat. Synt.* (Uppsala, 1944), p. 107.

For colloquialism with a vengeance cf. Plaut., *Curc.*, 579 f.: ". . . *ego tua magnifica uerba neque istas tuas magnas minas / non pluris facio quam ancillam meam quae latrinam lauat*."

²⁵ "A Terentian Pattern of Negation," *C.W.*, XLVIII (1955), pp. 203-5.

A similar epexegetic negative pattern consists in delaying to use either the *nisi* which combines with a preceding *non* to mean "only," or the *neque*'s or *neue*'s which are in some passages coordinate with *non nisi*.

Cf. Cato, *Agr.*, 37, 4: *omnino caueto nequam materiem doles neu caedas neu tangas, si potes, nisi siccam neu gelidam neu rorulentam*. "Above all things, do not work, or fell, or, if you can avoid it, even touch timber which is wet, or frosted, or covered with dew" (Loeb). But this translation seems to me too smooth; for the interval separating *nequam materiem* from *nisi siccam* is so comparatively long that we naturally pause at *siccam* and are surprised to confront the last two *neu*'s with their adjectives. I interpret the effect thus: "By all means see to it, if you can, that you neither hew, nor cut, nor even touch any timber unless it's dry—and none that's frosty or dewy, either." A passage from the Elder Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIII, 48, shows how this pattern *non* (...) *nisi* (...) *neque* ... *neque* may be in one place [1] crisp and compressed; in another [2], separated by a parenthetical element. Pliny is discussing the use of wine as a medicine:

certum est [1] non dandum in febris nisi ueteribus aegris nec nisi declinante morbo, in acutis uero periculis [2] nullis nisi qui manifestas remissiones habeant et has noctu potius—dimidia enim pars periculi est noctu, hoc est spe somni bibentibus—nec a partu abortiue nec a libidine aegrotantibus, nec in capitis doloribus . . . (ten more *nec*'s follow).

Note the combination of epexegetic types in Cicero, *Leg.*, II, 19: *separatim nemo habessit deos neue novos neue aduenas nisi publice adscitos*. The Loeb translation makes the structure of the original very clear: "No one shall have gods to himself, either new gods or alien gods, unless recognized by the state." From this combination of the two patterns that combination found in Livy, III, 14, 5 differs in that the example of the pattern involving *neque*'s is of the intra-colonic type: . . . *numquam ulli neque publice neque priuatim truces esse, nisi cum de lege agi coeptum esset*.

I would not overemphasize the difference between the two types of the Latin pattern we set out to study, for in some passages only one type can be used unless the sentence is recast. Compare *Capt.*, 76, *quos numquam quisquam neque uocat neque*

inuocat, which could not be made epexegetic by a change of word order; and *Most.*, 451 f., *natus nemo in aedibus/ seruat neque qui recludat neque [qui] respondeat*, which could be made of the intra-colonic type only by an impossibly awkward placing of *seruat* at the end of the sentence. But the similarity between the epexegetic type and the early Latin pattern *neque . . . haud*, together with the rambling form which the *non . . . nisi* combination sometimes assumes, makes the epexegetic type seem the more primitive.

IV

But why did our pattern, having originated in the pleonasm of early Latin, persist in the usage of writers of formal Latin after pleonastic negation in general had lost favor? Certainly Greek usage may have exerted some influence. Also, disjunctive negatives combine striking symmetry with force in strengthening the introductory negative. From English we may compare a passage occurring early in *The Reply to Hayne* of Daniel Webster, who certainly would not have said in a formal oration, "We have not got nothing," but who writes:

There is nothing here, sir, which gives me the slightest uneasiness; neither fear, nor anger, nor that which is sometimes more troublesome than either—the consciousness of having been in the wrong. There is nothing, either originating here, or now received here by the gentleman's shot.

The observation that in Webster's first sentence the disjunctives are separated from the general negation by an intervening adjective clause, whereas the general negative of the second sentence is immediately followed by disjunctive positive conjunctions, suggests that Webster felt implicitly that in this particular passage the disjunctives *neither . . . nor . . . nor* could more appropriately carry on a general negative by occurring at some distance from it, where the force of the general negation really needed renewing.²⁶

²⁶ I well realize that there are examples of this English pattern in which the sequence *neither . . . nor* is separated from the introductory negative by no parenthetical element: see above, p. 401, and cf. from the Oxford N.E.D., "not' tying himself to follow neither Plato nor Aristotle." I am not saying that the English pattern is regularly epexegetic, but rather explaining why Webster used the epexegetic type in this particular passage.

As such epexegetic strengthening seems to have been used naturally by a speaker of English, so also we have seen that the pattern we are studying, especially in its epexegetic form, was apparently cut from the domestic negative cloth of early Latin. The essential symmetry of the pattern, heightened when it was included within a colon, may have been the quality which helped it to survive after pattern *neque . . . haud* and sundry other forms of pleonastic negation lost favor in the literary idiom.

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NOTES ON DIODORUS.

(Continued from p. 281.)

V. Gnaeus or Lucius Manlius? (XXIX, 13)

Chapters 11-13 of Book XXIX, all from the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, are concerned with the settlement of Asian affairs in 188 B. C. The decisions of the Commission of Ten, handed down at Apamea, are briefly outlined at the end of chap. 11, though since the earlier part of this fragment refers to events at Rome in 189 B. C. the passage has probably suffered editorial condensation. Chapter 12 is securely dated to the consular year 188 B. C. by the designation of Cn. Manlius (Vulso) as *pro-consul* (ἀνθύπατος); the particular episode, however, of his dealings with the Galatians cannot be placed more exactly, but may correspond to the summary indications of Livy, XXXVIII, 40, 1-2 and Polybius, XXI, 45, 12, i. e. to the period of his journey north after the sessions at Apamea.

Chapter 13 reads as follows: "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παρελθὼν εἰς Λυκαονίαν τὸν προσοφειλόμενον σῖτον ἐκομίσαστο παρὰ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας φόρον ἐνιαυτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα.

On the face of it ὁ αὐτός would seem to refer to Gnaeus, and it was so interpreted by Dindorf in the *Argumenta Librorum* to his Teubner edition and, apparently, by Broughton (*Magistrates*, I, pp. 360, 366). Yet this is far from certain, and a journey into Lycaonia is not elsewhere attested for the proconsul, who had already received the 2500 talents payable in advance (Polybius, XXI, 40, 8; Livy, XXXVIII, 37), and who apparently proceeded north *immediately* from Apamea. The statement *might*, however, be true of his brother Lucius, of whom we know that he was sent to Syria to exact the oath from Antiochus (Polybius, XXI, 43), but of whose further movements we are not informed. It is not unlikely that he was also delegated, then or shortly thereafter, to collect the first of the twelve annual payments agreed upon.

Actually, of course, there is no real assurance that ὁ αὐτός refers to either Manlius: if the words stood in the bit of text being copied, they may have been transcribed without reference

to the preceding passage. So in XXXVII, 27 the δ $\delta\epsilon$ that introduces § 2 cannot refer to the Aquilius of § 1, though here there is not even a Ὅτι to indicate the start of a fresh passage. A still clearer lapse occurs at XIX, 25, 4, where the excerptor of the collection *De Sententiis* credits a certain fable to Peucestes, whereas in our complete text it is told by Eumenes. Yet Peucestes was last mentioned in XIX, 24, 6, half a page above—and then in a passage that the excerptor did not copy out.

Nevertheless, despite the possibility of such gross errors, it is simplest to assume that the excerptor wrote δ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ here because he saw the name of Manlius—a Manlius—in the text nearby. If so, it seems more likely that the Manlius concerned was Lucius rather than his brother.

VI. Ptolemy the "Elder" (XXXIV/XXXV, 20)

This brief fragment opens with the words: $\text{Ὅτι ἀποσταλὲς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἡγέλοχος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μαρσύαν τὸν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως αὐτόν τε ἐξώγησε κτλ.}$ It goes on to record the complete victory of Hegelochos, and the unexpected mercy shown to Marsyas by Ptolemy, who had experienced a change of heart and was now eager to conciliate the populace.

Neither Hegelochos nor Marsyas is otherwise known, but presumably on the basis of the fragment's position in the collection *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Niese¹⁶ assigned it to *ca.* 128-125 B. C. "Ptolemy" would then be Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, generally known as Physcon, and the events would be part of the sequel to the open conflict between Physcon and Cleopatra II that began some years earlier, *ca.* 133/1, when Physcon was forced out of Alexandria and found refuge in Cyprus.

There is, however, one serious objection to this dating and identification: the designation of Ptolemy in the passage as the "Elder." Niese does not comment on this, though it seems both out of place and misleading. So long as Physcon's brother (Ptolemy VI Philometor) was alive and the two ruled their uneasy kingdom jointly it was frequently necessary to distinguish them as the "Elder" and the "Younger." But Philometor had died in 145, and it was he, in any case, who was the Elder and

¹⁶ *Gesch. d. griech. u. mak. Staaten*, III, p. 272. Dindorf's *Argumenta Librorum* to Diodorus had already assigned it to 127 B. C.

was regularly so designated by the historians, commonly by Diodorus himself. A pair of brothers did not again appear on the scene until after 116 B. C., in the following reign, when "Lathyrus" and Alexander I were sometimes distinguished in this way.

In the most recent study of the later Ptolemies, Otto and Bengtson¹⁷ take a bold way out of the difficulty by denying that the passage refers to Physcon at all, referring it instead to Soter II (Lathyrus). Specifically, they date the incident to either 110 or 108 B. C., and point to Diodorus, XXXIV/XXXV, 39a for a parallel to the designation of Lathyrus as the "Elder Ptolemy."¹⁸

This seems plausible enough, though to judge by the evidence Lathyrus had less cause to "repent" his past conduct than the notorious Physcon—unless, indeed, it was his undue subservience to his mother! In any case the proposal has found some measure of acceptance. So, for instance, in Peremans and Van t'Dack's *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (Louvain, 1950 . . .), whereas Hegelochos and Marsyas were in the first volume (Nos. 151 and 152) assigned to the period "145/16," i. e. to the reign of Physcon, in the second volume (1952) this is amended with the notation: "La date pourrait être précisée davantage 110 ou 108" (Nos. 2162 and 2166). But, in fact, the Otto-Bengtson proposal runs straight into another, and greater, difficulty than the one it seeks to eliminate. This is the position of the passage in the collection in which it occurs.

Of the four extant Constantinian anthologies of historical writings, one includes no passages from the completely preserved books of Diodorus, and another has too few to be perhaps indicative. Two others, however, the *De Virtutibus* (P) and the *De Sententiis* (V) contain ample material on which to determine the procedure regularly followed. It is evident that the excerptors went systematically through the assigned works, picking out the portions relevant to their several rubrics and copying these out *seriatim*, with such modifications and excisions as seemed to them suitable. I find only two sections from Diodorus

¹⁷ *Zur Geschichte d. Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, Abh. Münch., Phil.-hist. Kl., XVII (1938), pp. 100, 169-70.

¹⁸ Some inscriptions refer to him as *ὁ πρεσβύτερος υἱός*, e. g. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1531, 2037.

where the original order is disturbed, one in P and one in V,¹⁹ and in both cases the rearrangement is slight and might be justified on the excerptor's own "editorial" principles. In other authors some lapses may be noted, but on a random sampling I find none more serious than the placing of a passage of Herodotus, VII, 33, after two others from VII, 34-6 and VII, 39. Nowhere, certainly not in Diodorus, does there appear a dislocation as violent as that proposed by Otto and Bengtson. The general reliability of the order may be taken for granted, and in editing the fragments of books XXI-XL of Diodorus there is no single place where I found it necessary to disregard the order. On the contrary it is often an important, and sometimes the sole, criterion for dating the events, and on the few occasions that the order appears to be out of line with accepted chronology it generally appears either that the passage is retrospective (e. g. XXXIII, 3) or that Diodorus related certain events out of proper order, perhaps intentionally, perhaps because he was working from a faulty chronology.²⁰

Actually, a far less radical solution of the difficulty is at hand, though it may seem merely to be evading the issue. The offending title occurs in the opening clause of the passage, which, in greater or lesser degree, is regularly the work of the excerptor. From the nature of his work the excerptor was concerned, not with history as such, but with the historical *exemplum*. Having come to a passage he desired to copy, he was eager to get to it at once, with only so much preface as was barely essential to identify the situation or the characters. Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that the prefatory matter is occasionally ungrammatical, obscure, or even patently wrong: to the excerptor it was at best of secondary importance. Nor need we search out palaeographical grounds for the errors encountered, such as τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου in our passage—though doubtless had we the complete text this could often be done. In his preface the scribe was, much of the time, not copying, but composing, and the ordinary principles for scribal errors simply do not obtain.

¹⁹ In P, XI, 53, 2-3 is immediately followed by material (much modified) from 53, 2 *init.* In V, XVI, 37, 4 + 2, two sentences are given in reverse order.

²⁰ So his account of the Prusias-Nicomedes affair, to be dated in 149 B. C., comes after the events of 148 (XXXII, 19-21).

Viewed in this light, the proposed remedy of Otto and Bengtson seems unnecessary, unsound in principle, and unduly hazardous, and unless further evidence comes to light we may confidently restore Hegelochos²¹ and Marsyas to the reign of Physcon and the events of 127/6 B. C.

VII. Mithridates' Siege of Cyzicus (XXXVII, 22b)

The Constantinian collection *De Insidiis* was published in 1848,²² four years after the completion of the Didot Edition, in which Dindorf and Mueller had first printed the fragments of Diodorus in chronological sequence. Consequently when Dindorf prepared for the Teubner series his fourth and final edition of Diodorus, the fragments from this collection were for the most part fitted into the existing scheme as supplementary chapters (e. g. 22a) with little disturbance of the Didot numbering.

Fragments 32 and 33 of this collection concern, respectively, the death of Sertorius and the near capture of Mithridates at Cyzicus. Mueller dated them to 72 and 73 B. C., and in his note on the Sertorius fragment remarked: "Insere hunc locum sicuti sequens fragmentum post XXXVII, 22." Since Book XXXVII, however, relates the events of the years 91-88 B. C., this is clearly a slip (or misprint) for "XXXVIII, 22"—that is, at the end of XXXVIII/XXXIX. This not only fits the chronology (the last datable event in the book, chap. 21, being an incident referring to Spartacus), but chap. 22, 2 (from the *De Sententiis*) is evidently the original sentence that was adapted by the excerptor of the *De Insidiis* for his introduction to the Sertorius passage.

Through some quirk, however, Dindorf, in his Teubner edition, followed Mueller's directions to the letter and placed the Sertorius and Mithridates passages in Book XXXVII, as chapters 22a and 22b. In my forthcoming Loeb edition they will be placed in their proper position at the end of XXXVIII/XXXIX, though the Dindorf numbering, which has now become canonical, will be retained.

²¹ Whether Hegelochos should be identified with the Lochos of *O. G. I. S.*, 137-9, and 135 (= *Inscr. de Délos*, 1526), remains an open question, though the suggestion, originally put forth by Bouché-Leclercq, is attractive.

²² By C. A. L. Feder, at Darmstadt and, independently, in the same year by Mueller in Vol. II of his *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*

There is one point of chronology involved that has not perhaps been fully noted. Given the order of the fragments, the story of Mithridates at Cyzicus was evidently narrated after that of the death of Sertorius, which occurred in 72 B. C. The siege of Cyzicus is variously dated: Broughton (*Magistrates*, II, pp. 106-9) places it in the winter of 74/3 B. C.; Magie (*Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, pp. 1204-5, n. 5) in the winter of 73/2. For what it is worth the order of the material in Diodorus would support the latter of these two dates.

VIII. "The Revolt from the Temple" (XL, 2)

In 63 B. C. Pompey was waited upon at Damascus by the rival claimants to the Jewish kingship and by a delegation of leading Jews who wished to be quit of both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. In their address the latter group appealed to history, claiming that Rome itself had confirmed Jewish autonomy and the Jews' right to have as head of the state a High Priest rather than king. The relevant passage appears in the sole manuscript (V) as follows: καὶ ἀπεφάναντο τοὺς προγόνους ἑαυτῶν ἀφεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεπρεσβευκέναι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, καὶ παρειληφέναι τὴν προστασίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλευθέρων καὶ αὐτονόμων, οὐ βασιλέως χρηματίζοντος ἀλλ' ἀρχιερέως προεστηκότος τοῦ ἔθνους.

It is obvious that ἀφεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ is corrupt, that the conservative Jewish leaders would never have boasted, to support their case, that their ancestors had "revolted from the Temple." Dindorf, the first editor of V after Mai, accordingly proposed τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν (for ἑαυτῶν) προεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ: "their ancestors, being (or as) leaders of the Temple." It is this text that is found in his 1868 Teubner, still the standard edition for these fragments.

Meanwhile, however, Herwerden had recognized (in *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, published in 1860) that the corruption lay, not in the word ἀφεστηκότας, but in τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Assuming that the reference was to the great Jewish revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 B. C., he emended to read ἀφεστηκότας τοῦ Συρίου: "having revolted from the Syrian (king)." Boissvain, in his edition of the *Excerpta de Sententiis*, citing this emendation, corrects to τοῦ Σύρου.

Herwerden was essentially right, but he failed to realize that the embassy to the Romans cannot be dated so early. The first

embassy ever sent by the Jews to Rome was, according to the records, sent by Judas Maccabaeus²³ soon after the accession of Demetrius I, probably in 161 B. C. Some two decades later other embassies were sent by Jonathan and by Simon,²⁴ but it was the first embassy that seemed memorable, and almost certainly it is the one that is referred to in our passage. For, as a result of that embassy Rome—or at least the Roman Senate—concluded a treaty and thereby in effect recognized the independence and autonomy of the Jewish state. Whether, as claimed here, the Senate further committed itself on the form that state was to have is less certain, for the mere facts of the case would hardly have hampered orators speaking a hundred years later.

Herwerden's emendation is attractive and plausibly simple, and it can be justified regardless of which king and which revolt was specifically in the speaker's mind. Still, it is perhaps more likely that so famous an incident would have been identified with greater accuracy, and that the corruption conceals the name of the actual king. In that case we should read Δημητρίον for τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The clause would then correspond closely to the statement in Justin, XXXVI, 3, 9: *a Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt.*

One further emendation has been kindly suggested to me by Professor A. D. Nock, the addition of τοῦ before προσηγηκότος τοῦ ἔθνους at the end of the sentence quoted. This is certainly correct.

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²³ See I Macc. viii and Josephus, *Ant.*, XII, 10, 6. On the other hand Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, I, 38, apparently dates the embassy within the reign of Epiphanes, but this passing mention of the event cannot be used to controvert his own circumstantial account in *Antiquitates*.

²⁴ For Jonathan see I Macc. xii, 1 ff.; Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, 5, 8; for Simon, I Macc. xv, 15 ff.

EURIPIDES, *MEDEA*, 239 AND 815: μή WITH THE
CAUSAL PARTICIPLE.

The famous complaint about the lot of womankind in the *Medea* of Euripides contains these lines (238-40):

εἰς καινὰ δ' ἦθη καὶ νόμους ἀφειργμένην
δεῖ μάντιν εἶναι, μὴ μαθοῦσαν οἴκοθεν,
ὅτῳ μάλιστα χρήσεται συνενέτη.

Earle (ed., 1904 and 1932) renders the participial phrase as follows: "Unless she have learned at home' . . . as she will probably not have done." However, such a limitation of the statement does not seem natural in the context. Heberden (ed. 3, 1901) says, rightly as it seems to me: "All brides are referred to." He interprets the participle as causal, as do also Hogan (1873), Thompson and Mills (ca. 1900), and Lucas (1923). Page (1938), like many another editor, has no comment.

If μὴ μαθοῦσαν οἴκοθεν expresses cause, two interpretations are possible: "Since a girl is never taught these things at home" (Lucas) and "Since a girl does not learn these things of herself" (Hogan; cf. also Liddell-Scott-Jones, s. v. οἴκοθεν, 2). The latter seems to me the more probable meaning, both for subjective reasons and because the other idea would be more naturally expressed by οἴκοι than by οἴκοθεν.

A close parallel to the participle with μή in *Medea*, 239 is to be found in the same play, verse 815:

Χο. . . . δρᾶν σ' ἀπεινέπω τάδε.
Μη. οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως· σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν
τάδ' ἐστί, μὴ πάσχουσιν, ὥς ἐγώ, κακῶς.

Lucas translates: "For thou art not wronged like me."

How is the use of μή with a causal participle to be explained? Such a participle is regularly negated by οὐ. Heberden and likewise Thompson and Mills, commenting on *Medea*, 239, explain the use of μή on the ground that the participle is connected with the infinitive phrase, μάντιν εἶναι. None of the editors of the *Medea*, so far as I can find, are aware of the rare use of μή with the causal participle in classical Greek even in indicative contexts. Cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner, *Griechische*

Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik, II (1950), p. 594.

The causal participle is a variety of the descriptive or circumstantial participle, which likewise is occasionally negated by *μή*. For *μή* with the descriptive participle see Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (1907), p. 775, 3. The reader cannot always be certain whether a participle was felt by the writer as causal or as descriptive with cause implied. Examples of the causal participle with *μή*, some of them certain and some only probable, are listed below.

I. Participles in Indicative Contexts

Eurip., *Ion*, 313:

Kp. *ἡμεῖς σ' ἄρ' αὖθις, ὧ ξέν', ἀντοικτείρομεν.*
 Ἴων. *ὥς μὴ εἰδὼθ' ἥτις μ' ἔτεκεν ἐξ ὅτου τ' ἔφυν.*

Here the occurrence of *ὥς* makes it quite certain that the participle is causal.

Thuc., I, 86, 3:

ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα, μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρήτεια ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει.

Other examples are Thuc., I, 118, 2; IV, 10, 3; IV, 73, 4; Herod., III, 65, 6; Isaeus, V, 16; Demosth., III, 8; Soph., *O. T.*, 289 (for different interpretations see Earle *ad loc.* [1901] and Goodwin, *M. and T.* [ed. 3, 1893], § 841); Soph., *Phil.*, 170-1 (interpreted as descriptive ["generic"] with cause implied by Jebb, *Sophocles with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation*, Part IV [ed. 2, 1898]); Eurip., *Heracleid.*, 533 (which likewise may be descriptive with cause implied).

In Thuc., III, 54, 2 and Antiphon, *First Tetralogy*, II, 4, *μή* is used with a participle of "equivalent action" (Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar* [1903], § 551) or of "that in which the action of the verb consists" (Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar* [1930], § 1566 h). This kind of participle is very close to the participle of cause. Jowett (*Translation*, ed. 2, revised, 1900) translates Thuc., III, 54, 2 with "because." Though the participle in this passage is in an indirect statement, it is

included in this section of my study because the negative particles are used in "indirect discourse" just as in "direct discourse."

II. Participles in Volitive Contexts

Soph., *O. C.*, 1155:

τί δ' ἔστι, τέκνον Αἰγέως; δίδασκέ με
ὥς μὴ εἰδὼτ' αὐτὸν μηδὲν ὧν σὺ πυνθάνει.

Aristoph., *Ran.*, 128:

Ἥρ. βούλει κατάντη καὶ ταχεῖάν σοι φράσω;
Δι. νῆ τὸν Δί', ὥς ὄντος γε μὴ βαδιστικοῦ.

In the two examples cited, and also in Thuc., VII, 77, 7, the presence of ὥς proves that the participles are causal. Examples without ὥς are Soph., *El.*, 1014 and Thuc., IV, 67, 3. Isaeus, I, 11 contains a descriptive participle which is used in a rhetorical question in such a way that it strongly suggests cause.

III. Conclusion

On the basis of limited evidence—the works of the three tragedians, Aristophanes, and Thucydides (which, except for the fragments of the plays, were read in their entirety) and passages referred to by the grammarians cited—it would seem that the use of *μή* with the causal participle is not more infrequent in indicative than in other contexts. When it occurs in a volitive or infinitive context, it is usually not to be explained by that circumstance. In particular, the use of *μή* with the causal participle in our two passages from the *Medea* is not to be explained by the presence of infinitives. These passages are simply instances of the use—rare in classical Greek—of *μή* with the causal participle.

IV. Addendum: *μή* in Relative Clauses of Cause

It is an interesting fact that *μή* occurs in relative clauses, as well as in participial phrases, which express cause:

Eurip., *I. A.*, 823-4:

οὐ θαῦμά σ' ἤμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, οἷς μὴ πάρος
προσῆκες.

Soph., *O. C.*, 1679-80 :

Χο. βέβηκεν; Ἄν. ὥς μάλιστα' ἄν ἐν πόθῳ λάβοις.
 τί γάρ; ὅτῳ μήτ' Ἀρης
μήτε πόντος ἀντέκυρσεν,
ἄσκοποι δὲ πλάκες ἔμαρψαν
ἐν ἀφανεί τινι μόρῳ φερόμενον.
 τί γὰρ L. Ἄγγ. τί γὰρ C⁵. Χο. τί γὰρ V³

The critical note is from Campbell, ed. Sophocles, I (ed. 2, 1879). It is tempting to assign τί γάρ to the chorus, with V³, the fourteenth century *cod.* 467 at Venice.

Other examples are Soph., *Ant.*, 696-8 and *El.*, 911-12; Thuc., IV, 126, 2 and VIII, 76, 6; Plato, *Euthyd.*, 302 C and *Ion*, 534 D. In the passages from Thuc. and from Soph., *El.*, γε occurs, emphasizing the causal force of the participle.

Herod., I, 71, 3 and Soph., *O. T.*, 1335 contain descriptive clauses with μή which are used in rhetorical questions in such a way that they strongly suggest cause. Cf. the similar use of the participle in Isaeus, I, 11, cited above (p. 417). In these two clauses γε is used, emphasizing the causal suggestion.

The relative clauses in Soph., *Phil.*, 255-6 and 715 may possibly be clauses of "equivalent action" (cf. the use of the participles in Thuc., III, 54, 2 and Antiphon, *First Tetralogy*, II, 4, cited pp. 416-17). However, it seems more natural to understand them as expressions of cause.

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REVIEWS.

GILBERT NORWOOD. *Essays on Euripidean Drama*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955. Pp. 197. \$5.00.

It is appropriate that this collection of essays on Euripides should be the last published work of the late Professor Norwood, whose first major publication was the challenging and stimulating *Riddle of the Bacchae*, a book which, though never fully accepted, provoked more discussion of Euripides' meaning and intentions than any other single work since the days of Verrall. In fact, nearly a generation of scholars has kept themselves happily engaged "refuting" Norwood's unorthodox views and seeking a more precise interpretation of Euripides' intent in this wonderful play. We all owe a tremendous debt to this lively scholar, a debt which his many critics (Grube, Kitto, Dodds, Winnington-Ingram, *et al.*) would be the first to acknowledge. This latest work shows that more than forty years later the great Canadian scholar had lost none of his acute critical powers and wit in dealing with the drama of Euripides; and in some respects his views are as unorthodox as ever.

The work under review contains four independent chapters. The first, "Toward understanding Euripides," is the most general, and (to this reviewer) the most valuable. The author begins with a summary of the widely varying opinions on Euripides, from antiquity to the present; he thinks that this shows that something has gone "uniquely wrong": no true classic could have aroused such different reactions. He reviews some of the considerations which might have caused Euripides to write in a manner different from that of a modern playwright, e.g., the influence of the dramatic festivals and of contemporary events, a different conception of the tragic writer's art and business, a desire to create new types of drama, etc. These considerations lead Norwood to the conclusion that in approaching Euripides we must distinguish between mere "stumbling-blocks" to our appreciation of his work and real flaws and bad workmanship. We must not count it a fault that he mixes physical science into his dramatic speeches; these are a deliberate insertion of the poet, based on the aims and intentions of the type of drama he was writing. "Our verdict will not rest upon a doctrinaire objection to this or that type of drama, only upon a demonstration that by writing a given passage he has injured his own play (whatever its type). . . . We shall not object to the drunken Heracles of *Alcestis*, for that play is meant as tragicomedy; we shall object to Medea's dragon-chariot, because her utter lack of help and friends is by the poet himself emphasized again and again as vital to her situation" (p. 18).

Some of the mere "stumbling-blocks" are: (1) the use of mechanical, often boring monologues in his prologues; (2) a fondness for the *deus ex machina* (Norwood defends the poet very ably here); (3) his "sardonic piquancy," which is defined as "an utterance . . . (which) voices an aloof and refined gusto for the absurd, spoiling an attitude, pricking the bubble of conceit, pomposity, or self-deception" (pp. 21-2, with amusing examples); (4) Euripides' fondness

for melodrama; here Norwood advises us to accept this facet of the poet cheerfully, and discusses various melodramatic devices at some length. In summing up this section, the author stresses the fact that Euripides was a "man of the theatre," a skilled technician who can delight us with all the tricks of the trade. On the other hand, there remain features of the plays that one condemns without hesitation, although Norwood finds excuses for some of them in the conditions of the festival, the necessity of finding a use for the chorus, the limited time allotted for each play, etc. In this connection, Norwood makes the novel (to me) suggestion that many of the plays must have been written originally for production in a private home, and then later padded out for public performance at the Dionysia, with consequent inconsistencies or incongruities. But even allowing all this, there are certain inexcusable flaws in the plays; Norwood lists and discusses these in ascending order of offensiveness: (1) little inconsistencies or puzzles (e.g., Medea's clear promise to slay her husband as well as Creon and his daughter); (2) feeble writing and flatness in style, to which may be added a general lack of inspiration and relevance in most of his choral odes; (3) faulty dramatic structure. In this last category Norwood is most critical ("Euripides had no sound reason for not displaying his tragic ideas in perfectly constructed dramas"), and this reviewer is least convinced. It seems wrong, if not impossible, to judge Greek tragedy by the standards of the nineteenth-century *pièce bien faite*, and many of Norwood's strictures are based on too urgent a desire for theatrical realism. We must accept the conventions of the Greek tragic form; to object, as Norwood does, to the "long and picturesque narrative" of a messenger, on the grounds that the person addressed ought to be taking immediate steps to deal with the situation, seems to me rather captious. A lover of nineteenth-century opera should not object if the dying heroine sings a beautiful aria of farewell, even though the rest of the cast ought to be running around administering soothing drugs, applying tourniquets, or what not, instead of listening attentively in an artistic grouping. In concluding this chapter, the author finds the cause of these lapses, real or alleged, in what he calls Euripides' "abrupt loss of intellectual control" over his own imagination, and compares him to a modern novelist who lets his characters take charge of the story. In addition, Euripides was "a romantic who entered the theatre still groping" and was content to admit his doubts and fumbings into the finished work. Another way of putting this is to say that Euripides was aware of the problems raised by his plays, but was rarely sure of the solution.

I have perhaps spent an undue amount of space on this first chapter, since it seemed to me the most valuable and interesting part of the whole book. It should be read and pondered by every teacher and student of Euripides. The next two chapters may be dealt with more briefly.

In "The *Bacchae* and its Riddle" Professor Norwood returns to the scene of the crime (so to speak) and re-examines his original thesis about this play in the light of the many criticisms which have appeared since his *Riddle of the Bacchae* was first published. It will come as no surprise to learn that in his later years he abandoned the belief that the figure who appears in the play as "Dionysus" is

(except in the prologue and as the *deus ex machina*) really a human prophet, an imposter and hypnotist; but Norwood stoutly maintains, by arguments very hard to refute, his original contention that the famous statement of Dionysus in lines 632-4 clearly asserts that the royal palace itself has been overthrown, not just the stables or a part of the palace out of sight. The delusion of the Bacchantes, who cry out that the lintels of the palace are gaping apart and accept Dionysus' claim to have ruined the palace (which is, of course, standing in plain sight before the spectators), is to be ascribed not to hypnotism by a human priest, but to something which Norwood calls "glamour," an enchantment cast over people, objects, or places, so that they appear as other than they are. (He compares Odysseus failing to recognize Ithaca in *Od. XIII* because of the "glamour" cast over it by Athena.) The reason for this "bogus miracle" with all its attendant difficulties is apparently to reveal Dionysus' divine nature and power by showing him casting a spell over his votaries. In a way, the scene is parallel to the ghastly episode of Agave with Pentheus' head, which reveals finally and fully the overwhelming might of the god. As Norwood says (pp. 61-2): "The normal stage-illusion occurs when the actor impersonating Agave pretends to be mad, the abnormal when he pretends to think that the head he carries is a lion's. . . . The spectator believes that the actor is Agave and that she is mad; there his belief halts; he does not take the head for a lion's. In the same way, the Athenian choristers pretend to be mastered by glamour, and so to believe that the house falls; the spectator believes them thus possessed, but does not believe that it falls. . . . The miracle, in short, is effected; but it is not the downfall; it is the divinely induced belief in the downfall." Having offered this explanation of the bogus miracle and accepted the divinity of "The Stranger," Norwood is disposed to take all the rest of the miracles in the play as genuine. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a very readable discussion of the lyric passages and of the ultimate meaning of the play; in these matters he is close to the position of Winnington-Ingram, whom he quotes several times with approval, but with refinements or amplifications.

The third essay ("God and Man in *Hippolytus*") is a close examination of the play in an effort to clarify the position and meaning of the deities in this tragedy. The question is whether they directly cause the catastrophe, or is the drama intelligible in terms of the human characters alone. To answer this, Norwood undertakes an analysis of the three major human characters, and then of the gods. He finds that the human characters and their actions are perfectly self-explanatory, while Artemis and Aphrodite, though genuine *dramatis personae*, are labelled by the philosopher in Euripides as "spurious deities" (i. e., the poet did not believe in these anthropomorphic figures). As Norwood puts it in summing up the character of Artemis, against whom he directs some of the keenest shafts of his ironic wit, "Speaking *ex cathedra*, she reveals herself as utterly spurious, a survival from the days of uncontrolled superstition. But as Hippolytus' beloved companion she is authentic and divine. Euripides makes her thus real simply because she has complete reality for his hero; that reality is a basic fact of his play." As a motive for adding these spurious divinities to his play, Norwood suggests the failure of the *Medea* three years before the *Hippolytus* was

produced; the spectators, he thinks, were unable to comprehend the earlier play, which must be interpreted purely through the characters and experience of the human figures, Jason and Medea. In the middle of this rather orthodox treatment of the play, Norwood injects one surprise: he insists that the whole business of the Three Prayers and Poseidon's granting of Theseus' wish is an illusion. The tidal wave and the monstrous bull which cause the hero's death may be taken as natural, not supernatural phenomena. Hence the death of Hippolytus immediately after his father's curse, or prayer to Poseidon, is due to a mere coincidence. Whether one accepts this bold view or not, we may agree with the remark of Norwood that the whole question of the Prayer to Poseidon has no bearing on the theology of the play; Hippolytus is ruined in any case.

The last chapter ("The *Supplices*") is a devastating critical analysis of the play's oddities and faults, of which we get an exhaustive catalogue: the number of the chorus (seven mothers for seven champions; even if we allow a maid for each, this gives us only 14, instead of the normal 15); the composition of the chorus (the mother of Polyneices was, of course, Jocasta, who was long since dead; the mother of Evadne stands by in silence while her daughter commits suicide). There are difficulties in the entrance of the chorus; they are "discovered" grouped about Aethra, whom they have "imprisoned" by their suppliant boughs before the action proper begins; how was this managed without a curtain? Again, the chorus leaves at the end to swear oaths of undying loyalty to the Athenians, although Athena has just told them that this is the business of Adrastus. These difficulties lead to the suggestion that the play was not written for the fifth-century theater. Having reached this point, Norwood then searches for other features which may betray a later date, and, of course, is not slow to find some: many of the passages discuss war and peace, society and politics, in the spirit of the fourth century rather than of the fifth. The attitude toward Fortune expressed in the play betrays traces of the same spirit. Two passages seem to require a knowledge of Plato's *Republic* in order to be intelligible. The death of Evadne is modelled on the Indian practice of suttee, and hence points to a date after Alexander's conquests. The Funeral Speech delivered by Adrastus over the corpses of the dead warriors is absurd and cannot be rationalized by hunting for fifth-century allusions (as has often been done). The political concepts discussed or assumed in the play are sadly muddled; in particular, the effort to promote Theseus as the founder of the Athenian democracy seems to be a bit of political theorizing of the fourth century. Finally, we get a list of miscellaneous absurdities and faults of language and style. In view of all these objections, Norwood concludes that our present text of the *Supplices* cannot be the work of Euripides, though it contains some Euripidean parts and some lines of the play are quoted in antiquity as from the *Supplices* of Euripides. Nor can it be explained (like the *Phoenissae*) as an original Euripidean text padded with actors' interpolations. In answer to the question, "Who then wrote our *Supplices*?" Norwood answers, "No one." Our present text is a conflation of two independent plays; one was written by Euripides for a "private performance," with a chorus of seven; the other was a "closet drama" written toward the end of the fourth century.

Norwood tries to disentangle the two plays; he assigns to Euripides lines 1-70, 87-194, 253-62, 271-398, 598-633, 778-837, 955-79, 1165-1231; the remainder he assigns to an anonymous writer, whom he tentatively identifies with Moschion. Two originally independent plays on the same theme were woven together into one play by some wretched compiler of the second century after Christ (Norwood compares the process of *contaminatio* in Roman comedy); in this compilation several passages of the original Euripidean drama were ousted by similar passages from Moschion's version. The result is the "hodge-podge" which has reached us.

This bare summary of the author's main points does less than justice to his case, which is argued with much eloquence and critical acumen. Yet, as the list indicates, much of the case depends on the cumulative power of the many objections. A few dissenting opinions may be recorded here for what they are worth. The argument about the number of the chorus is not conclusive; there is no real objection to having seven mothers, seven maids, and one "extra," if we must assume a one-for-one correspondence in the choral numbers. To reply to Norwood's apparently crushing analogy of the Twelve Disciples (pp. 112-13), we have all heard the "Twelve" represented by choruses of several hundred members in Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*. Many reputable scholars believe that Aeschylus represented the fifty daughters of Danaus by the earlier chorus of twelve. As for the absurdity of counting Jocasta as one of the seven mothers present, I do not see that Norwood's suggestion that the Euripidean play was written for a private performance with a smaller chorus of exactly seven mothers helps this difficulty at all. Regarding the opening scene, we do not know enough about "stage direction" in fifth-century Athens nor about conventions for starting the action of the plays to object too strongly to the opening of this drama; perhaps the "imprisonment" of Aethra by the suppliants was done in dumb-show as part of the opening scene. But in fact, the opening of this play does not differ so very much from several others where suppliants are "discovered" (as our editors and translators say) at an altar, even though the story assumes that they have been there for a long time. In those cases it seems probable that the ancient audience was inclined to abandon a realistic view, and when (e.g.) Helen says she has been living at the tomb of Proteus for a long time, to accept the statement as part of the situation despite the fact that they had seen the actor playing the part of Helen walk on stage a few moments before. To Norwood's objections to the passages which he thinks show a fourth-century spirit, there is the obvious answer that Euripides was often opposed to or in advance of the spirit of his time, especially on the question of war; and the thought that the highest duty of the statesman is not to aggrandize Athens but to protect and save Greek civilization (one of Norwood's "fourth-century conceptions") is at least as old as Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. The argument on the concept of Fortune and on the reminiscences of Plato are inconclusive, in view of the tremendous amount of fifth-century literature not preserved to us. The view that Theseus in some way founded the Athenian democracy may very well go back to the debate over constitutional history just before the revolutionary movements at the end of the fifth century. And so on. Each of Norwood's points might be debated at length, and I

believe it would be possible to reduce the undoubted flaws to a manageable number; that is, we could reach the view that, while this is not a good Euripidean play, it nonetheless exhibits not too many more slips and inconsistencies than may be found in certain other sloppy dramas. Some of the offending passages invite bracketing on any view. On the whole, I think we must bring in a verdict of Not proven.

A few other questionable matters may be mentioned here. Throughout the book there seems to be too much emphasis on the "well-made play" and on exact dramatic realism; it is well, I think, to point out the differences between ancient and modern drama by these means (as Norwood does in his first chapter); but to use passages which offend our sense of theatrical propriety as conclusive evidence of interpolation, or as signs of Euripides' carelessness and sloth is unwarranted. Many of the author's *obiter dicta*, though always interesting, are questionable; for example, he is quite unfair to Aristotle in his discussion of the *Poetics* (pp. 4-5). Aristotle was hardly the man to assume the independent existence of a "Platonic Idea of Tragedy." His judgments in passing on Sophocles will antagonize many lovers of the elder tragedian: his "religion was no more (and no less) than a deeply pious mood, which his superb artistic achievements have misled some into investigating with results either self-contradictory or meagre" (p. 8; see also p. 93); the *Philoctetes* provides the only unquestionable instance of a thoroughly "vicious" use of the *deus ex machina* (p. 19; this judgment has long been questioned). Others will be sorry to learn that while Norwood eventually changed his mind about the *Bacchae*, he remained unrepentant and intransigent to the end about that "bungler" Plautus (p. 180), and he still maintained the view that our present text of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes is a combination of the first and second versions (and not just a second version which shows traces of the first). One may question the assumption (p. 31) that the dramatists commonly wrote only one good tragedy for each festival and eked out the required trilogy with two hastily written "fillers," which tended to disappear in antiquity, as not worth copying or editing. Norwood himself admits the glaring exception of the *Oresteia*, but one may quote a few examples from Euripides' career: the surviving *Alcestis* was accompanied by *Telephus*, a drama which was a sensation, if nothing more, as the continued parodies of Aristophanes show; the *Medea* was produced with the *Philoctetes*, which was still admired and read in the first century of our era; and the *Helen* was most probably produced at the same festival as the famous and much-admired *Andromeda*. Finally, the case for the view that the *Medea*, *Hecuba*, *Alcestis*, and *Heracleidae* were originally written for private performances and then padded for presentation at the Dionysia (pp. 33-6) is dubious, to say the least.

These questionable details, however, are minor flaws in a work of great value and charm. Over all the book there plays the wit and individuality of Professor Norwood's style and eloquence, which make his arguments hard to withstand. After reading him one is often reminded of the feelings of Socrates' young auditors, who complain that while they listen to Socrates they are convinced, but when they leave him doubts insist on creeping back into their minds.

Perhaps no more fitting tribute could be found with which to close this review than to say that Professor Norwood like Socrates constantly forces us to go back to the original material (Greek drama in this case) and to re-examine our presuppositions and conclusions in the light of his acute and stimulating criticisms.

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GUNTHER ZUNTZ. *The Political Plays of Euripides*. Manchester, University Press; New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1955. Pp. vii + 157.

The title of this book may be misleading if one is unaware of the sense in which Dr. Zuntz uses the term "political plays." He defines them as "a variety of Greek tragedy in which the problems of human fellowship become the material for artistic creation" (p. x). The book is, in fact, a study of two plays, the *Suppliants* and the *Heracleidae*.

The first part of the book offers an interpretation of each of the plays, and deals with the problems involved in dating them. A second, somewhat shorter, section is devoted to a discussion of the setting of the *Heracleidae*, notes on select passages of the play, and comments on the tragic hypotheses.

Previous scholars, with few exceptions, have severely criticized both plays, considering them the poorest which have come down to us under the name of Euripides. Even their authorship has been questioned. Wilamowitz argued that the *Heracleidae* preserved in our manuscripts is a completely revised version of the play, dating from the fourth century B. C. More recently, the *Suppliants* has been judged a blending of two plays (Norwood, *Essays on Euripidean Drama* [Berkeley, 1954], pp. 112-81). Zuntz seeks to dispel the traditional prejudice, and certainly his careful and sensible criticism will do much to enhance appreciation and encourage further study. It should be noted that the validity of the text is simply assumed. The author has, however, already proved the genuineness of the *Heracleidae*, in an article in *Classical Quarterly*, XLI (1947), pp. 46-52.

The principle underlying Zuntz's interpretation of both plays is that each is a self-contained reshaping of an Attic myth, self-contained in the sense that no passage need be, or indeed can be, explained by reference to any event or situation outside the sphere of the play itself. Allusions to contemporary events, which other scholars have invoked to illuminate obscure passages or "to descry the *raison d'être* of the play" (p. 4), Zuntz considers completely false. Each scene, each line, must be interpreted in its relation to the whole. The political play is, admittedly, "determined throughout by contemporary experiences and ideas and (conveys) a definite message. But this message is general not particular" (p. 5). Though this approach is useful in demonstrating the unity of the plays, it imposes certain disadvantages when one attempts to date them.

In Zuntz's view, all Euripidean plays are concerned with the question, "How is Man to live in a godless world?" (p. 6). The

"political" play deals with the question as it affects the members of the *polis* and their relations with other *poleis*. Here, according to the author, the answer lies in conformity to law. The important concepts of νόμος and Πανελλήνων νόμος are carefully examined, and Zuntz admirably demonstrates how each scene extends and elaborates upon this central theme. Even so, in the *Suppliants* the difficult Euadne scene and the funeral oration of Adrastus are not convincingly integrated in the whole.

In the *Heracleidae*, in addition to the concept of νόμος, Zuntz draws attention to the special use of χάρις to denote the duties and obligations of the protected to the protector, an aspect of the theme which does not occur in the *Suppliants*. He notes too in the Macaria scene the use of εὐγένεια, which likewise imposes a duty or obligation. Actually, it is a key word, recurring again and again throughout the play (lines 233, 302-3, 324, 409, 468, 490, 513, 553, 626-7, 825).

Several points in the interpretation of the *Heracleidae* strike me as unconvincing. Although Zuntz accepts the view that the scene of Iolaus' departure for battle (lines 680 ff.) is intentionally comic, he believes that Iolaus' final words are those of "the same, high-spirited and impetuous devotee of the right, whose untiring efforts we have been witnessing before" (p. 29), not a comic treatment of old age. But surely Iolaus' use of the tragic form of address, ὦ βραχίων, in line 740 is meant to continue the comic effect begun in line 680 (compare *Ion*, lines 112 ff.). He finds a similar change in the servant's attitude toward Iolaus, from scorn to helpfulness and appreciation, in lines 724 f., 731, 737 (p. 30), which I find difficult to perceive. Commenting on ἡράσαθ' "Ἦβη Ζηνί θ' in line 851, Zuntz writes that Iolaus does not pray, but "utters the vow which is answered from above" (p. 31). This interpretation is overly subtle. The prayer must be a traditional element in the story, and it was included for that reason.

In dating Euripidean tragedy, Zuntz believes that 1) metrical criteria can give only approximate dates for the plays "within a margin of roughly three years" (p. 93), and 2) the tragedian never alludes to contemporary events under the guise of myth. The latter view, a natural extension of his belief that each play is self-contained, is a welcome change from the tendency to discover over-elaborate allusions to contemporary affairs. But it is pushed to extremes. For example, Zuntz rejects the generally accepted references to the Sicilian expedition in lines 1347 ff. of the *Electra*, and to an alliance between Athens and Argos in lines 1191 ff. of the *Suppliants*. For the *Electra*, his argument that the scene is closely related to the play as a whole does not in my opinion exclude an attempt on the part of the poet to remind his audience of a recent event of great interest. It proves only that Euripides did not introduce the Dioscuri merely for the purpose of speaking these timely verses. For the *Suppliants*, his argument that the one-sidedness of the obligation undertaken by Adrastus precludes any correspondence with an actual alliance is equally inconclusive. The problem of allusions to contemporary events is too complex to admit of a simple solution, but the author is surely correct in denying that any Euripidean play can be regarded merely as an allegory.

Although Zuntz rejects the possibility of dating the plays through

a direct allusion to a contemporary event, he feels that it is possible to date them "by identifying the general historical situation which corresponds most closely to all features, general and particular, of either play" (pp. 55-6). Unfortunately, this approach is necessarily more subjective. The date of 430 B. C., argued by Zuntz for the *Heracleidae*, was presented many years ago along much the same lines by Macurdy (*The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides* [Columbia Univ. Diss., 1905]). It depends upon the interpretation of the oracle of Eurystheus as a promise of protection to Athenians in general rather than to the Tetrapolis alone. It could not, on this view, have been written after the invasion of the summer of 430 B. C. when the Spartans passed Eurystheus' grave at Pallene and penetrated far into Attica. There are, I believe, even stronger arguments for the date of spring 429 B. C. The oracle can then be regarded as a prophecy *ex eventu* of the sparing of the Tetrapolis in 430 B. C., for which we have direct evidence in Diodorus (II, 45). As Delebecque and Lattimore¹ have already pointed out, a second event of the autumn or winter of 430 B. C. lends support to this dating and gives an added significance to the Eurystheus scene. It is the murder of the Peloponnesian envoys at Athens, as narrated by Thucydides in Book II, 67.

The *Suppliants*, unlike the *Heracleidae*, lacks any direct reference to an historical situation and is, therefore, much more difficult to date. Here Zuntz's method of analyzing the general feeling of the play is persuasive. He chooses, by the process of elimination, the spring of 424 B. C., a time when "peace, though ardently wished for, is not felt to be within grasp" (p. 88). Like the *Knights*, produced in the same year, it reflects a feeling of "national elation" (p. 90). The oath of Adrastus does not refer to an existing treaty between Athens and Argos, but rather suggests the Argive debt to Athens which has remained so long unpaid.

In the second part of the book, devoted mainly to specific problems in the *Heracleidae*, Zuntz lists more than twenty emendations which he believes should figure in the text, but which have not been adopted by Murray. To these he adds a number of significant observations of his own, arguing at greater length for several emendations, and in one case retaining a reading of the manuscripts deleted from the Oxford text (line 754). He also proposes a new arrangement of lines in two passages (lines 683-91, and 961-80, revised as a dialogue between Alcmena and the servant). His suggestion that the daughter of Heracles, unnamed in the play, is a character drawn from tradition rather than the invention of Euripides, as has generally been supposed, merits further investigation.

The tragic hypotheses in Codex L are arranged by Zuntz under three main headings: those of Aristophanes of Byzantium, those of the late Byzantine grammarians, and a third type that are mere summaries of the action, and derive from a book of such synopses, which Zuntz dates in the first century B. C. In a final section, he discusses evidence which suggests that Eustathius and perhaps also Triclinius had access to an ancestor of Codex L.

¹ E. Delebecque, *Euripide et la guerre du Péloponnèse* (Paris, 1951), p. 92; R. Lattimore, *Euripides, Four Tragedies* (Chicago, 1955), pp. 111-12.

This is but a sampling of the interesting and varied fare provided by the author. He approaches his task with an enthusiasm that is refreshing, but his enthusiasm is guided by sound judgment and common sense. His book has importance for all students of Euripidean drama, and will surely be indispensable to any future editor of either the *Heraclidae* or the *Suppliants*.

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CINCINNATI.

Studi in onore di Gino Funaioli. Roma, Angelo Signorelli, 1955.
Pp. xii + 440. 10,000 lire.

On October 2, 1953, Gino Funaioli celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. I gather from the dedication of Enk's article that this volume was planned to appear at that time as a *natalicium* to the great Italian scholar from his many friends, colleagues, and admirers. That it was not published until two years later was probably due to the inevitable delays which usually attend the organization and publication of a work of many authors and of considerable magnitude.

But be that as it may, the final result, which is the thing of importance, is a remarkably fine honorific volume which is worthy of the man to whom it is dedicated. Although the name of the editor does not appear, there is almost always a single moving spirit behind such volumes; or, if there are a number, still one of them undertakes most of the actual editing. I suspect that Ettore Paratore who wrote the Preface was the person in question. If so, he and the publisher, Signorelli, can be justly proud of their work; for the book is carefully edited on the whole and beautifully printed. The only serious editorial flaw that I was able to detect is the omission in the table of contents of the articles by Lesky and Mancini. The names of these authors, however, duly appear in the list of contributors at the beginning of the book.

Paratore's Preface contains a biography of Funaioli in which emphasis is placed on his development as a scholar from his student days in Florence, Munich, and Bonn down to the present time. The high academic honors which he now enjoys reflect the esteem and respect in which he is held by his Italian colleagues. The books and articles mentioned by Paratore recall the great debt that is owed to Funaioli by almost every student of Latin literature, of which there is hardly an aspect that Funaioli did not treat with fruitful results. Finally, we catch a glimpse of the man as a teacher and humanist which explains the affectionate enthusiasm with which these introductory pages are written.

Forty-three scholars, including Paratore, have contributed articles to this volume (two in collaboration on a single article, making forty-two articles in all). As one would expect the Italians are in the majority, but scholars from Austria, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Spain are also represented. In general, the quality is high for an honorific volume. By this I mean that very few articles give the impression of having been rescued from the drawer of

previously discarded material and lightly refurbished for the occasion, or elaborated from a trivial note or two that were once written down to pad a lecture. There are a number of contributions of some length which treat a single but large aspect of a subject thoroughly and increase our knowledge of it materially. The volume, of course, contains its fair share of brief notes and comments; but here too, in most instances, the authors have usually said something worth saying.

Limitations of space make it clearly impossible to review critically all the articles in this volume. Moreover, the wide variety of fields that is represented often leaves this reviewer well beyond his depth insofar as specialized knowledge is concerned. Nevertheless, it may be of some value to the reader to learn what works and subjects are treated and to have occasional indications through qualifying adjectives and brief observations of the impressions of the reviewer.

Latin Literature

Naevius: an excellent reconstruction of the legendary part of the *Bellum Punicum* by Scevola Mariotti (pp. 221-38). Parts of it are now incorporated with due acknowledgment in the same author's *Il Bellum Punicum e Parte di Nevio* which was published in the same year. Varro: a demonstration by Karl Kerényi (pp. 157-62) that in the passage of Varro (*L. L.*, V, 58) on the *dei magni* of Samothrace, *Ambracia* should not be emended to *Samothracia*. Cicero: Enrica Malcovati (pp. 216-20) interprets the *sutorium atramentum* in *Fam.*, IX, 21, 3 as copper sulfate or vitriol, a meaning attested by Celsus (V, 1). Consequently, Cn. Carbo, accused by Antonius, was thought to have been acquitted—by poisoning himself. A neat explanation of a difficult passage that is especially convincing, in that Cicero has just mentioned that another notorious member of the family, Gaius, committed suicide when standing trial by swallowing cantharides. Alessandro Ronconi (pp. 394-405) has made a fruitful study of the language and style of the *Somnium Scipionis*. He points out the many archaic elements in this work, Cicero's debt to Ennius and Lucretius in composing it, and the ambiguities in technical matters which Cicero's avoidance of transliterated Greek terms imposed. Lucretius: a sensitive analysis by Pietro Ferrarino (pp. 40-64) of the structure and spirit of the *De Rerum Natura* in which the author studies the relationship of corresponding parts of the poem, such as the *proemia* of the separate books, to each other and the poem as a whole. It also contains a fresh analysis of the famous end of Book IV on love and mating and a new interpretation of *tanta stat praedita culpa* (V, 199) in connection with the pessimistic outlook so often attributed to the poet. Catullus: Antonio Traglia (pp. 434-8) points out similarities of language between Catullus, 66, "The Lock of Berenice," and Cicero's *Aratea*. He finds support in the *Aratea* for certain emendations and readings in the "Lock": *in lumine* for *numine* (7) and *in limine* (59), Bickel's *gentibus* (59) and the *obitus* of the *Datanus* for the *habitus* of the *codices potiores*. In one of his "Briciole filologiche" (pp. 322-8), Ettore Paratore attacks the thesis of Lachmann, recently revived by F. Della Corte, that Catullus, 95, 1-3 and 95, 5-10 belong to two separate poems. This thesis should now be finally laid to rest.

Vergil: He is the subject of three articles and a section of a fourth. The most stimulating, in the opinion of this reviewer, is that of Jean Bayet (pp. 9-18) in which he treats what he calls "la description synthétique" in the *Georgics*. He demonstrates with a fine touch that in certain passages in which Vergil gives us an impression of descriptive unity, we have a very complex mixture of time and timelessness, general and specific, precision and vagueness. Margherita Guarducci (pp. 120-7) convincingly places Vergil's sacred grove of Albunea (*Aen.*, VII, 83) in the vicinity of Ardea on the basis of Vitruvius, VII, 3, 2. Antonino Pagliaro (pp. 288-98) investigates the possible meanings of *primus* in *Aeneid*, I, 1 and concludes that it reflects Vergil's cyclic conception of history, in that it indicates that a new era is beginning with Aeneas. Paratore (pp. 329-32) defends his interpretation of *Aeneid*, IV, 456, *hoc visum nulli; non ipsi effata sorori* as two separate clauses in which *est* has been omitted after the participles *visum* and *effata*, against the view of Ernout who takes *visum* as a substantive and translates, "De cette vision elle n'a parlé à personne, pas même à sa soeur" (this is also the interpretation of Servius *ad loc.*). Horace: Two rather paradoxical articles are devoted to Horace. In one Pasquale Giuffrida (pp. 98-119) interprets *Ep.*, II, 1, 118-38 on the virtues of the poet as a parody calculated to show in reverse the very vices from which the poetasters of his time were suffering. In the other, Umberto Mancuso (pp. 197-215) saves Horace's military honor, gravely impugned by the usual interpretation of *sensi relicta non bene parmula* (*Odes*, II, 7, 10), by assuming that Horace was among the *propugnatores* at Philippi who according to Dio (XLVII, 44-5) threw away their shields in order to fight more effectively. I doubt if many will be convinced by either one of the theses propounded here. But they are advanced with great skill and should be pondered by all students of Horace. Propertius: P. J. Enk (pp. 32-6), rearranges and reinterprets II, 4 (Hosius) by placing 19-20 after 24. Ovid: Paratore (pp. 332-9) refutes the theory recently revived by La Penna that the Lygdamus of the *Corpus Tibullianum* is to be identified with Ovid. In another "briciola" (pp. 339-43), the same scholar studies the manner in which Ovid used the *Hermione* of Sophocles in writing *Heroides* VIII (Hermione to Orestes) and finds support therein for the hypothesis that Ovid may have served as an intermediary between Sophocles and Seneca in the *Phaedra*.

Lucan: Enrico Longi (pp. 181-8) analyzes Lucan's approach to three important episodes in the *Bellum Civile* which revolve about a person: Curio (IV, 582-824), Scaeva (VI, 118-262), Erichtho (VI, 333-830). Petronius: Nicola Terzaghi (pp. 426-33) points out some striking similarities between the *Peregrinus* of Lucian and Eumolpus in the *Satyricon*, especially in regard to the former's distribution of his fictitious estate and the latter's will. He rightly refuses to assume any direct influence, but postulates the previous existence of a "character" or "type" that was in the mind of both authors. Paratore (pp. 343-7) supports in detail his earlier interpretation of *favebamque ego vapulanti* (96, 1) as "io mi appassionavo a vederlo bastonato." Here, finally, we have the correct sense of the passage. But his translation of *advocationemque commendabam* (96, 4) as "ammiravo la turba degli assalitori" and his identification of the *insularii* (95, 8) as superintendents of the *insula* are subject to seri-

ous doubts. *Carmen Einsidlense* II: Starting with a conception of this poem as an artificial mixture of Lucretian melancholy and the Vergilian theme of the Golden Age (*Ecl.* IV), Wolfgang Schmid (pp. 418-25) proposes to read *nostri* for *nati* in 21 and interprets the *stolidum pecus* of 22 literally; that is, "even this dumb herd (of sheep) recognizes that the golden age is at hand." He dates the poem in 55 A.D. Statius: Leon Hermann (pp. 128-32) nearly always has something startling to say. This time he argues that the *Ille ego* verses at the beginning of the *Aeneid*, the epilogue of the *Georgics* (IV, 559-66) and the last four verses of Columella X were written by the youthful Statius. Juvenal: Mario Attilio Levi (pp. 170-80) studies the *Satires* as expressions of the discontent and humiliation of the Italian middle class to which Juvenal belonged. His points, although hardly new, are well organized and forcefully presented against the historical background. Apuleius: Paratore (pp. 351-3) attacks the thesis of Mazzarino that some of the "novelle" in the *Metamorphoses* were not inserted by Apuleius in the original narrative which he was following, but preexisted in his source, the work of Lucius Patrensis. St. Augustine: A defense by Benedetto Riposati (pp. 378-93) of the authenticity of the *Principia Rhetorices* attributed to St. Augustine in one of our manuscripts. The article is well argued and convincing. Hagiography: Michele Pellegrino (pp. 354-9) discusses some general problems, textual, literary, and historical, connected with the Latin *vitae* or *acta sanctorum*.

Greek Literature

Homer: Günther Jachmann (pp. 141-56) makes a detailed study of certain parts of the *Catalogue of Ships* and concludes that it is a late part of the *Iliad*. Aeschylus: Albin Lesky (pp. 163-9) offers a new interpretation of *Septem*, 576-9. Keeping the *ὄνομα* in 577, in preference to Schultz's widely accepted *ῥήμα*, he understands the phrase *ἐνπυτιάων ὄνομα* to mean that Amphiaras "overturned" the name of Polynices in the sense of reversing its component parts. The *ἐνδατούμενος* of the next line would then mean "zuteilen" and the seer finally (*ἐν τελευτῇ*) would be communicating the name of Polynices twice (*δίς*) in two different ways: *Πολυνείκης* and *νείκος πολύ*. This is ingenious. Yet, it still seems more natural to understand *ἐνδατούμενος* as referring to the division of Polynices' name. Thucydides: Hans Herter (pp. 133-40) attacks the problem presented by *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* and *ἐτέροις* in II, 40, 2. He takes *τὰ πολιτικά* not as the object of *γινῶναι*, but as an attribute of the preceding *ἔργα* and interprets the *ἔτεροι* as the professional statesmen or leaders in contradistinction to the ordinary citizens, *αὐτοί*, who participate in political activities, but are not entirely devoted to them. By deleting the *οἱ* in the clause beginning *καὶ οἱ αὐτοί*, he sees the same distinction carried out between those who decide, *κρίνειν*, in the assemblies and those who determine policy, *ἐνθυμείσθαι*. The interpretation is important and convincing. Antiphanes: The famous fragment on tragedy and comedy which is said to have come from the *Ποίησις* of Antiphanes by Athenaeus (VI, 122 = frg. 191 Kock) is attributed to the *Ποίησις* of Aristophanes by Augusto Rostagni (pp. 406-17). He analyzes in a masterful fashion the light that it throws on the development of Greek comedy and certain ideas in

Aristotle's *Poetics*. Herondas: Manuel F. Galiano and Luis Gil interpret or emend the following passages: I, 6-8; II, 44-5, 60-1; III, 79; IV, 93-4; VI, 90; VII, 8, 41-2.

Textual Criticism

Cato, *R. R.*, 122: for *capreidam* read *caparidam* (Antonio Mazarino, pp. 239-40); Vitruvius, VII, *Praef.* 16: for *sesemaneo* read *σεσημασμένον* (Silvio Ferri, pp. 65-6); Quintilian, I, 2, 6: for *cocum* read *coquum* or *cocum* (Paratore, pp. 347-51). Justin: Augusto Mancini (pp. 189-96) discusses two manuscripts of Justin: Paris. 10768, Nouveaux Fonds (Pr) and 1274 of the library of the Museo di Bussano (BA). He reproduces selected readings and assigns the manuscripts to their proper classes in the tradition. Calpurnius and Nemesianus: Luigi Castiglione (pp. 19-22) accepts *ponetur* (Calp., II, 59) and argues for *gratia vivi* (Nemes., I, 21), *viridi nutritivimus antro* (*ibid.*, III, 26) and the insertion of an *et* between *maesti* and *tenero* in Calp., VII, 10. This would necessitate punctuating after *caneret* in the preceding line. In *Carmen Einsidlense*, II, 33, he proposes *geminavit* for *generavit*. *De Lapsu Susannae*: Gennaro Perrota (pp. 354-9) criticises the text of Cazzaniga on II, 5; V, 19; VII, 33. Henricus Septimellensis: Angelo Monteverdi (pp. 246-52) defends Florenget as the correct reading for the first word in 999 (IV, 242) and attributes it to the influence of Provençal.

Linguistics

Etruscan: Massimo Pallotino (pp. 299-305) suggests that Etruscan *Nunθ* may be connected with Latin *nuntius* and that Etruscan *ceriχu tesamsa* may correspond to the Latin *faciendum curavit*. Umbrian: G. Battista Pighi (pp. 373-7) investigates the meaning of *Kletra* in the Iguvine Tables. Greek: Silvio G. Mercati (pp. 241-5) discusses *κρανγάρης*, *θυράριος*, *βηνάβλον* and cognate forms. He also emends a line of the iambic ethopoeia of the Italo-Byzantine poet, Johannes Grassos (for *πρόιτε* in 48 read *πινός τε*) and sees in the new reading a reflection of *Aeneid*, III, 39-40. Latin: Alfred Ernout (pp. 37-9) traces the development of *abundare* to the point where it becomes the augmentative of *habere* and *abundantia* is felt as a substantive thereof.

Religion

Apocalypse: Carlo Cecchelli (pp. 23-31) investigates the meaning of the number of the beast (*ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ*) in XIII, 18. He assumes that it was originally written in three stigmas, s, s, s, which a copyist understood as χξς' or 666 and wrote out in full. The number 6 is symbolic of Jesus (*Ἰησους* has 6 letters) and Cecchelli attributes its repetition three times to the oriental tendency to emphasis. The beast, then, has disguised himself as Christ to mislead the elect into heresy. At least, we have come a long way from attempts to interpret this number as referring to a Nero *redivivus* in antiquity or a Hitler in our own times. Mazduk: Franz Altheim (pp. 1-8) discusses elements of Neoplatonism in the theology of the Iranian religious reformer Mazdak. They would have been brought to Iran by a certain Bundōs who lived under Diocletian. This article,

modified, enlarged, and fully documented can now be read in *La Nouvelle Clío*, III (1953), pp. 356 ff.

Archaeology

Biagio Pace (pp. 284-7) studies the manner in which the metamorphosis of Iphigenia is presented in the well-known statue of Artemis from the *Dolichenum* on the Aventine, now on exhibit in the Capitoline Museum. He concludes that the sculptor was attempting to portray the moment when Iphigenia was about to disappear through the intervention of Artemis who holds the stag that will be substituted for her in the sacrifice.

Byzantine

Ciro Giannelli (pp. 83-97) in a careful chronological study concludes that the *χρηστός φραγξίσκος* to whom Barlaam Calaber addresses his *De Primatu Papae* could not have been Petrarch or Francesco da Camerino. His own candidate is a French soldier by the same name who served at the Byzantine court when Barlaam was at Constantinople some time before his mission to Avignon and his subsequent conversion to Roman catholicism.

Renaissance

Bruno Nardi (pp. 253-83) reconstructs the teaching activities of Pietro Pomponazzi at Padua and Bologna chiefly on the basis of the *reportationes* or transcripts of the master's lectures made by his students.

Although the present writer is well aware that brief summaries can never do justice to whole pieces of work, he hopes to have indicated in some measure the wide variety and excellence of this volume. There is something in this book to interest every student of classical antiquity, and it will gather very little, if any, dust on the shelves of the many libraries where it belongs.

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ROLF WESTMAN. Plutarch gegen Kolotes; seine Schrift "Adversus Colotem" als philosophiegeschichtliche Quelle. Helsingfors, Societas Philosophica, 1955. Pp. 332. (*Acta Philosophica Fennica*, Fasc. VII.)

Adversus Colotem was Plutarch's answer to an attack by the Epicurean Colotes on Democritus, Parmenides, Empedocles, Socrates, Plato, and several other philosophers whose views Colotes considered inconsistent with the necessary presuppositions of human existence. The essay therefore contains important information about the early philosophers, the Epicureans, and Plutarch himself. Westman examines at great length the material on the early philosophers and the Epicureans; he treats of Plutarch's views only as they bear on the interpretation of the others.

Westman's systematic and detailed study throws new light on many passages that the collectors of fragments had misinterpreted. For instance (pp. 263 ff.) in Democritus, Fr. B 157 Diels-Kranz (*Adv. Col.*, 1126 A) he corrects the false rendering of ὧν and eliminates Reiske's gratuitous emendation of πολεμικὴν to πολιτικὴν. Similarly he clears away some of the errors of Bignone (e. g., p. 46, n. 1), Diano (pp. 196 f.), and other authorities on Epicureanism. His careful reconstruction of Colotes' lost work enables him to isolate the arguments of Colotes from those of Plutarch and to make an intelligent evaluation of both. The full table of contents (pp. 9-14), summary of results (pp. 304-10), bibliography (pp. 311-16), and indexes to persons and passages discussed (pp. 317-32) make the book easy to use.

But in spite of this substantial contribution much remains to be done. Westman himself (p. 175) promises a further study of chaps. 5 and 6. I shall limit my comments to the following points:

1. Westman (pp. 254 ff.) has seen that Plutarch's treatment of Colotes' first charge against Democritus (*Adv. Col.*, 1108 F) rests on a misunderstanding. In spite of Plutarch's denial, it is highly probable that Democritus used some such phrase as τῶν πραγμάτων ἕκαστον οὐ μᾶλλον τοῖον ἢ τοῖον εἶναι, but not in the Protagorean sense in which Plutarch interprets it. Westman points to the comparable phrase, μηδὲν μᾶλλον τοιοῦτον ἢ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, which is found in Fr. A 38 in support of the view that atomic shapes are infinitely varied; but Westman has not seen the full implications of his discovery. In an independent study of the passage Dr. T. F. Gould pointed out that the Democritean theory of infinity of atomic shapes was rejected by the Epicureans on the ground that it upset the order of nature (cf. Luer., II, 496-521). He observed further that Colotes' attack would surely reflect basic points of difference between Epicurus and Democritus. It is highly probable, therefore, that Colotes began with the charge that an infinite variety of atomic shapes would throw life into confusion. Possibly Colotes' argument was briefly stated; and Plutarch may have been misled by the very different connotations of οὐ μᾶλλον in later times. I am grateful to Dr. Gould for making available to me the results of his unpublished study.

2. The second charge against Democritus (1110 EF) raises a number of textual difficulties. Westman (pp. 252 ff.) gives an impressive defense of σύγκρισιν (p. 180, lines 9-10 of Pohlenz' edition), to which he would add ἅπασαν as the first word to be supplied in the following lacuna. In the next line his rejection (p. 49) of <μάχεσθαι> in favor of <ἀναρῆν τὰ φαινόμενα> is less attractive; for although it is true, as he observes, that the familiar Epicurean formula μάχεσθαι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι usually has a person as subject, this is no less true of the supplement he proposes; moreover, the phrase ἀναρῆν τὰ φαινόμενα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι is awkward (in spite of its occurrence in Sextus, *A. M.*, VII, 135), and the resulting hiatus, if not irremediable, is nevertheless embarrassing. Two lines below, Westman (pp. 49 f.) would read <κατ' ἀλήθειαν> ἔστιν in place of Pohlenz' <ἀνθρωπός> ἔστιν. But the question whether men "truly exist" is too metaphysical for Colotes, who is merely insisting that any philosophy which casts doubt on what man is provides no usable

base for human action. (This is the essence of Colotes' objection to Socrates' inquiry into the nature of man, chap. 21.) Later in the paragraph (p. 180, 22 Pohlenz) Westman (pp. 269 f.) argues that a comma should be placed between *ἀτόμους* and *ἰδέας*: "all things are atoms, called 'forms' by him"; and the proposal (p. 273) to read *ἀνύχων* for Xylander's *ἀπαθῶν* in 180, 27 makes excellent sense.

3. Colotes' criticisms of Parmenides raise an interesting question about his sources, for they are strikingly similar to certain passages in Aristotle. Westman, apparently unaware of the Aristotelian parallels, restricts his search to the works of Epicurus and other early Epicureans. But Epicurus was by no means ignorant of Aristotle's writings, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Colotes, whether directly or through his master, borrowed some of his arguments from Aristotle. The charges that Parmenides used "shameful sophisms" (1113 F) and that he destroyed fire, water, precipices, cities (1114 B) and indeed all things by positing "One Being" (1114 D) appear to echo Aristotle, *Phys.*, I, 2, 185 a 8-10; I, 3, 186 a 6-7 (Parmenides and Melissus use eristic arguments), and I, 2, 185 b 19-25 (if Parmenides means that all things are one in definition, then good is identical with not-good and man with horse, so that the argument does not reduce reality to one thing, but to nothing). It may be noted that Aristotle makes an even more devastating attack on Melissus (*Phys.*, I, 2, 185 a 10-11; I, 3, 186 a 10-11; cf. *Metaph.*, A, 5, 986 b 25-27), and Plutarch's failure to defend Melissus (see Westman, pp. 233, 297) becomes understandable if Colotes repeated Aristotle's criticisms of that unfortunate philosopher.

4. Colotes' interpretation of Empedocles may also be inspired by Aristotle, who argues that Empedocles cannot explain the generation of objects out of his elements (*De Gen. et Corr.*, II, 7, 334 a 26-31; *De Caelo*, III, 7, 305 b 1-3). Or, as Colotes puts it, neither we nor the objects of our experience exist (1112 D). (So in 1110 F Colotes had said of Democritus that he does not enable us to conceive of ourselves as living, and Aristotle in the *De Caelo* had coupled Democritus with Empedocles in their failure to account for *genesis*. The charge is turned back against the Epicureans by Plutarch, who also makes good use of Aristotelian doctrine.)

5. Neither Plutarch nor Westman could make anything of Colotes' comment (1113 D) on Empedocles, Fr. B 15. Here Empedocles proclaims man's immortality, and Colotes retorts that according to Empedocles men are not subject to disease or wounds. Plutarch is surprised that Colotes did not attack the doctrine of immortality, and Westman (pp. 58 f.) conjectures that Colotes read only the first three lines of the passage, overlooking the fourth. But there is no problem here. Colotes' remark makes perfect sense in the light of the Epicurean principle (Lucr., III, 484-6) that whatever can be damaged can be destroyed. From this it follows that what cannot be destroyed cannot be damaged. Empedocles, therefore, in maintaining man's immortality, must also maintain that man is incapable of injury. Hence Colotes' *reductio ad absurdum* of the Empedoclean view.

6. Colotes' basic criticism of Socrates is that by doubting the evident

he made action impossible. There are, however, other charges which amount to personal abuse (βλασφημία, 1117 EF): that the story of the oracle was sophistical and in bad taste (1116 F), that Socrates made a practice of boastful speeches, and that his acts were inconsistent with his words (1117 D). Westman (pp. 63 ff.) takes the latter two accusations as bearing directly on the central point: a doubter such as Socrates could not consistently act, and by professing to doubt at the same time that he was using his sense-perceptions in the everyday business of life he was ἀλαζών. It seems to me more probable that Usener was right in taking the "boastfulness" to be an allusion to Socratic irony (see Westman, p. 65), for even Aristotle links ἀλαζονεία with εἰρωνεία (*Eth. Nic.*, IV, 7, 1127 b 27-29), and Arison of Ceos, Fr. 14, VI-VIII Wehrli (from Philod., *De Vitius*, X, cols. XXI-XXIII) specifically uses Socrates as an example of the εἶρων that is a species of ἀλαζών. The inconsistency may have lain in the pretense of ignorance though I see no reason why it could not have been a reflection on Socrates' morals: Socrates' passion for young men was not consistent with his virtuous teachings. At any rate, charges of immorality against Socrates were common enough in ancient times, and Plutarch in his answer stresses Socrates' virtue (1117 E).

7. Westman's contention (pp. 70-2) that Colotes included both Platonists and Aristotelians under the name "Peripatetic" rests on very slim evidence; he is more successful (p. 72) in explaining why Colotes grouped them together: for to an Epicurean both schools would appear to adopt a dualism which separates the perceptible from the intelligible world. Nor need one assume (with Bignone and others) that Colotes had in mind the Aristotle of the *Dialogues*, for even such passages as *Eth. Nic.*, VI, 3, 1139 b 19-22 and *Phys.*, VII, 3, 245 b 3 ff. would suggest to an Epicurean the "Platonic" view that particulars are unstable and hence unknowable. Colotes' point is that if they are unknowable, human life becomes impossible.

8. Colotes may have used some of Aristotle's criticisms of Plato. According to Plutarch (1115 D) Colotes misinterpreted Plato's "otherness," and so also did Aristotle (cf. H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy*, I, pp. 92-4). Plutarch also hints (1115 F) that Colotes may have argued that for Plato idea and particular are merely homonymous, as when we give the name "Plato" to the man and his likeness. So Aristotle uses Callias and his statue as an example of homonymy in *Metaph.*, A, 9, 991 a 1-8. Plutarch's countercharge in 1116 C that for the Epicureans composite objects are in flux implies that Colotes had, like Aristotle (*Metaph.*, A, 6, 987 a 32-b 1), held that for Plato the objects of sense-perception are in a Heraclitean flux; and the denial (1116 AB) that Plato neglected the perceptible reminds one of Arist., *Metaph.*, A, 9, 992 b 8-9: ὅλη γὰρ ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἀνήρηται σκέψις. Even the use of men and horses as examples (1115 CD) is a familiar feature of Aristotle's discussion of the Platonic ideas (e.g. *Metaph.*, Z, 14, 1039 a 34). There is nothing of all this in Westman.

9. Westman fails to comment on several difficult matters. With what right, for instance, does Plutarch in chap. 9 link Plato and

Xenocrates with Aristotle as proponents of a physical theory based on qualitative elements? Aristotle, at any rate, would have rejected such an equation; cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy*, I, p. 124. And why, when Plutarch expounds Stilpo's puzzle of predication (chap. 23), does he use Aristotelian terminology? The puzzle loses all meaning as soon as such Aristotelian concepts as τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι (1120 A) and τὰ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ καὶ καθ' ὑπσκεμένου λεγόμενα (1120 B) are applied to it. Plutarch must have taken his account of Stilpo from a Peripatetic refutation. Westman's proposal (p. 125) to emend τὸν θεὸν μὴ λέγειν θεὸν (p. 198, 28 Pohlenz) to τὸν θεὸν μὴ λέγειν ἀγαθὸν blunts the point of Plutarch's counterthrust at the Epicureans.

10. Westman does not question Plutarch's identification of οἱ περὶ πάντων ἐπείχοντες with the Academy of Arcesilaus. Perhaps it is foolhardy to do so, as Plutarch obviously had more evidence than we. But it may be noted that Plutarch is cautious about the identification (ὡς ὑπονοῶ, p. 200, 18 Pohlenz), and that nothing of what he has preserved of Colotes' invective definitely excludes identification with the school of Pyrrho. The bitterness of Colotes' tone (cf. chap. 29) and his charge of pretended originality (chap. 26) are better suited to the insolent Timon, who ridiculed opposing schools, than to the genial Arcesilaus. Timon had used the term λαμπρός (cf. p. 208, 9 Pohlenz) in a context that the Epicureans might well have found offensive (see L. S. J., s. v.), and the sceptics' charge that all dogmatists are rash (cf. προπετῶν, p. 208, 10) is in all probability as old as Pyrrho: Colotes is merely answering in kind. Moreover, Pyrrho would have been for Epicurus the outstanding spokesman of the sceptic position, and Colotes might reasonably be expected to have attacked an established school in preference to the late-comer Arcesilaus. Finally, Arcesilaus' argument was primarily with the Stoics (see Westman, pp. 294 f.), and Plutarch says explicitly that Colotes betrayed complete ignorance of the central point at issue between New Academy and Stoa. Plutarch's attachment to the Academy could account for his supposition that the intended adversary was Arcesilaus.

11. The dating of Colotes' work hinges on this identification. An attack on Arcesilaus could not antedate 268, the year when Arcesilaus became head of the Academy; the Ptolemy to whom Colotes' work is addressed must then be Philadelphus. But if Colotes had the Pyrrhonists in mind, the date could be pushed back thirty years or more, and the king could be Ptolemy Soter. The fact that Colotes was one of Epicurus' first pupils and was not mentioned in his will adds further plausibility to an early date.

12. Westman (p. 78) quotes as the theoretical basis of Colotes' attack on scepticism the following sentence from 1122 F-1123 A: ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον τὸ μὴ συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐναργεῖσι· τὸ γὰρ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ πεπιστευμένα τοῦ μήτ' ἀρνεῖσθαι μήτε τιθέναι παραλογώτερον. The latter part of this sentence implies that scepticism is preferable to a mistaken dogmatism; but the Epicurean position is just the reverse: that dogmatism, even at the risk of error, is preferable to scepticism (cf. Lucr., IV, 500-6), and it is an essential step in Plutarch's answer to show that scepticism is preferable to a mistaken dogmatism.

(1123 DE). Emendation is therefore necessary. The simplest solution is to adopt an unpublished emendation of Paul Shorey: τοῦ γὰρ ἀρν. τὰ πεπ. τὸ κτλ.

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MARTIN P. NILSSON. *Die hellenistische Schule*. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1955. Pp. xi + 104; 8 plates. DM 9 (paper); 12 (linen).

The importance of educational institutions in the Hellenistic period is seen in the wide dissemination of Greek culture, and the attention given to educational theory is evident from literary sources; but the precise organization and operation of the schools which educated the ordinary citizen are difficult to reconstruct, as extant literary texts contain only scattered references to such matters, and much of our information must be pieced together from inscriptions and papyri.

Nilsson's reconstruction is skillful. An introductory section gives the background of Hellenistic education, discussing, among other things, the Athenian *ephebeia*. In a second section Nilsson takes up in systematic fashion the school building or gymnasium, the age groups (assigning the three years between 15 and 18 to the *ephebeia*), the curriculum and school calendar, the teachers and libraries, the school officials, and the relation of school to community, with special reference to religious cults. A third and final section he devotes to the gymnasium under the Seleucids and in Egypt. At the end of the volume are a list of pertinent inscriptions, an index, and ten illustrations.

In his emphasis on epigraphical material Nilsson minimizes the evidence of literary sources. The amount of such evidence, he says, is slight ("Literarische Nachrichten fehlen fast ganz"); moreover, he holds that the higher levels of Greek culture had little to do with the "average" man or with popular education, which, he infers from the inscriptions, put physical training in first place, music second, reading and writing third, and all but ignored mathematics.

But perhaps the epigraphical evidence from which Nilsson infers the neglect of grammar and mathematics admits of another interpretation. The greater public interest in athletic and musical contests and festivals is understandable and does not necessarily imply that other subjects were poorly taught. The practice of recruiting non-local teachers may, as Nilsson (p. 50) argues, indicate that the available local teachers were often poorly trained; but it shows also that a serious effort was made to obtain the best teachers available (compare Pliny's request to Tacitus to recommend a teacher for the new school at Comum, *Epist.*, IV, 13, 10). Moreover, Nilsson himself cites (p. 53) the well-known inscriptions of Miletus and Teos (*S. I. G.*³, 577, 578) in which the salaries of teachers of grammar are on the whole better than those of athletic trainers. Nilsson's explanation (p. 52) of the great popularity of public libraries in Hellenistic cities rests on the implausible view that a lively interest in literature and a low level of literary instruction existed side by

side; and it is difficult to see how the wealth of literary texts preserved on Egyptian papyri is compatible with a general neglect of literary studies in the gymnasium, the guardian of the "living spirit" of Hellenism (see especially pp. 97 f.).

Nor is it the case that the better teachers (e. g., eminent philosophers) were inaccessible. Carneades must have been lecturing in a gymnasium on the occasion when a gymnasiarch ordered him to lower his voice (Diog. Laert., IV, 63); Bion made an appearance in a gymnasium at Rhodes (Diog. Laert., IV, 53); both Crates (Diog. Laert., VI, 89) and Epicurus (see Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro*, II, p. 116) had encounters with gymnasiarchs, and Epicurus courted the young (Plut., *De latenter vivendo*, 1128 F); an anecdote about Diogenes places him in a gymnasium outside Corinth (Diog. Laert., VI, 77). In later times, Plutarch on occasion portrayed his group of students as conversing in a gymnasium (*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, 1086 D) or in a stoa (*De sera numinis vindicta*, 548 AB). Of course there is inscriptional evidence of philosophical instruction in the schools (cf. Nilsson, pp. 23 and 26). In addition, Plutarch tells how the Stoic Sphaerus went to Sparta to teach *véoi* and *ἐφηβοί* (*Life of Cleomenes*, ch. ii, 805 CD). Diogenes Laertius (VII, 10) records an Athenian decree honoring the Stoic Zeno for his activity as a teacher of *véoi* and authorizing the erection of two monuments in his honor, one in the Lyceum and the other in the Academy. The Peripatetic Lycon concerned himself with elementary education (*περὶ παίδων ἀγωγὴν ἀκρὸς συντεταγμένος*, Diog. Laert., V, 65; Frag. 22 Wehrli). The benches for beggars in Zeno's classroom (Diog. Laert., VII, 22) are not indicative of private instruction, and Chrysippus' lectures in the Odeum (Diog. Laert., VII, 184) were presumably public. It is not unthinkable that Epictetus, who retained the Cynic ideal of a "mission," held his school in a public place; certainly his audience included schoolboys who had to justify the study of philosophy to their parents (*Diss.*, I, 26, 5), became homesick (III, 5), lacked enthusiasm for their studies (I, 10), and were preparing to go out into the world (I, 29, 33). There may still be a question whether philosophy was generally an integral part of popular education; but it is clear that philosophical instruction was widely available to those who wanted it and that there is no clear boundary between the education of the *élite* and that of the "average" man.

Nilsson's remark (p. 81) that Plato and Aristotle had no observable influence on the Hellenistic school means that the essential features of Hellenistic education may be accounted for without reference to the educational theories of these philosophers. How can one measure the influence of ideas, especially when, as so often in Aristotle, they reinforce existing institutions? And while it is true that Plato's criticisms of Homer did not dislodge the epics as basic elementary texts, are not these criticisms largely responsible for the philosophical reinterpretations of Homer so widely fashionable in later times and so enthusiastically propounded by the influential Stoic grammarian, Crates of Mallos? Quintilian, who was reasonably close to actual educational practice, recognizes (*I. O.*, I, 4, 4) that the interpretation of the poets requires a knowledge of philosophy. More tangible evidence of philosophy in the classroom appears in school exercises preserved on papyri. One such papyrus, No. 446

in the Yale collection, was published by Harry M. Hubbell in *C. P.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 189-98. Written in a "large, clumsy, school hand," it lists and defines the parts of speech in a way that can only be explained in terms of Stoic grammatical theory.

Nilsson's book is addressed to the non-specialist. There are no Greek quotations in the text, and the apparatus of scholarship is kept to a minimum. No doubt Nilsson was fully conversant with the kinds of questions raised in this review but passed over them as unnecessary and perhaps irrelevant. Yet a careful re-study of the literary evidence in the light of Nilsson's conclusions would, I believe, make possible a further advance in our knowledge about Hellenistic education.

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PH.-E. LEGRAND. *Hérodote, Histoires, Livre IX, Calliope. Texte établi et traduit. Index Analytique.* Paris, Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1954. Pp. 109; 246. (*Budé.*)

Philippe-Ernest Legrand died on July 1st, 1953, at the age of 86 and did not live to see these volumes in their final printed form. It is twenty-five years since the first volumes of this edition of Herodotus began to appear, and now that it is complete it is a worthy monument to this fine scholar's later years. The introductory volume is indispensable to every student of Herodotus; each volume of text has valuable critical essays on the subject matter, and the edition is notable for its independent critical approach, its brief incisive notes, and its excellent translation. Even the reader who never looks at the Greek text is warned when he is being offered a translation of a doubtful or conjectural reading. Legrand's high standards as critic and translator prevented him from remaining content with a text that he could not fully understand in terms of context and style.

It may appear to some that he expects too much of Herodotus as a stylist and tries to impose upon him rules that cannot properly be applied. For example, I have counted eight passages in Book IX (there may be more) where he omits or would prefer to omit a $\tau\epsilon$ which is present in some or all of the manuscripts, because its presence seems to him contrary to orthodox usage. Even a superficial study of Denniston's pages dealing with $\tau\epsilon$ in his *Greek Particles* will show that an explanation can be found for some of these examples and that the question of usage cannot be settled easily; and unless a puzzling $\tau\epsilon$ can be explained away as the result of ditto-graphy or as a corruption of $\gamma\epsilon$, it is easier to understand why a copyist should omit it than why he should add it in error. There are other occasions when I cannot agree with Legrand in thinking the manuscript reading unintelligible. In 2, 2 the Thebans tell Mardonius that it will be difficult to resist a united Greek force *κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν*, but insist that "if you do what we advise," *ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλευματα* (*ἰσχυρὰ* is omitted in ABC and by many editors). Legrand argues that *ἔξεις* in such a context must mean *comperta habebis*, and that, especially if *ἰσχυρά* is retained,

this makes no sense. He therefore reads ἄξεις: "tu briseras toutes leurs fermes résolutions." He presumably intends the future indicative of ἀγνυμι, though the rough breathing is difficult to understand (it seems not to be a printer's error, since it appears three times in the notes as well as in the text). Yet this verb occurs only once in Herodotus, in the present participle passive (I, 185, 6), and so short and abrupt a future indicative (apart from the rarity of this particular form in any extant author) is hardly suitable to express the picturesque notion of "smashing an enemy's plans." In fact the cure seems distinctly worse than the disease; and it may be that the disease is imaginary. It is by no means certain that ἔχω here means "have knowledge of." Many critics think so, including J. E. Powell (*Lexicon to Herodotus*, s. v. ἔχω), but there is much to be said for the alternative possibility "you will be master of" (cf. Godley's translation and the Cary-Schweighäuser *Lexicon*); indeed ἰσχυρά can then be retained as a contemptuous quotation by the Thebans: "their brave plans of battle, as they call them, will be yours to control."

In 12, 2 the Argives tell Mardonius that the Spartan army has started northwards and that they are too weak to keep their promise of stopping it: ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἰσχεῖν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξέλναι. Legrand brackets the last three words on the ground that at the time when the herald is speaking Pausanias will have already left Sparta and therefore he must say either "we *are* too weak to hold them" or "we *were* not able to stop them leaving" (as though the epexegetic phrase actually altered the meaning of ἰσχεῖν and destroyed the timeless character of the adjective δυνατός). He shows a similar extreme "tense-consciousness" in 26, 2, where the Tegeates in claiming their right to be stationed on the wing not occupied by the Spartans say "we *are* always thought worthy (ἀξιούμεθα) of this post in all expeditions that *took* place (ᾧσαι ἐγένοντο)." Though Legrand retains the manuscript reading here, he is tempted to read the imperfect ἡξιούμεθα; but if the Tegeates are insisting on a present and permanent claim based on past practice, the language of the text, though highly compressed, is more forceful than if regularized as Legrand proposes. Equally unnecessary is the proposal to read ἀνοσιώτατον ἔξων λόγον (instead of ἔχων) in 78, 1.

In other passages, however, he is certainly right in making a more substantial change than previous editors have demanded. In 14, 1 (after the message from the Argives in 12) Mardonius receives word that the advance party of the Spartan force has reached Megara. The manuscripts all read ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος ἄλλην στρατὸν ἦκειν. Schweighäuser's inevitable πρόδρομον satisfied previous editors, but Legrand rightly recognizes that this is not an adequate cure and he reads ἦλθε ἀγγελίη <ἄλλη> πρόδρομον [ἄλλην]. This is undoubtedly what the sense demands, and his explanation of the corruption, though tortuous, may be right: ἄλλη omitted by a copyist, then added above the line, then put back in the text out of place, then changed to the accusative before πρόδρομον was corrupted to the nominative. It is equally correct to find fault with the text in 106, 3, where the proposal to settle the Ionians in the country of the Greeks who medized is described: τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια (ἐμπολία ABC) ἐξαναστήσαντας. But Legrand's conjecture ἐπιπλά is hardly more satisfactory. ἐξανάστασις

is the uprooting of populations, not the removal of their possessions. It seems to me that ἐθνέων must be a partitive genitive and ἐμπόρια the corruption of some adjective or participial phrase specifying what group of medizing peoples were to be displaced; several possibilities will suggest themselves to anyone who looks up words beginning with ἐμπο- in the lexicon.

A number of Stein's good conjectures, which Hude rejected, are accepted in the text and justified in the notes, e. g. 62, 1; 70, 1; 81, 2; 83, 2. In 35, 2 the old conjecture Ἰθώμη for Ἰσθμῶς is not even mentioned, and Legrand may be right in thinking that some words have been lost describing the circumstances of this battle.

The *Index Analytique* is an index of proper names, divided into four separate sections: A. Personnages humains, historiques ou légendaires. B. Dieux, fêtes, sanctuaires. C. Peuples et fractions de peuples. D. Pays, mers, cours d'eau, montagnes, villes, lieux-dits; and finally E, an index of *Notabilia Varia*. The passages are not listed in the order in which they occur, but in such a way as to provide "une sorte de petite notice" in so far as the detail is supplied by Herodotus himself. There is an occasional bibliographical reference or a hint that more information will be found in a note on the passage cited. This index, therefore, offers, but much more generously, the sort of information for which previously one was disposed to rely on the index to Rawlinson's translation. Only time will provide a true measure of its usefulness and accuracy.

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CARL MEYER. Die Urkunden im Geschichtswerk des Thukydides. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1955. Pp. viii + 102. DM 9.50. (*Zetemata, Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, X.*)

This book is a study of an old problem: how and when did Thucydides write his *History*? Meyer examines the documents cited in the narrative as we have it today and seeks to determine, from internal evidence, whether they stood in the original draft or whether they were inserted later, by Thucydides upon his return to Athens or by an editor.

The work is divided into five chapters. The first, "Einleitende Bemerkungen," describes the problem and the method of attack, with considerable attention paid to the views of earlier scholars, especially Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, E. Meyer, and Schwartz. "Der Waffenstillstandsvertrag von 423 v. Chr. (4, 118-119, 2)" is followed by "Die Urkunden des fünften Buches," which, after a brief opening statement, falls into three parts: "Der Friede des Nikias (5, 18-19)," "Das spartanisch-athenische Bündnis (5, 23-24)," and "Die Verhandlungen zwischen Sparta und Argos (5, 76-81)." In "Die Urkunden des achten Buches (8, 18.37.58)" Meyer concentrates on the agreements drawn up between the Spartans and the Persians during the Dekeleian war. The concluding remarks ("Schlussbetrachtung") note five treaties to which Thucydides

makes only brief reference, since they fall outside the scope of the *History* proper: three from the first book (the Athenian pact with Argos and Thessaly, the Armistice of 451 B. C., and the Thirty Years' Peace) and two from the fifth (30, 1 and 31, 5, each within the Peloponnesian League).

A brief "Vorwort" by Hartmut Erbse reports the death of Meyer in 1950 and his own services, along with those of Ernst Kapp, in editing the manuscript and seeing the book into print. The sole index is of passages from Thucydides quoted in the text.

The author's method is consistent throughout. He examines the document rather cursorily; he then examines, with the utmost care, the context in which the document lies. His conclusions do not vary: in each case he finds references to the document and its contents of such a nature as to prove, to his satisfaction, that the document is an integral part of the narrative and must have occupied its present place in Thucydides' first draft.

The Armistice of 423 B. C. (IV, 118-119, 2) will serve as an example. In 120, 1 the verb ἐπύρχοντο in the clause περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας αἷς ἐπύρχοντο is derived by Meyer from ἐπάρχεσθαι ("jemandem die Erstlinge weihen") rather than from ἐπέρχεσθαι; it is thus an echo of ἐσπένδοντο in the record of the pouring of the libations (119, 2) which follows the document and is essentially a part of it. The clause, then, presupposes a knowledge of the document by the reader. It is instructive to note that Wilamowitz, believing the document to have been inserted later, could not adopt this interpretation; he took ἐπύρχοντο from ἐπέρχεσθαι and then bracketed αἷς ἐπύρχοντο as a repetition of 119, 3 (ξυνῆσαν . . . λέγουσ): a curious kind of textual criticism.

Again, we are told in 122, 3 (Σκιωναίους δε αἰσθόμενος ἐκ λογισμοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὅτι ὕστερον ἀφειστήκοιεν) and 6 (δύο γὰρ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέστησαν οἱ Σκιωναῖοι) of a calculation that showed that Skione had revolted two days "later." The only possible chronological point of departure was the signing of the armistice on the stipulated date (118, 12). Thucydides, then, assumes in the reader a knowledge of the document and its date. Without the document, much of what follows, including the operations of Brasidas in Thrace, is unintelligible.

It may be that Meyer strains a little to make his case; it may be that, in his discussion of dates, he places too much confidence in Julian equivalents; nevertheless, his view of the *History* as a whole is, to me, thoroughly sound. It is a futile and unprofitable exercise to separate into chronological layers a book that was begun at the beginning of the war and revised constantly as the author persisted in his writing, just as any author looks back and revises, whether he is producing a book or an essay. Meyer, in combatting the views of earlier scholars, reminds us of some of the follies of nineteenth-century criticism; fortunately, saner opinions, as exemplified by J. H. Finley's *Thucydides*, prevail today.

Meyer's style is wordy and difficult. But he has written a good book and his friends have done their part well.

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W. BEARE. *The Roman Stage. A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic.* London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1955. Pp. xiii + 365. 37s. 6d.

The first edition of Professor Beare's *The Roman Stage* appeared in 1950. The book was warmly welcomed by reviewers and praised as an important contribution to the study of Roman drama,¹ although some felt that the work would benefit by additional documentation and fuller bibliography. To satisfy this need and to incorporate the latest discussions of many problems, Beare has prepared a new and considerably enlarged edition of the book (increased from 292 to 365 pages). In his "Preface to Second Edition" (p. ix) he writes as follows: "I have tried to make use of recent publications, particularly Professor Duckworth's *Nature of Roman Comedy* and the late Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge's *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*." Other recent works cited in the new edition include Webster's *Studies in Menander* (1950) and *Studies in Later Greek Comedy* (1953, wrongly dated on p. 348 as 1950); Enk's *Truculentus* (1953); Della Corte's *Da Sarsina a Roma* (1952); Grimal's *Le Siècle des Scipions* (1953); Schutter's dissertation on Plautine chronology (1952); and Haffter's article on Terence in *M.H.*, X (1953).

Of the twenty-seven chapters which comprise the first two-thirds of the volume, several have undergone minor changes (occasional rephrasing of text and addition of new footnotes), and two chapters, VI: Greek New Comedy, and XII: Terence, have been rewritten; the latter chapter now contains more on the plays, and the note on "contaminatio" (originally pp. 100-4) has been rewritten as Appendix K (pp. 300-3). In addition to the original footnotes and those newly added, an entire new series of notes has been written as "Notes and Sources" (pp. 325-45), and this section provides the useful documentation which was not in the first edition. The original Appendices (A through G) have been retained and five more (H through M) added. The new appendices (in addition to K, mentioned above) deal with ancient passages on stage scenery (H), masks (I), the Oxyrhynchus mime, with text, translation, and notes (L), and finally a valuable discussion of "Accent, Ictus and Rhythm: the Metres of Latin Drama" (M, pp. 310-24); Beare's own view (p. 316) is that "a marked stress-accent is not consistent with quantitative versification." The latter part of this final Appendix is an excellent analysis of the various meters of Latin comedy, with many English equivalents.² The Appendices are followed by the

¹ Cf., e.g., Harsh in *A.J.P.*, LXXIV (1953), pp. 427 f., Duckworth in *C.P.*, XLVII (1952), pp. 171 f., Hough in *C.J.*, XLVII (1951-2), pp. 293 f., Abbott in *C.W.*, XLV (1951-2), pp. 102-4, Dale in *Phoenix*, VI (1952), pp. 75 f., and Tredennick in *C.R.*, N.S. II (1952), pp. 27-30.

² In discussing lyrical meters, Beare points out (p. 320) that I include the anapaest among lyric measures (*Nature of Roman Comedy*, p. 368) and that, on the next page, I say that a long passage of anapaestic septenarii is not song "since there is no change of meter." Beare adds: "The two criteria of 'song' offered to us are inconsistent with each other. If the anapaest is indeed a lyric measure, then passages in anapaests are songs whether there is a change of metre or not; but if frequent change of metre is necessary, then no metre can in itself be regarded as lyrical." Perhaps no meter should be regarded

new section on "Notes and Sources." Next comes the Bibliography, increased threefold from the first edition and with a topical arrangement which makes it far more valuable for all students of Roman drama. Finally, in place of the original three-page index, we have (1) a much fuller index (pp. 353-7), (2) a new index to lines of Latin plays quoted or discussed (pp. 359-64), and (3) a key to the meaning of the metrical terms (p. 365).

The many additions and expansions listed above have materially improved *The Roman Stage* but have not altered its essential nature; it remains a book on the staging of plays rather than a discussion of the plays themselves. Beare has modified several of his views; he now seems less certain that the *Mercator* is not by Plautus (p. 57, both editions), that Terence should be included among the writers of the worthless new comedies (p. 75, both editions), that the Romans had a predominantly stress accent (p. 214; cf. p. 216, 1st ed.), and that there is no song in Plautus (p. 222; cf. p. 224, 1st ed.). We should all be grateful to Professor Beare for his new edition, which replaces the original work as an even more authoritative and valuable contribution.

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A. G. AMATUCCI. *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana*. Seconda edizione interamente riveduta. Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1955. Pp. vii + 366.

This is a new edition of a readable book that has a good deal to offer to all students of later Latin literature, for Amatucci is an eminently simpatico companion, whose impressions of the later Latin writers are fresh, interesting, and frequently provocative. It would be unfair to compare the *Storia* with the greater work of Pierre de Labriolle (*Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, which also has appeared in a revised edition), the two volumes of which comprise close to nine hundred pages of well-rounded literary history and interpretation. In an engaging preface, reprinted from the first edition, Amatucci makes quite clear the scope of his work and his own point of view with regard to it. Although the *Storia* contains a great deal of information, it is not designed to be a reference book; and, although the author has necessarily made excursions into many departments of "intellectual history," this book is not primarily a study of the "mind of Latin Christianity." The author candidly states that his interest is chiefly literary. He has read the authors from the second century to the time of Gregory the Great and here draws attention to those writings of the Christian authors that he regards worthy of the attention of the general student of ancient literature. One may take exception to opinions

as lyrical, certainly not the iambic and trochaic measures, and yet these are often found among the passages in changing meters. But cretics, dactyls, bacchiacs, and anapaests are prominent in the lyrical cantica. The frequent change of meter seems the important criterion, and the long passage in anapaestic septenarii (*Miles*, 1011-93) is definitely a *canticum*, not a *mutatis modis canticum*.

expressed in this book and disagree on matters of detail, but it must be admitted that the author has accomplished his purpose.

Should a history of Christian Latin literature begin with Tertullian's *Liber Apologeticus* or Minucius Felix' *Octavius*? Amatucci takes the position of Ebert in this venerable controversy and without ado makes Minucius the father of Christian Latin literature, an honor most lovers of the *Octavius* would be glad to accord him, if there were not the strongest of literary considerations in favor of the priority of Tertullian's greater if less urbane work. Minucius Felix must probably be denied as important a place in history as Amatucci gives him, but no reader is likely to dissent from Amatucci's opinion of the literary merit of the *Octavius*. Composed of borrowed materials it may be, but the materials have been transmuted to create a genuine work of art.

The fact that the literary judgments set down in the *Storia* are derived from the author's intimate first-hand acquaintance with Christian literature is apparent in every chapter. More than one Christian writer secures a reprieve from the conventional condemnation of the critics and historians. An interesting example is Juvenecus, who is customarily dismissed as the dull and laborious versifier of the Gospels. Juvenecus' work is not a cento. It was Juvenecus' intention to give the Gospel story a Vergilian quality, but his technique went far beyond that of a mechanical combiner of shreds and patches. Amatucci with some justice takes De Labriolle to task for having failed to appreciate the art of Juvenecus.

Amatucci crosses swords with De Labriolle again over the interpretation of St. Augustine's dialogues (*Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita*, and *De Ordine*) and again, in the opinion of this reviewer, with justice on his side. De Labriolle having sought in vain for echoes of Augustine's conversion in these early works had compared them to a languid morning after the spiritual storm. Amatucci sees rather a spring morning following a *nox caliginosa*. It is surprising, however, that Amatucci should have failed fully to appreciate the art of these dialogues. Curiously he seems to regard them as inferior (in dramatic quality) to the dialogues of Cicero. These dialogues, which have never received from the students of Latin literature the attention that they deserve, possess a liveliness, realism, and a richness of characterization never met with in Cicero. In fact the dramatic element, the lack of which Amatucci deplures, is constantly present except in the last portion of *De Ordine*, which becomes a treatise on education.

It is gratifying to find that Prudentius receives due credit for his achievement. The general reader, offended by the Spaniard's frequent breaches of good taste, is likely not to discover his real greatness. Perhaps this greatness lies more in his magnificent vision of the Christian poet's function than in his actual achievement; yet in spite of the poet's obvious faults, his pages contain a great deal that commands the admiration of all students of literature.

Amatucci's form of presentation varies from author to author. Those less commonly read are more generously illustrated by means of quotations. One might quarrel with the author in his selection of illustrative excerpts, but such selection is a matter of personal taste and most difficult in any case. Most of the excerpts are from the poets. One would have welcomed more illustrations from the

prose authors and certainly from the unique poetic prose of St. Augustine's *Confessions*.

This was not designed as a reference work and the author makes no pretense of sifting critical opinions of the authors with which he deals. He does cite authorities, however, particularly Ebert's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*; one might have expected a prominent place to be given to such works as Gilson's *Introduction à l'étude de St. Augustin* and the profound *St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* of H.-I. Marrou.

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EDMUND T. SILK.

F. E. ADCOCK. *Caesar as Man of Letters*. Cambridge, University Press, 1955. Pp. x + 108. \$2.00.

This little book hardly lives up to the expectations its title arouses, for it is not primarily a critique or an analysis of Caesar's writing from a literary point of view. It will, nevertheless, be useful, and we may well applaud the author's purpose in wishing to supply a companion to the reading of Caesar, who is apparently as badly neglected beyond the elementary stages of Latin study in England as he is here and for the same reasons.

Chapter I deals with "Literary Form" and undertakes to place the *Commentaries* in the development of this genre. We know too little of other *Commentaries*, but may be reasonably sure that Caesar's are somehow not exactly typical. What Cicero says in the *Brutus* may be more confusing than helpful, as Franz Bömer has shown in an article entitled "Der Commentarius. Zur Vorgeschichte und literarischen Form der Schriften Caesars" (*Hermes*, LXXXI [1953], pp. 210-50), the most serious study of this subject yet produced. If this chapter did not take Bömer's work into account, it might well have profited by doing so. Two minor points may be made in connection with this chapter. One is that Kelsey's reconstructed title, *C. Iuli Caesaris commentarii rerum gestarum* is far from certain; one might even question whether the *Commentaries* originally bore a title (cf. my "Entitulation of Pre-Ciceronian Writings" in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* [Urbana, 1943], pp. 20-38). The second is that Caesar does not, as twice stated (pp. 4 and 7), directly call the Civil War a *civilis dissensio*. That is what the more circumspect Hirtius calls it in the prologue to book VIII of the *Gallic War*, while Caesar refers to it frankly as *bellum* (III, 18, 5; 57, 5; 60, 4).

Chapter II, after weighing the purposes of Caesar in writing the *Commentaries* (to inform and influence his senatorial colleagues, to make it impossible for others to deny his greatness, to underrate it, or leave it unrewarded), proceeds to give a brief and lively book-by-book summary of their contents. Chapter III, "The Military Man," as an appreciation of Caesar's ability and genius as a general, while hardly to be expected in a book under this title, is apparently justified on the basis that, "The study of the *Commentaries* comprises the study of Caesar's advance in the arts of a general." What one would expect, on the other hand, to be the meat of this book comes

off with a brief, fourteen pages in Chapter IV. Here the author had the excellent example of Hans Oppermann's *Caesar, der Schriftsteller und sein Werk* (Leipzig, 1933) before him, but while he cites it with approbation he reflects little of its keen stylistic analysis and sensitive appreciation, presumably because of a firm determination to avoid technicality or ponderousness at all costs. We may share the conviction that, "It is the strong impact of Caesar's mind, rather than conscious art that creates his style," but in a chapter on Caesar's style one might expect to find more attention paid to his selection of events and compression of time, and a consideration of so prominent a feature as his use of indirect discourse, even if there was no time for a glance at his *clausulae*. In so concise a book proportion is important, and two pages out of fourteen devoted to speeches reported in direct discourse might give a false impression.

Chapter V is devoted to the difficult problem of the time of composition and of publication of the *Gallic War* and the *Civil War* and to the digressions in the former, while the final chapter describes the Caesarian corpus. Of the *Gallic War* the author believes that the books were written, "at intervals over a period of years," and published all at once in 51/50. On the even more difficult question of the *Civil War* he reaches a very tentative conclusion that Books I and II were written and published before Pharsalus and that Book III was written "more or less as the campaign proceeded."

The book is a very thoughtful and well-informed introduction to the extended reading of Caesar. It is determinedly compendious, and this is perhaps a virtue, although I feel that it could have been more detailed in parts without being dull or formidable. Specifically, I believe that the chapter on style could be considerably expanded and that the promise of the title really requires a more extended treatment of style.

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RUDOLF EISWIRTH. Hieronymus' Stellung zur Literatur und Kunst. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. Pp. xiii + 96. (*Klassisch-Philologische Studien* herausgegeben von Hans Herter und Wolfgang Schmid, Heft 16.)

This orderly reworking of a 1953 Bonn doctoral dissertation begins with a five-page bibliography, after which the first (and larger) part is concerned with Jerome's relation to secular pagan literature, a subject already treated by several writers—Luebeck, Hilberg, Dziech, Kunst, Harendza, Stade, Winter, Seliga, Süss, Courcelle, Bardenhewer, Ellspermann, and the present reviewer, as well as in the biographies by Grützmacher and Cavallera. In the earlier part the author is rather doxographic, listing various opinions and then deciding for a particular one; later he more appropriately begins with the ancient evidence and tries to base his decisions upon that.

Eiswirth concludes that Jerome gained a fair working knowledge of Greek at Rome, but later, in the Orient, a much fuller command

of that language. His famous dream (*Ep.* 22, 30) is discussed in detail, and the bitter controversy whether the promise given in it to abstain from pagan literature was kept or not, and the author comes to the conclusion (pp. 24-9) that, in general, Jerome was not false to his oath (save technically, for an occasional and permissible use of pagan historians for purely historical purposes), and that quotations from pagan authors found in his works subsequently to the dream are reminiscences of his youthful studies. Jerome recognized the essential part played in the education of Christian youth by the study of pagan classics, as well as the cautions to be observed in the inculcation of a *Christiana simplicitas*, and even Moses, Paul, the Apologists, and the earlier Fathers had used Jewish or pagan writings, though the moral superiority of the Christian to the pagan he clearly appreciates.

But if he admires the beauty of form to be found in the pagan classics, he has little understanding of philosophic writings, for it is as a Christian philologist and rhetorician that he is eminent; in the direction of philosophy lies possible heresy, to which he was passionately opposed.

The more scanty allusions in Jerome to works of art, and, in particular, to lavish luxury and extravagance in the decorations of churches, books, vestments, and other ritual apparatus, while the poor are starving, are found especially in his correspondence with Paulinus of Nola, as seen in *Epp.* 53 and 58, and a considerable excursus (pp. 75-96) is devoted to proving that of these two letters no. 58 is the earlier, dating from the beginning of Jerome's friendship with Paulinus. A brief but interesting discussion (pp. 69-70) treats Jerome's attitude toward natural beauty, for which he shows an appreciation not felt for the fine arts or music, but conclusions are here complicated by paucity of allusions and the possibility that those which do occur may well be reflections from such Biblical passages as *Ps.* 77 and *Matt.* 6, 28-9.

The whole thesis, though leading to no very startling conclusions, gives indications of careful study of the bulky corpus of Jerome's works and sober reasoning upon the data found in it.

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ERVIN ROOS. Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951. Pp. 303; 34 figs.

This is the most important book which has so far appeared on the Greek dance. It antiquates Emmanuel, *La danse grecque antique d'après les monuments figurés* (1896), which is inaccurate (and the translation by Harriet Jean Beauley [1927] still worse), as well as Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926) and Séchan, *La danse grecque antique* (1930). No reference is made, however, to the scores of articles in American classical journals by Lillian M. Lawler, a leading authority on the Greek dance, who will soon publish a book on the subject.

The author is acquainted with Delos but not with Olynthus, which

might have improved his discussion of the δοῖδος or mortar dance (cf. *Olynthus*, II, p. 106, figs. 251 [a marble basin like Roos' fig. 4] and 252 [a marble bent leg for rubbing, like fig. 5]). Also valuable would have been Miss Lawler's article on "A Mortar Dance" in *C. J.*, XLIII (1947), p. 34. This is the *igdisma*, which still continues in modern burlesque in the rotation of the hips ("grinds") and sudden jerks ("bumps"). Fig. 6, p. 53, is taken without reference from Weege, *op. cit.*, p. 112, who in turn took it from Kekulé, *Terrakotten*, II, pl. 58, where is pictured a dance which I identified as the *oklasma* (*A. J. A.*, XXXIX [1935], p. 238, n. 6 and p. 239, fig. 39) but which may also be the *igdisma*. In any case, Roos should know the Olynthian terra cotta figurines which portray this dance (*Olynthus*, IV, 340, 341; VII, 388; XIV, 428). No source is given for any of Roos' 34 illustrations.

The dance called σκώψ is mentioned on p. 168, but no explanation is given (cf. *C. V. A. Robinson Coll.*, I, p. 57, pl. XLVIII). The *calathiscus* is mentioned only in a footnote (p. 98, n. 3), but for abundant literature see Watzinger in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, III, pl. 171, pp. 319-24; *Annual of Amer. Schools of Oriental Research*, V (1925), pp. 35-40; *Olynthus*, XIV, no. 441.

Roos' book certainly advances our knowledge of the burlesque of Philocleon at the end of Aristophanes' *Wasps*; and there are good chapters on the *kordax* and the *Sikinnis*. There are also excursions on the Karkinites, on Phrynichus, and on the hyporcheme of Pratinas.

There is a detailed bibliography of nearly fifty pages (236-80). One may expect omission of architectural works on the theatre such as those of Allen, Puchstein, Fiechter, and Anti, but surely there should be included such important books as Kathleen Schlesinger's *The Greek Aulos* (1939) and A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (1946), as well as Miss Lawler's articles, the neglect of which I have already noted.

The indices of names and subjects, of Greek terms, and of ancient passages are extremely useful, as is the whole book.

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